

**LEISURE IN LATER LIFE: A CASE STUDY IN
KOREA**

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of
the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in
Philosophy

by

Joon Ho Cha

(April, 2012)

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ABSTRACT

Socio-economic, -demographic, and cultural factors have a major impact on the elderly's leisure patterns. Korea has developed rapidly in a short period of time which makes it hard for the contemporary elderly to keep up with the changes. This can affect their leisure lives after retirement and thus their satisfaction with life. This research examines how the elderly's leisure patterns change following retirement, and its role alongside socio-economic and demographic factors influencing life satisfaction. The socio-economic and demographic factors included in the analysis are gender, age, occupation education, cohabitation, irregular work, health status, and income. The data is intended to be a foundation and stepping stone for developing an elderly leisure policy and an elderly leisure education system for Korea

The research comprised a survey of 120 persons in the Gang-Nam region of Seoul in South Korea. Male and Female participants aged 50 and over were selected as a sample. For measuring leisure participation, 20 leisure activities were utilised from the *White Paper on Leisure 2008* conducted by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and they were further grouped into 7 categories by *Classification of Leisure Activities* based on Edginton, Compton, and Hanson's (1990) research. The main findings are as follows.

1. Continuity is the most common trend in leisure activity after retirement rather than developments predicted by activity and disengagement Theories.
2. Socio-economic factors such as income, occupation, education, cohabitation, and health condition influence the elderly's leisure activity patterns as well as their life satisfaction.
3. Men seemed to be more leisure active than women, the younger compared to the older, and the better educated than the less educated.
4. All the various groups in the research reported increased levels of activity since they had retired.
5. Life satisfaction scores were the lowest among those who were living alone, and those with chronic health conditions. However, as with leisure participation, all the groups reported an upward trend in life satisfaction after retirement.
6. The increased satisfaction was mainly due to increased social participation.
7. It was mainly the individuals who continued or increased their participation in leisure activities which they practised prior to retirement who showed a boost in their life satisfaction.

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Chapter One: Introduction

An ageing world

Population ageing is a global trend and a global issue. This is always at least part of the context for current research and policy debates on matters related to seniors (An Ageing World, 2009; Blaikie, 1999; Bond, 2007; Bowling, 2005; Harper, 2006, 2009). Korea is not in the forefront of global ageing. In most Western countries, seniors will soon, or already, account for around 20% of the total populations. In Korea it was just 9.1% in 2008, but by 2050 the figure is expected to rise to 37.3% (KNSO, 2005). This will be the result of greater longevity combined with low fertility. How to provide seniors with adequate pensions, health and social care is an issue in Western countries, and no less so in Asia (Phillips and Chan, 2002).

Leisure in later life

Leisure research has a track record of more than half a century in the USA, and for nearly as long in the UK and some other Western countries, and the issues addressed have included the actual and potential contributions of leisure to seniors' quality of life. The literature directly related to this thesis is reviewed fully in chapter 2. Suffice it to say here that certain findings have now been confirmed in successive studies in

various countries.

First, throughout later life the general trend is for participation in most forms of out-of-home leisure to decline. From one year to the next, older people's leisure maintains impressive continuities (Tokarski, 1991). When adjusting to retirement and other life events, most people seem to try to carry on as before, as best they can (Long and Wimbush, 1979). Nevertheless, the net trend following every later life event (retirement, reduced income, children moving away, bereavement, failing health) is for some leisure activities to be dropped or to become less frequent. Needless to say, there are exceptional leisure activities (such as church-going in many countries) and some differences between countries and between socio-demographic groups within countries (Li, 2010).

Second, those leisure activities that are maintained impact positively on seniors' quality of life. This is the case however 'quality' is measured. The main exception is watching television, which usually accounts for more time than any other single leisure activity throughout adulthood and into later life. Any leisure that is active (out-of-home) and social appears to improve both physical and psychological well-being (Hawkins et al, 2004; Kyle and Chick, 2004; Nimrod, 2007). There seem to be huge advantages in having a serious leisure interest that can be carried into later life (Siegenthaler and O'Dell, 2003). Leisure scholars have been

energetic in spreading the message that leisure is good for people, and maybe especially for older people (Dumazedier, 1967; Wearing, 1995). They have been encouraged by sociologists who advocate a social constructionist view of ageing (Powell, 2006a, 2006b). Leisure scholars typically advocate reconstruction stressing the new opportunities that open up, including leisure opportunities, when individuals relinquish adult roles and responsibilities.

The basic issue addressed in this thesis is how much of the above applies in Korea.

The Korean context

Korea is one of the new industrial countries, a so-called Asian tiger economy. In 1953, when fighting in the Korean War ended (there is still no peace treaty) average monthly income per capita was the equivalent of USA \$67. In 1960 it was still only \$79 and just 28% of the population was urban. There was then a government-led programme of export-oriented industrialisation, and spectacular and sustained economic growth. During the 1990s annual per capita income passed the \$10,000 threshold, and it passed the \$20,000 benchmark in the 2000s (Yoo, 2006). Eighty percent of the population is now urban (KNSO, 2008). During the closing decades of the 20th century, Korea became a country of first generation industrial workers, who lived in cities whose residents were mostly

migrants from the countryside. The pace of change has been spectacular, but Korea is still a long way from first world living standards. Typical national incomes per capita are approximately twice as high in Western countries (Social Statistics Korea, 2009)

The lives of adult Koreans are dominated by work. On average they now work for 2357 hours per year compared with the OECD average of 1777 (KLI, 2008). Only 3.7% of household incomes are spent on leisure goods and services: in the UK it is currently 7.7% (OECD, 2008). Korea has the world's fastest broadband and more mobile phones in use than people (KOTRA, 2009). New technology is considered essential for educational and economic reasons. 'Leisure' in Korea is a business sector. University courses in leisure are usually titled 'leisure industries' or 'leisure management'. The statistics on leisure routinely produced by government departments give the economic value of different sectors, not participation rates by the people. The goods and services produced by Korea's leisure industries are aimed at relatively rich Koreans, and most of all at tourists. Korea has no government department with overall responsibility for leisure. There is a Ministry of Culture and Tourism, but leisure provisions (as they would be called by leisure researchers) are also under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of Gender Equality and the Family, and

several others (MCST, 2008).

That said, Korea's government now recognises that the country's leisure industries need a domestic market, and the spread of (Western) leisure is welcomed as a sign of Korea's modernisation. For its part, the Korean public's appetite for leisure goods is whetted by 21st century marketing (MCST, 2008a). The official five-day work week that has been introduced during the last five years is intended to stimulate leisure activity and spending, which will be good for business and, it is now believed, Koreans' quality of life.

Since 2008, there have been regular national surveys measuring leisure participation. Unfortunately, none of the instruments have been harmonised with measurements in other countries. Indeed, different government departments have used different measurements. One government ministry reported that on average in 2004 Koreans enjoyed an average of 5 hours 32 minutes of leisure time per day. In 2008 a different ministry's survey showed an apparent decline to 4 hours 38 minutes (Yoon, 2008). However, these surveys are satisfactory for intra-country (and often just intra-survey) comparisons by age and gender, for example.

Despite the wide range of government providers and growing sensitivity

to the importance of leisure, Korea still has hardly any free or low-cost, subsidised leisure facilities. The UK began providing public sector art galleries and museums, libraries, urban parks and playing fields in the 19th century (Robinson, 2003). Korea has no equivalents, and precious little green open space in urban areas. Korea also lacks the voluntary associations that promote the arts, sports, and various hobbies and crafts in Western countries.

A comprehensive welfare system is another absentee. There is no universally available state retirement pension. Seniors are able to claim only if they have no private or occupational pensions, and if they have no family (usually children) who can support them. Most grown-up children do support their retired parents: around two-thirds of Korea's seniors currently receive financial support from their children (Lee, I. Et al, 2010).

Confucian culture remains extremely influential in Korea (Astorga, 2001). Learning is highly valued, so Koreans invest heavily in education. The country now has one of the world's highest rates of participation in higher education (over 80%) (KNSO, 2008). Korea is also at or close to the top of all international league tables that compare secondary school pupils' attainments. Children attend public schools, and families that are able to do so invest in extra coaching or private classes. Parents feel that they

must invest as much as possible in the young. They can expect reciprocal benefits. Confucianism also demands respect for the elderly who are normally able to rely on support and continuing respect from their grown-up children. Adults are in a classic squeeze: they are required to generously support both those younger and older than themselves. There is usually little time or money left for their own leisure (MHW, 2010).

However, Korea has a well-developed system of day centres for the elderly. Attendance and a mid-day meal are free. Some seniors attend solely for the meal (Yoo M M, 2006). These centres are described and discussed fully in later chapters. It is possible, through these centres, for retired Koreans to access a range of zero- or low-cost leisure activities. Few among current cohorts of seniors have any earlier experience of consumer leisure. Many were born in villages. Their adult lives were work-dominated. Free, unobligated time has not been regarded as a desirable resource in Korea, but it is a resource that the retired possess in vast quantities. The research reported in this thesis is an attempt to discover how the elderly use this time, and how this impacts on their overall quality of life.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

Despite the rapid growth of the elderly population in Korea, social research has focused mainly on younger age groups, and sociological studies have focused on areas other than those that are elderly-related. The older population has been dealt with mainly by the social welfare system which responds to the psychological and medical needs of the aged rather than attempting to grasp the social aspects of the lives of the elderly. This is where sociology has stopped, and the social aspects of life seem to be less valued in this life phase.

Much of the social literature which has dealt with the aged seems lacking in two very important respects. First, the social elements of the lives of the elderly should have been studied and compared with other age groups. That is, changes and similarities that may take place in later life need to be better understood so that people can better prepare themselves for their later years. Second, attitudes towards leisure time and their activities that most elderly people encounter every day can be intensely damaging (Wearing, 1995). Retirement should be treated as an earned status rather than stigmatised. Instead of having to pretend that they are busy with important work like most younger people, the elderly's leisure activities

should be viewed as earned privileges from which older people can derive pleasure and happiness following retirement.

Idleness in later life is often viewed as an unrespectable and inefficient way of leading a retirement life in the eyes of younger Koreans. This leads to disrespectfulness towards the elderly. In many ways, the negative attitude towards leisure is a unique phenomenon of modern society in Korea, where people's lives are usually based on a work ethic that has been derived from religious ethics¹.

The detestation of idleness derived from the modern work ethic has often led to people of all ages devaluing their leisure activities and placing the highest value on work. This attitude has sparked tremendous pressure on the aged, especially on retirees who are occupied with leisure full-time and every day. The retirement system which did not exist during agrarian times can also discourage retirees from actively engaging in all the different leisure activities that could supply life satisfaction. Thus, discontinuing their former leisure activities after retirement can lead to a

¹ Max Weber argued that the root of the work ethic dates back to the religious beliefs about calling, election and work stemming from John Calvin (Banks and Stevens, 1997). For Weber, it was the particular values related to the Protestant Reformation and Calvinist doctrine that gave birth to the spirit of Western capitalism. Ascetic Protestantism preached that people have a duty to work diligently, to pursue financial rewards, and to invest prudently rather than waste their money. The aim of working and accumulating resources seemed to go beyond meeting minimal material needs; work was rather regarded as a moral duty pursued for its own sake. Labour must rather be an absolute end in itself, a calling (Iglehart and Norris, 2004).

negative view of life, and can result in unsatisfactory retirement experiences. Therefore, exploration of patterns of leisure change and their effects on retirement satisfaction is urgently needed.

The elderly and leisure in modern society

Retirement role and the elderly in modern society

Along with the rapid increase in the ageing population worldwide, issues associated with the aged are compounded with poverty, decline in health, and idleness which in turn result in disrespectful attitudes towards the aged. One of the significant yet tragic social phenomena noteworthy in modern society is the decline in the social status of the aged (Park, 2002). Perceptions of old age have been different in earlier historical periods. According to McTavish (1979), “Most investigators report findings which support the view that attitudes toward the elderly are most favourable in primitive societies and decrease with increasing modernisation to the point of a generally negative view in industrialised Western nations.” In other words, the more ‘civilised’ the society is, the more likely are the people to be ageist and to maintain negative attitudes about the aged. For example, in industrial society most of the aged have been deprived of instrumental roles by the social system of retirement. Also it is important to understand that retirement is a point in life bringing about significant changes in social roles. The aged in agrarian society were given full

respect for two important reasons in Korea. First, there was no such thing as the age discriminatory system of retirement; thus continuing work-related activities into the later years of life awarded the elderly respectful positions as productive members of society (Lee A, 2005). Second, the aged were often viewed as a fountain of knowledge and wisdom. Today, the fast work-pace often required in industry has become a pretext to force the seemingly inefficient elderly out of the workforce, and the rising expenditure going to support an expanding elderly population has led to a disrespectful attitude by those of working-age. The aged who were once respected and venerated by younger citizens are now viewed as unproductive and unsuitable to fit into modern society (VanGend, 2010). A sense of despair felt by the elderly, which is often accentuated by poverty and lacking an instrumental role in the later years, is often viewed as acceptable by policy-makers whose priorities are seemingly set by other immediate and pressing social issues.

The elderly have been outdone by youth in the labour market: they have lost their jobs, and also lost the corresponding social roles. Combined with loss of the parental role in the family as the family system changes in the course of industrialisation, various losses of role in old age significantly deteriorate the status and authority of the elderly.² Loss of

² Our individual lives are structured not only by our physical and mental capacities but also by our social environment. We interact with one another as certain role players. And

self-esteem and a negative self-image are often associated with the loss of social roles while also losing social integration (Nam, 2006).

Some sociologists refer to retirement as a “roleless role” (Donahue, Orbach, and Polak, 1960). The commonly accepted view of the retirement role has its basis in a very simple view that retirement is a position in society for which there are no corresponding rights and duties.

As Burgess argues:

“The retired man and his wife are imprisoned in a roleless role without vital function to perform. The roleless role has tremendous impingement upon the older person at retirement and to a greater or lesser degree he has accepted it or become resigned to it” (Burgess, 1960).

Abundant sociologists and scholars believe that the sense of rolelessness leads many retirees to disengagement in their everyday lives. However, some believe life after retirement still includes both internal and external disciplines. This seems to be a significant point of discussion that needs resolving so as to explain lifestyle patterns following the absence of an

the roles we play are changing throughout our lives and depend on age. Speaking about age, the conception of “age norms” is important. Age norms tell us what people in given life stages are allowed and required to do and to be (Atchley, 1989). This simplistic description of the retirement role is wrong. Part of the problem comes from confusion over defining what the role is. Firstly, role can refer to culturally transmitted, general norms governing the rights and duties associated with a position in society such as a job. An important step to be taken in gaining a full picture of a retiree perhaps lies in understanding their rights as a retiree first. The retiree’s rights include the right to economic support without holding a job (without stigma), the right to autonomy concerning the management of one’s time, and often more specific rights such as the right to use company union facilities, to retain various privileges and so forth (Atchley, 1976).

occupational role due to retirement.

Norms are highly dependent on cultural values and socio-historical conditions. The study of Havighurst and Albrecht (1953) was based on a small sample and was completed 50 years ago, and contemporary research might reveal quite different attitudes related to the norms associated with the elderly. Age-specific norms are often absent in Western society. In the classic study of social norms and ageing by Havighurst and Albrecht (1953) the investigators were able to delineate a few norms that applied specifically to older adults. Moreover, undesirable norms such as inactivity, un-involvement, and isolation followed a general, rather than an age-specific pattern. Other than a few extensions of middle adulthood values, the study found no evidence for the existence of norms specifically assigned to old age. Accordingly, Havighurst and Albrecht came up with two conclusions regarding norms. Firstly, “it seems that a wide variety of activities that are approved for people in middle age are also generally approved for older people”. and secondly, “people in their young adult and middle age years are generally more approving of activity for older people than the old people themselves” (Havighurst and Albrecht, 1953). Havighurst and Albrecht’s conclusion has been consistently supported by other researchers (Bengston, 1973; Clark and Anderson, 1968; Neugarten, 1968; Wood, 1973). Therefore, it might be assumed that there are few social norms pertaining to specific

behaviours of the elderly, and that the few norms that do exist are primarily extensions of middle adulthood norms. The elderly, then, may be said to exist in a normless state.

Since social norms act as important determinants of social interaction, the idea that the elderly exist in a normless state implies negative consequences. The French sociologist Emile Durkheim utilised the term anomie to refer to a state without norms and suggested that anomie produced personal confusion and disruption because it deprived people of guidelines on how to conduct themselves. Durkheim's position is supported by Rosow, who has long argued that American society depreciates the status of older people with the intent to, "Channel them from the mainstream of social life" (1974). Normlessness contributes to this by placing the elderly in an ambiguous situation:

Even though old people are admonished by well-meaning advisors to "be-active", there are almost no norms that specify and give meaning to this admonition, that provide even guides.....(or) what older people should do with available time and energy and how they shape their life.....The anomaly for the aged is that with amorphous norms, there are few criteria for judging either conformity or deviance, their success or failure (Rosow, 1974: 69-70).

If this is an accurate description of the situation of the old, later life should be marked by a continually crumbling network of social support. Otherwise, as Bengston has put it, "One consequence of the decreased normative constraints in later life would be uncertainty and alienation"

(Bengston, 1973). Bengston(1973) declared that suggestions that distinctive roles for older people exist are based on myths and stereotypes about the aged that have vague and often inaccurate role expectations associated with them. A lot of these expectations stem from stereotypes. He concluded that it is not useful to talk about old age as a generalised role (Bengston, 1973). Changes in roles occur with advancing years, and amongst these changes are role shrinkage, role ambiguity, and role status change. It is generally agreed that role shrinkage is accompanied by increasing role ambiguity whereby the elderly's role tends to become more open, flexible, and unstructured than at any other time in adult life (Havighurst & Albrecht, 1953). As a result, behavioural expectations increasingly rely on personal preference and individual choice, and this ambiguity has been well expressed in role expectations for the elderly. On the one hand, the expectations of people who have recently retired are continuous with expectations for people in their 40s and 50s, but on the other hand, expectations change abruptly soon after retirement as people settle into pensions or medical treatment.

As people approach old age, changes in role status also become common. As commonly known, each role which is played carries a given status. Some sociologists and other scholars believe that role status declines as ageing continues. Irving Rosow (1974), argues that societal forces in the United States systematically undermine the position of the elderly and

depreciate their status. In Rosow's text, *Socialisation to Old Age*, he outlines how social forces operate to expel the aged to progressively weaker positions. In opposition to Rosow, Cox (1995) insists that "whilst there is greater choice in old age, the roles that are available for the individual to choose among are not highly valued in the society and do not bring one a high status. Most of these roles, whether it is leisure, recreation, volunteering, family oriented roles etc, are less valued than the roles assumed by younger age groups within the population".

Yet, an alternative interpretation of normlessness is possible; an opportunity for choice. Because of the absence of normative standards, people of advanced years may have a greater range of personal choice in ordering their lives. The elderly role tends to be more open, flexible and unstructured than at any other time in adult life (Havighurst & Albrecht, 1953). As a result, behavioural expectations increasingly rely on personal preference and individual choice.

Another positive consequence of role change is increased flexibility in role expectations, and the rigid role prescriptions expressed in terms of age-appropriate expectations appear to have diminished in Korea for the elderly during the past four decades. Expectations that older people should retire, should be asexual, cautious, should dress sedately, or should prefer quiet activities to more lively ones are less prevalent today

(Kalish, 1983). The roles that the social system forces on the elderly now encompass considerable freedom and discretion. For example, being a grandparent is one such role. Nowadays there is a great deal of personal interpretation and freedom in fulfilling this role. Grandparents typically choose the amount of time they will spend with their grandchildren and the types of interaction they will have. Also, unlike parents, the grandparents are not usually responsible for disciplining the children or financially supporting them (Cox, 1995).

Therefore, in association with leisure, the older age group has much wider scope for choosing and dwelling on activities of their choice than any other age groups.

Leisure from a social perspective

Leisure activities are freely chosen and imply a non-serious purpose and do not necessarily produce a product or skill. Leisure implies joy, enthusiasm, opportunity and energy. Some view leisure as the opposite of work, that is, free from home, labour, and social responsibilities (Dumazedier, 1967). The meaning of leisure in principle is the opposite of activities with an economic function, and leisure gives a sense of pleasure and psychological freedom, which generate the maximum spontaneity with the least responsibility (Kaplan, 1960).

If looking at the concept of leisure from a labour perspective, we note first that neither the concept of labour nor the concept of leisure before industrial society was clearly defined. With the emergence of industrial society, labour was confined to the workplace, and, beginning by placing restrictions on working hours, leisure was seen as the time of recuperation and rest, and for the reproduction of labour power (Dumazedier, 1967).

However, the sphere of leisure today goes beyond the limited roles of rest or recuperation for the reproduction of labour. It acquires a much broader meaning, taking in the development of personal abilities and knowledge, the manifestation of creativity and social achievement. From this perspective, mankind has entered the new leisure age that emphasises a leisure ethic and a fun morality (Parker, 1976). The new leisure ethic points out that leisure itself should be recognised as an important life interest, and that individuals can achieve self-identity and self-expression through leisure. In other words, labour which was considered crucial in the past now has been sidelined by leisure which is no longer a by-product of labour but has become the objective of labour (Osgood, 1982).

Karl Marx was concerned about leisure, but for very different reasons. He regarded labour as an essential life activity, and also as a commodity which the worker sold to the bourgeoisie to secure a livelihood. Labour

becomes external and non-voluntary to the worker, and it requires sacrifice of the worker's life. Therefore, he acknowledged that leisure is essential to the worker, for in his writing, the "realm of freedom" begins only after work. By freedom, Marx (1991) in the third volume of *Capital* did not merely mean free-time, but also freedom from material necessity, a state conducive to the free development of human personality and individuality. Hence Marx's rejection of the capitalist society stemmed from his desire to help establish a social system in which the individual would be able to discover his true, fulfilled nature (Iso-Ahola, 1980).

Max Weber elaborated his opinions on leisure on the basis of social class and social status. Social class is very much connected with economic position and also refers to the "life chances" of members of the class. Unlike social class, status is more or less related to the social situation and refers to the "lifestyle" of the strata, the way of life. As opposed to Marxian ideas, Weber viewed stratification in a more complex way. Class, according to Weber, is based on differential access to resources. People with common access also have common contexts for their work, family life and leisure. Status refers to the level of esteem or prestige related to a lifestyle and social identity (Kelly, 1993). As Kelly argues, status is more differentiated than class even though it is related to a certain level of occupation and level and source of income. One important aspect of status is leisure (Veblen, 1899) in which individuals display styles of

behaviour and ownership symbolically according to their presumed social level. The individual's "taste" identifies the social level and it serves to consolidate each individual's attachment to a status group.

Pierre Bourdieu argued that taste is not pure: is a product of social learning through education and culture. Thus, it fulfils the social function of legitimating social differences. According to Bourdieu (1996), 'taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier'. Social subjects distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make. The process of internalisation of taste as a symbolic affiliation to a specific group is somewhat mystical. However, there has been an attempt to explain this from a psycho-social perspective, using the concept of "habitus". Impure taste can be internalised and can become an unconscious part of whoever he/she is through habitus (Bourdieu, 1996). According to Bourdieu, habitus is the means whereby the "social game" is inscribed upon biological individuals, as the possibilities and constraints of social action are incorporated. Thus, habitus refers to the way in which an individual's instinctive sense of what might be achieved is structured into patterns of behaviour (Wolfrey, 2000). Habitus is a socialised subjectivity, and Bourdieu further argued that he himself wanted to insist on the generative capacities of dispositions, it being understood that these are acquired, socially constituted dispositions (Bourdieu, 1990). Self, beliefs and lifestyles are some of the less codified areas where habitus is best seen

and practised, and where strategies are formed in everyday interaction in sports, and in bodily movements in dancing and playing musical instruments, but these are just some of the examples where the habitus can be found (Bourdieu, 1988).

Leisure may create a social world with a “unity of order”, social structure, regular interaction, and boundaries that are set by symbolic communication (Shibutani, 1961). Social groups, communities, organisations, worlds and so on may be organised around common ethnic origins, formal organisations or voluntary associations. It is voluntary associations that may develop around leisure actions and interactions. At the centre there is a common interest around which is created a system of behaviour, communication, identification of membership and means of communication. Social worlds are the units of organisation which have been found to develop around such local activities as tennis, going to the pub, playing football; regional forms including dance halls and nude beaches; and diffuse activities such as camping, fishing, sport parachuting, motocross racing etc. (Scott, 2002). Also, there are sub-cultural activities of the aged based in local elderly centres where people of a similar age gather and build rapport by engaging in various types of leisure activities. The term subculture usually focuses more on symbolic gesture than on organisation. A subculture directed towards leisure, like most other subcultures, is set of understandings, types of behaviour, and artefacts

used by particular groups and diffused through interlocking group networks (Fine and Kleinman, 1979). In a subculture there is regular sharing and communication of the common elements through an accepted system of symbols and values. In a leisure subculture, the history of interaction creates a complex set of shared meanings for those who identify themselves as a part of the subculture. Some Koreans have been directed to traditional recreational activities such as going to a community theatre which shows traditional Korean performances, or going to a baseball pitch to watch a game. On the other hand, some are more attracted to deviant, lawbreaking or sexually enticing situations. Therefore, members gain some sense of who they are and where they belong through leisure (Kelly & Godbey, 1992).

The importance of leisure in the elderly's lives

Unlike agrarian society, modern society, which operates a well-developed division of labour, tends to increase leisure time as the society develops. Therefore leisure has been gradually gaining in importance as an indispensable part of everyday life for people of all ages. Realisation of the importance of leisure-related activities which are associated not only with the quality of life for all age groups but also the enhancement of work productivity, has brought forth the five-day work-week system which can be found in most of the advanced countries. Waking-up to the ever increased free time in modern societies, also filling it with

meaningful leisure activities, has become an important social project for all ages. According to a survey carried out by 'The Association of Korean Economic Studies' (2004), the younger the age group, the higher the value of leisure in their estimation. In consequence, it is predicted that leisure will be given even greater weight in people's lives in the upcoming years.

According to many leisure-related studies, healthy later life activities can promote physical health, increase morale and satisfaction in life. Furthermore, it can also increase self-confidence and confidence in one's physique, add conviction to self-worthiness, and above all, make for an interesting and happy life (Leitner & Leitner, 2004).

Several characteristics have been identified as elements of successful ageing: biological health, mental health, cognitive efficacy, social competence and productivity, personal growth and control, life satisfaction, interaction with others, sense of purpose, and self acceptance (Baltes & Baltes, 1990; Fisher, 1995). Making full use of already existing leisure practices can lead to positive outcomes in enhancing life satisfaction for the elderly by enhancing physical health, creating opportunities for social contacts, increasing morale and subjective well-being, promoting a positive self-image and confidence, increasing autonomy in living skills and functions, and it can also insert fun and

pleasure into life (Kim, 1999). Successful ageing is achieved through three primary components: low probability of disease and disease-related disabilities, high capability in mental and physical functioning, and also active engagement in life. Moderate to high intensity physical activity helps the individual when engaging with illness and disease as well as disability through muscle and cardiovascular strength improvement. Mental and physical fitness can be maintained through cognitively challenging and physical activities. Elderly individuals with substantial involvement in activities that are intellectually stimulating and complex are less likely to experience cognitive decline (Schaie & Willis, 2001). Seeman et al. (1995) argue that moderate activities such as leisurely walking can provide similar advantages to engaging in more strenuous activities. Older adults who take part in physical activities are less likely to suffer from physical frailty and impairment of muscle function, thus reducing the likelihood of building up bone disease, loss of joint mobility, abnormal gait and posture as well as cardiovascular disease (Foret & Clemons, 1996).

In the later years leisure activities not only meet personal needs by promoting the development and maintenance of psychological and physical health but also generate affinities to supportive networks that can create a sense of integrity among local senior citizens (Kelly & Steinkamp, 1986, Kelly & Godbey, 1992). Leisure activities also have a

significant impact on retirement satisfaction and the pursuit of happiness and quality of life (Soo & Oh, 1994; Song, 1997; Lee, 1991; McClelland, 1982; Preston, 1987; Riddick, 1986).

Thus, the degree of meaningfulness one can draw from leisure activities can relieve the stress built-up from loneliness and a sense of isolation. Moreover, it can also place new meanings on the remaining years of life (Lee & Ishii-Kuntz, 1987). According to Lee (1991), regular leisure activities are a positive influence in relieving the sense of loneliness and boredom when the elderly are living alone in their homes. However, the study did not discover therapeutic effects like relieving depression. Rowe & Kahn (1999) described two primary aspects of continued engagement with life: close relationships with others and involvement in purposeful and meaningful activity. Seeman et al. (1995) reported that social integration has a positive influence on mental health and appears to carry important benefits in terms of functioning and longevity. Similarly, Lennartson & Silverstein (2001) found that elderly people who met with friends occasionally or more frequently had fewer health problems than those who did not socialise.

The following are the three most widely used theories of ageing that may assist in understanding the lifestyles of retired seniors in contemporary Korea.

Theories of Ageing

There are many theories, referred to as theories of ageing, which attempt to explain the diverse aspects of growing older. Many of these theories have concentrated on predicting individual adjustment or adaptation to changes in people's situations in old age (Maddox & Campbell, 1985). However, there has been little theoretical development in the area of ageing processes and adjustment among ethnic minorities in the west, or in any non-western societies where ageing may have distinctive features due to such diverse factors as culture, values, and buffering systems that are different from those of the globally dominant societies where the theories originated. As a framework of social gerontological theories related to retirement, there are three dominant macro-perspectives that can enlighten us on the distinctive patterns of leisure activities engaged in by the elderly following retirement; disengagement theory, activity theory, and continuity theory. These theories are macro in the sense of covering all aspects of the elderly's lives, and in scanning life from middle age until death. The theories are not new. Their longevity is explained by the fact that they cannot be replaced because collectively they present all the alternatives. Later life may be a time when people disengage from social roles and activities; it may be a stage when people take-up new roles and activities to replace those that are relinquished; or it may be a life stage throughout which people continue as before for as long as and in so far as

they are able to do so.

Some of the questions to which this study tries to find answers include: how significant is retirement, the loss of occupational role, in re-forming patterns of leisure activities among the elderly? What are the consequences of everyday leisure activities for the quality of the later-years lives of seniors in the absence of an occupational role? The answers must lie within the framework of the above three theories. The following is an overview of the characteristics and differences between the theories, emphasising the implications for leisure patterns, degrees of involvement and subjective assessments of life satisfaction.

Table 1.1 Overview of the Theories (Atchley, 1999)

Gerontological theories	Main principles	Types	Negative effect on life satisfaction
Disengagement theory	It involves a fundamental change in both pattern and level of activities. People who disengage drop a large number of their previously customary activities entirely, and their overall activity level also drops dramatically.		Severe
Activity theory	It is a homeostatic equilibrium theory which claims that individuals are motivated to cope with losses by restoring the previous equilibrium.	1) Substitution- new activities for lost activities, primary means of adapting to role loss.	none
		2) Consolidation - people cope with role losses by consolidating their activity patterns and redistributing their energies to the remaining roles.	moderate
Continuity theory	It assumes that the individual avoids or minimises the effects of role loss by maintaining longstanding structures of activity. It refers to the preservation of patterns of activity and phased reductions in patterns of activity.	1) Maintaining equilibrium - both pattern and level maintained.	none
		2) Moderate activity decline - maintain pattern but level declines.	moderate

Disengagement theory: from a leisure perspective

Disengagement theory was developed by Cumming in 1963 during a five year study with a sample of ageing people in American cities. The sample consisted of 275 individuals between the ages of 50 and 90; they were all in good health and they had the minimum financial resources needed for leading an independent life. The theory proposes that under these conditions normal ageing is a mutual withdrawal or 'disengagement' between ageing people and others in the social system to which he or she belongs (Cumming, 1963). The authors made minor revisions to their theory in 1963 (Cumming, 1963; Cumming and Henry, 1961). Since then the theory has remained basically unchanged, as noted recently by Lynott and Lynott (2011).

The theory of the disengagement of and by the elderly can be best understood from the functional point of view. Society and individuals always seek to maintain themselves in a state of equilibrium and avoid disruption according to the functionalist view, and since death is an inevitable event for the elderly, both society and the elders should be prepared for it in a social and psychological way. Therefore, as an individual approaches demise, the person is no longer obligated to life's functions and associations. He or she divests from them, and gets ready for the end. In this way, the death of an older person does not disrupt the equilibrium of a society. In contrast, the death of a young person who is

participating in work, by any form of accident or disease, is disruptive, and it is quite hard for the society to accommodate the sudden disruption. The functionalist underpinnings of disengagement theory have a solid basis in the “organic analogy” elaborated by Herbert Spencer in his book, *Principles of Sociology* (1896), which was based on the similarities between societies and biological organisms. Spencer pointed out that societies grow just as organisms. Moreover, the functions, activities or the parts are interdependent so as to make one another possible. The parts of a society, like the parts of an organism, function to maintain the structure of the whole. This view also states that although the parts are differentiated and form coherent wholes in themselves, at the same time they remain parts of a larger whole (Adams and Sydie, 2002).

According to Rose (1965), death is an indisputable universal fact. Therefore disengagement theory indicates that the ultimate social and psychological disengagement of the elderly is a universal fact, and it is cross-cultural. Although disengagement from social obligations and responsibilities seems a natural process, retirement takes away instrumental roles and decreases life satisfaction. Many of the early Protestant countries in northern Europe viewed work as a holy calling, the basis of the Protestant work ethic and the associated way of life. Disengagement theorists see retirement as a starting point for disengagement from work and other social activities, leading to

unproductiveness and social demotion. Cumming argues that achievement has always been the highest value prioritised in the USA while abandonment of the pursuit of achievement has always been tinged with failure, and this applies following retirement from work. Therefore, people must expect abandoning the pursuit of achievement that results from retirement to be a crisis, and some research shows that mid-life competent men with a record of achievement feel sudden and painful doubts about the value of what they have accomplished as soon as they step into retirement (Cumming, 1963).

Combined with the loss of the parental role in the family as the family system changes in the course of retirement, these various losses significantly weaken the status and authority of the elderly. Loss of self-esteem as well as the negative self-image among the Korean elderly themselves is often associated with the loss of social roles whilst simultaneously losing social integration (Nam, 2006). The unspecified role-less role of the retired elderly, as mentioned by Durkheim, can lead to the state of normlessness which can accompany the sense of confusion and disruption in life. Durkheim's position is supported by Rosow (1974) who argues that society depreciates the status of older people with the intent to "channel them from the mainstream of social life". Thus disengagement from the mainstream of social life leads to large drop in everyday leisure activities and is accompanied by a significant degree of

dissatisfaction with life.

Since the 1960s there have been no major developments in disengagement theory. By the 1970s it had encountered a barrage of criticism (Hoschild, 1976; Rose, 1964). Critics have objected to the idyllic notion of the elderly withdrawing gracefully and contentedly. A main function of disengagement theory has been as a foil for the alternative theories of ageing. However, disengagement theory survives because it is consistent with a huge body of evidence. With increasing age people do withdraw from paid work, see less of family members, experience bereavement, and as noted in chapter 1, in western countries the long-term trend in leisure activity in later life is downwards.

Activity theory

In an attempt to provide an alternative and more constructive and attractive account of the roles and positions of the elderly, activity theory has emerged as another mega-discourse in the sociology of ageing. Activity theory was developed as a direct response to, a movement away from, disengagement theory, emphasising that the more active senior people are, the greater their satisfaction with their lives. Barbara and Simone's (2005) activity and retirement satisfaction study supports the idea. They found that older adults who were very satisfied with retirement were nearly one-and-a-half times more likely to participate in

multiple activities (41.6 percent) than dissatisfied older adults (28.7 percent). Also, very satisfied retirees were less prone to be inactive (25.0 percent) than dissatisfied retirees (37.5 percent). According to Butrica & Schaner (2005), in general very satisfied retirees engage in productive activities at significantly higher rates than dissatisfied retirees. Activity theorists argue that in order to maintain a positive sense of self, the elderly must substitute new roles for those lost in old age (Katz, 1996).

The original activity theorists (Havighurst, 1981; Havighurst & Albrecht, 1953; Neugarten, 1964) insisted that ageing can be a lively and also a creative experience. The loss of roles, activities or relationships in old age should be replaced by new roles or activities to ensure happiness, value consensus and well-being. In activity theory, maintaining the level of activities from middle age through to old age has rather different implications than in continuity theory. A person retires and replaces the time which used to be occupied by formal employment with old or newly found leisure activities so as to maintain the same overall level of daily activity during the post-retirement period. Like disengagement theory, activity theory has remained basically unchanged since the 1970s. Its strengths lie in its powerful advocacy of active ageing. Its weakness is its limited explanatory power (Bengston et al., 2009; Schulz et al., 2006).

In contrast, the central idea of continuity theory, the third perspective on ageing, is that leisure activities, just like family or friends, have been present before retirement, and thereafter can continue with little change and without substitution taking place as indicated in activity theory. For activity theorists, disengagement from some social activity is a social phenomenon which is contrary to the will and desire of elderly people. Whereas disengagement theory is inherently ageist and does not promote healthy or 'positive ageing', activity theory has been seen as an ethical response, opening up retirement as a potentially joyful life stage.

The core contention of activity theory is that older people who are active will be more satisfied and better adjusted than the less active elderly. Accordingly, advocates of activity theory believe that older people should remain active, busy and productive in order to age optimally (Kelly et al., 1987). Applications of this theory are most apparent in the number of recreation events, travel/sightseeing tours, and classes led by retirement communities and senior centres. In support of these efforts, Kelly and Steinkamp (1986) present evidence that increases in leisure activity lead to improved attitudes towards life following retirement.

The loss of occupational role in old age can be replaced with two different types of activities: substitution type and consolidation type. The philosophy which underlies substitution is the replacement of the lost

activities with new activities as a means of adapting to role loss (Atchley, 1999). This is the most common response specified by activity theorists, and it applies to the elderly immediately following retirement as they try-out different activities in their fully-occupied leisure time. The main idea in consolidation is that people cope with role loss by consolidating their activity patterns and redistributing their energy into the remaining roles (Atchley, 1999). This particular type of response is not confined to retirees but is also suggested as a strategy for coping with role loss resulting from inadequate income or disability. Looking at the two types of activity theory, it seems quite apparent that both suggest a fundamental alteration in leisure patterns and an increase in leisure activities thereby replacing role loss with newly-found activities in order to maintain an overall equilibrium in life and a sense of happiness (Havighurst, Neugarten and Tobin, 1963). Turner (2001) in his application of role theory, insisted that activity theory finds its basis in interactionism; that is, interpretation of other's responses to the self, resulting in the formation of a different self-concept and social self. In other words, the perception of self can only be moulded through interaction with others within a sphere of social activities where social positions and roles are provided (Lemon, et al., 1972). The self is seen as a behavioural structure moulded by a subjective position and role that one is given, which is then divided into a subjective and an objective self, implying that the level of drive is maintained along with a sense of self-direction (Lemon et al., 1972).

The main assumption of activity theory lies in the postulation of a positive relationship between leisure activities and life satisfaction. However, activity theory itself does not specify the types of leisure activities that may lead to different degrees or levels of life satisfaction. A few studies have been carried out to look into these types of relationships, and it seems that participation in some types of leisure activities has a stronger association with retirement satisfaction than participation in others. Some activities, such as increased alcohol consumption, or simply watching television, display an inverse relationship to life satisfaction (Esteve et al., 1999). In other words, simply increasing involvement in any leisure activity as a replacement for the lost occupational role will not always produce happiness in one's life. The strongest associations with retirement satisfaction among older adults appear to be with social, outdoor and sports activities. Moreover, activities related to memberships in voluntary associations and active participation in them also show a positive relationship not only in maintaining social integration but also increasing life satisfaction for older adults after retirement. Barbara and Simone (2005) state that this holds for those engaged in formal volunteering alone and for those who participate in both formal and informal volunteering. Care giving, however, is a noteworthy exception. Dissatisfied retirees are involved in care giving more than twice as often as very satisfied retirees. This could be an extremely crucial finding in

deepening our understanding of leisure patterns among the aged related to retirement satisfaction, as well as becoming a stepping-stone towards formulating productive welfare policies for the elderly.

Continuity theory

Continuity theory in general

This is the most recent and arguably the most supportive discourse on ageing that sociology has produced. It is also perhaps the most comprehensive and best-tested theory that embodies key ideas from the other two. However, it still has a unique theoretical line by placing primary importance on internal and external continuity which settles from mid-life onwards. If the main argument of disengagement theory focuses on the importance of retirement as the leading life event triggering the gradual decrease in everyday activities, activity theory primarily draws a link between activity level and life satisfaction in the later years of life, whereas continuity theory seems to take the most comprehensive approach in complementing the previous theories. First, continuity theory strongly contradicts disengagement theory in its philosophical approach. It insists that there is more to retirement than just disengagement from life. Second, continuity theory goes beyond the simple perspectives of activity theory. There seems to be more than simply being active in life in heightening subjective well-being. Continuity theory presents more

positive arguments which are, first, about the continuity in both inner states which are psychological, and external behaviours which are sociological, and are mostly framed through leisure activities among the elderly. According to Buckley (1967) and Bailey (1993), continuity theory is based on feedback systems theory. Feedback systems theory refers to theories of continuous behavioural evolution that presume the existence of an initial pattern that influences behavioural choices or decisions that eventually influence the nature of life experience. Life experience is then used reflexively to evaluate, refine or revise both the initial patterns and the process of making behavioural choices. This is a cycle of learning from life experience in both orientation and behaviour, which is repeated thousands of times in the course of life. Therefore, those who are most open to learning from experience are expected to develop a highly refined, personalised, and resilient process for anticipating, decision-making, and adapting effectively. The primary goal of adult development in continuity theory is adaptive change. It assumes that adults' patterns of thought are best able to adapt by never ceasing to change continuously thereby developing through lifelong learning. People's goals in life keep changing, so people adapt long-standing individual values and preferences to new situations, as well as to social change (Kaufman, 1986).

Secondly, there is the effect of external continuity on life satisfaction in

the later years. Continuity theory complements the other two theories in its philosophy and in its methodology. However, continuity theory seems to be more concerned with long-term continuity in internal and external states of the elderly rather than placing its primary interest on the degree of retirement satisfaction.

To sum up, the main assumption of continuity theory is that, in normal ageing, older adults will maintain the same activity patterns, behaviours and relationships that they had in their earlier years of life (Pushkar et al., 2010). According to continuity theory, older adults will try to maintain their lifestyle patterns thereby connecting to their past memories (Atchley, 1999 in Chaya, 2011). According to Richard Shultz et al. (2006), continuity theory originated in observations of large numbers of elderly persons in their activities, personalities and relationship with others throughout changes in their physical, mental and social status.

Since Continuity Theory has been insisted by Atchley, he has developed his theory and gained strength. In 1968, George L Maddox argued in his book that continuity in the middle age and ageing was a prevalent pattern of lifestyle among the elderly which had been found in longitudinal studies of social activity and life satisfaction. Continuity theory was first proposed systematically in 1971 by Robert, C. Atchley in the journal, *The*

Gerontologist. The title of his paper was ‘*Retirement and leisure participation: continuity or crisis?*’ Later in 1989, Atchley developed his theory of continuity in another article also published in *The Gerontologist*, ‘*A continuity theory of normal ageing*’. In this article he separated internal and external types of continuity and incorporated Maddox’s feedback system’ later, in 1999, Atchley further developed his theory in his book *Continuity and Adaptation in Ageing: Creating Positive Experiences*. Here he argued that continuity in important activities in all life domains helps to maintain the qualities that people attribute to themselves, helps them to adapt, and to express their identity consistently across life stages (Atchley, 1999; Hoppmann et al., 2007).

Many subsequent researchers in the field of social gerontology have built on Atchley’s theory. Recent research shows that leisure participation in old age is indeed often a continuation of participation earlier in life (Agahi et al., 2006), and that helping older adults to continue in leisure of their choice or preference can lead to their successful engagement in social, physical and intellectual pursuits, thereby sustaining a healthy lifestyle, independence and well-being (Strain et al., 2002). However, other recent research shows that continuity *and change* in old age can both contribute to well-being (Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007). Generally, engaging in any chosen physical and social activity produces physical

and psychological benefits (Stobert et al., 2006). Even so, others argue that performing competently and with ease in continuing activities will be an enhanced source of reassurance and will have particular salience (Pushkar. et al, 2010).

Continuity theory focuses on the continuity in psycho-social behaviours of older people in their later years of life. Drawing from the earlier work of Gubrium (2002), Featherstone and Hepworth (1993) say that old age is a mask on the face of a body that conceals the essential identity of the person underneath, and that although the external appearance is changing with age, the essential identity is not. Consequently one may be surprised by the fact that one looks different from the unchanging image in one's mind (Powell & Longino, 2002). Continuity theory concentrates on the great tendency of human nature to continue one's inner values and lifestyle into the later years of life. Atchley, the main exponent of continuity theory states that;

“in making an adaptive choice, middle-aged and older people attempt to preserve and maintain existing internal and external structures; and they prefer to accomplish this objective by utilising strategies tied to their past experience of themselves and their social world” (Atchley, 1989).

Continuity theory has its basis in the construction and reconstruction of internal (psychological) and external (sociological) entities, and shows how continuity in human temperament and behaviour is maintained through interaction between the two. Continuity theory is postulated in

three different subsections: internal continuity, external continuity, and the adaptive capacity of the aged. However, in association with leisure issues, only the external subsection, which includes the leisure patterns of the aged, will be discussed here.

External continuity

External continuity refers to all the social activities a person stays in after retirement. Within societies there are structures which are essentially resistant to change, and in this sense, it could be argued, they constitute social continuities. Individuals need continuity to a lesser or greater extent, depending on factors such as age, gender, education, wealth, vested interests, and so on. Social and cultural continuities can be chosen according to an individual's tastes, such as comfortable patterns of behaviour that give individuals a sense of security and personal control. There is a high correlation between the rate of social and cultural change, and it seems that resistance always exists at the same time. In times when the members of a society feel that change is 'out of control', it is likely that the desire for continuity will become more extreme, resulting in backward-looking idealisations of the past (Preston, 2008). This is the type of continuity most often found when focusing on the social arrangements and lifestyles of the aged. External continuity seems to underscore two overviews of the type of life people want. The first view emphasises opportunities and lifestyle decisions which involve choosing

from a set of positively valued alternatives, while the second view emphasises constraints, and attempts to construct the most positive lifestyle possible within the cultural or social limitations. In short, people tend to make the best choices possible and they become motivated to preserve whatever they have chosen because this then becomes their customary way of adapting. From mid-life onwards, lifestyle usually represents the maintenance and continuation of patterns that have been constructed gradually over a period of time. Although people seem to need both alteration and continuity, the need for change becomes less necessary as they grow older (Iso-Ahola, 1980).

Following the premises of the external continuity subsection of continuity theory, in Atchley's research, *Continuity and Adaptation in Ageing* (1999), 28 different everyday leisure activities have been tested along with the socio-economic and internal factors. The theory's claim is that any continuity in 28 different leisure activities will be not just the result of inertia or habit; the respondent's level of activity will have been most definitely influenced by his or her prior activity levels.

Atchley's research shows that the activity level in 1975 was the prime predictor of the 1977 activity level. Self-confidence in 1975 also contributed significantly to explaining the variation in 1977 activity levels. Predictors for the 1979 activity levels were the 1977 activity level,

1977 self-confidence, and 1977 self-rated health scores. As predictors of the 1981 activity level, only the previous activity levels, gender and education were significant factors. The predictors of the 1991 activity level were the 1981 activity level, age, gender, and 1981 self-rated health. In 1995 the significant predictors of the activity level were the 1991 activity level, age, and 1991 self-rated health (Atchley, 1999) (pp 35-52).

Self-confidence was a persistent predictor of activity level, being significant in the two initial intervals examined. However, independent of the previous activity level, it was also an important determinant of activity level, though the casual order of the variables could not be clearly established. High self-confidence is probably a prerequisite for a high activity level. In addition, previous good health was a significant independent predictor of activity level in 1991 and 1995. This suggests that, as the panel aged, health constrained activities. For example, age negatively influenced the activity level in some of the activities, and current self-confidence was a significant predictor of activity level in the early stages of the panel survey. Combined, these factors accounted for a large proportion, around 66%, of the variation in activity levels, which is a high degree of association in survey research involving social and psychological variables.

Another important finding was that continuity in overall activity levels

was often achieved by balancing increases and decreases in specific activity types. As the age of the panel increased, the mean activity level dropped. In this context, it is important that more than 50 percent of the panel showed continuity in their activity levels. More than two-thirds of the panel reported continuity in reading, visiting friends, visiting their children and grandchildren, and attending church prayers etc. In terms of levels of continuity, the “often” category exhibited high continuity, and out of the three different types this was the most common pattern across the leisure activities that were tested (Atchley, 1999). The three types were often, occasionally, and never.

Life satisfaction after retirement

Definition of life satisfaction

The notion of life satisfaction has been cultivated and refined since the development of the ‘Seniors’ Living Satisfaction Index’ which was introduced by Havighurst, Neugarten, and Tobin in 1963. The term, “living satisfaction” has been alternatively called “morale” and “happiness”, until there was a major reconstruction of the term by George (1979).

George (1979) insisted that the terms morale and happiness should be separated and reclassified into three different concepts. In short, morale

refers to courage, training, conviction, enthusiasm, and volition to endure tribulation. The term happiness refers to pleasant transient feelings that one feels at the moment. The term, life satisfaction was refined as a subjective assessment of the degree of achievement in comparison with what a person expected to achieve.

However, Horley (1984) defined life satisfaction as a broader notion which includes both morale and happiness. He also insisted that the term, life satisfaction, which was defined by George (1979), should include an assessment of the living condition in the present situation as well as in the future (Henry, 2004). Medley (1976) views life satisfaction as an important variable that determines the psychological health of an individual, and it is also viewed as an emotion that results from a sense of fulfilment which derives from interacting with others.

Starting in the late-1970s, psychological and sociological studies on living satisfaction began to bend towards subjective well-being. Searle (2008) has insisted that subjective well-being is a measure of an individual's perceived level of well-being. It is often assessed in surveys by asking individuals how satisfied they are with their own lives, and could be used as a synonym for subjective happiness and satisfaction. Searle (2008) has also insisted that well-being is a slightly a broader term compared to satisfaction and happiness, and that there are many more

components relevant to well-being. Consequently, other factors as well as living conditions which influence subjective well-being have been studied. Subjective well-being can also be divided into two different categories, which are cognitive and emotional dimensions. The cognitive dimension refers to the degree of life satisfaction derived from comparing a person's expectation, desire or hope against a reference group. The emotional dimension refers to both positive and negative emotional experiences. However, the emotional dimension is not a matter of either/or. People who experience positive emotion do not necessarily experience no negative emotion. Rather, these two emotions can co-exist in everyday life, and when the positive emotion is relatively dominant rather than the negative emotion, one could say that the person has higher life satisfaction (Hills & Argyle, 2002).

As described above, definitions of life satisfaction are diverse. Generally, it seems, the concept should include subjective experience, both positive and negative emotions, and experiences from everyday life including family and work life (Searle, 2008).

Factors influencing life satisfaction

Work performs two vital functions for people in general: social and economic. Before retirement, the degree of life satisfaction might be centred on one's work and socio-economic status. However, the degree of

life satisfaction after retirement is mainly derived from activities complementing the loss of work-related socialising and economic factors. The moment a person steps out of his/her occupational role, he/she steps into the world of full-time leisure. As the lifestyles of retired seniors are continuously affected by socio-economic factors that they can no longer control, they must find a sense of satisfaction in life from their everyday leisure activities. However in Korea most of the research conducted on the relationship between socio-economic factors and leisure activities has been more concerned with their effect on leisure satisfaction rather than life satisfaction.

Searle (2008) conducted a UK study on the effects of socio-economic factors and leisure satisfaction on general life satisfaction. In his research on subjective well-being among the BHPS (British Household Panel Survey) sample, it turned out that such socio-economic factors as income as well as leisure satisfaction, which mainly derived from the amount, intensity and frequency of leisure participation, significantly influenced the degree of life satisfaction. Hence, the variables affecting life satisfaction after retirement can be categorised into two different groups: first, socio-economic variables that influence everyday leisure activities, and second the degree of participation in the activities. It seems quite certain that both socio-economic factors and leisure factors will have considerable impacts on the social and economic aspects of life

satisfaction of retired seniors. Therefore, the degree of importance they both have for life satisfaction after retirement needs to be further analysed.

First of all, the degree of participation in leisure activities after retirement may influence the sense of happiness among the elderly. Among all the theories of ageing, activity theory and continuity theory have received the most attention as regards influencing the pattern of leisure participation and life satisfaction of the elderly. The main idea of activity theory is that the aged may sense satisfaction and fulfilment in life when they maintain a satisfactory level of activities (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2004). Moreover, Kelly & Steinkamp (1986) argue that positive attitudes towards life increase as the elderly increase their leisure activities. The most plausible theory of all is perhaps the continuity theory. A sense of life satisfaction felt by the aged can be achieved through their lifelong customary activities that connect their past with the present, so giving them a sense of completeness. Continuity is not necessarily based on the complete absence of change. It allows some degree of change so as to provide room to adapt to new situations (Atchley, 1993). Therefore, people need both continuity and change, but the need for change decreases as they get older.

Other than the continuity or discontinuity of leisure activities which

influence the life satisfaction of the aged, the type of leisure activities also seems to have a significant impact. Activity types seem closely related to the life satisfaction of different age groups. Jung (2011) found out that there was a casual relationship between participation in sports and leisure satisfaction. Gordon, et al. (1976) also found that sports activities had a stronger influence on the subjective well-being of seniors than non-sports leisure activities. Sports and travelling are potentially important leisure activities for the aged between 55 and 64 years old in Korea, and taking part in local cultural arts, and travelling, may be important activities for those aged between 65 and 74, and research elsewhere has found that participation is related to a heightening of life satisfaction in the later years (Kelly and Steinkamp, 1987). In other words, most of the leisure activities influencing life satisfaction should be structured and should contain active and social elements (Esteve et al, 1999). Yang's (2005) study revealed that leisure pastimes such as drinking, watching television and playing board games had an inverse relationship with life satisfaction. On the other hand, active and social activities such as outdoor activities, participating in local events, spiritual life, meeting friends etc. had a positive relationship with the life satisfaction of retired seniors. The results of Yang's study were consistent with the study of Ward (1979). He found that simply hanging around with seniors of the same age did not promote satisfaction with life. The types of leisure activities that played a crucial part in heightening life

satisfaction for the elderly were relatively active, and the participants showed much higher degrees of life satisfaction than the elderly who simply spent time playing card games.

Leisure activities and life satisfaction of the aged are reported to be influenced by socio-economic factors (Bultena & Wood, 1970). Some of the relevant works are as follows. Looking into the relationship between socio-economic factors and life satisfaction, Kim & Yoo's (1994) study reported that such socio-demographic factors as sex, marital status, years of education, and attending regular social gatherings had a direct influence on the life satisfaction of the elderly. Lee (2006) also presented interesting findings on education and its effects on life satisfaction, showing that the elderly with a relatively high degree of education had a higher degree of life satisfaction. Jeong's (2003) research indicated that the elderly with high school education showed a higher degree of life satisfaction than the elderly with lower education. Yoon and Gang (2000) found that years of education and occupation types had significant effects on the degree of life satisfaction. According to Park (2004), in terms of widowhood and its relationship with life satisfaction, the elderly living with their spouses had the higher life satisfaction. Jung (2003) argued that factors such as health, income and education have effects on life satisfaction also. In another investigation carried out by Myungji University (2005), the effects of health and chronic disease upon life

satisfaction were indicated.

Conceptual framework and hypotheses

Socio-economic variables and life satisfaction

The most widely used theories, as well as those giving the most distinctive explanations of the elderly's lifestyles in contemporary societies, are disengagement theory, activity theory, and continuity theory. One of the commonalities which the three theories share is their quest for a distinctive pattern in the elderly's leisure activities after retirement. First, disengagement theory offers an explanation of the elderly disengaging from society after retirement, and gradually preparing for eventual death, suggesting that a large part of their former lifestyles, including most of their leisure activities, will be dropped. On the other hand, activity theory opens up the case for the elderly, after retirement, taking part in more leisure activities than before so as to fill the time accruing from the loss of their occupations. Finally, continuity theory has quite a similar approach to activity theory in terms of the elderly maintaining activity levels and filling the surplus time derived from occupation loss, but in a rather different way. The philosophical foundation of the theory comes from the domain assumption that the internal and external dispositions of the elderly cannot be remoulded in a click of time. Rather, the slow and gradual alterations which have been

made over their lifetimes alongside changes in their psychological and physical states show a great deal of continuity amid the changes that follow retirement. According to the claims of the three theories, a new set of leisure activities, and overall decrease, or an overall increase involving continuity or change might be observed.

The three theories of ageing and life satisfaction give an indication of certain relationships between leisure participation and the quality of life. Activity theory and continuity theory pay significant attention to the elderly's leisure activities. According to Hooyman and Kiyak (2004), activity theory asserts that people will be happiest and most content with their lives in direct proportion to maintaining satisfactory levels and types of activity as they grow older. Kelly and SteinKamp (1987) provided evidence that an increase in leisure activities in later life results in a happier attitude after retirement. However, the most convincing theory amongst all three seems to be continuity theory. It asserts that the well-being of the elderly can be achieved by maintaining their own individual styles and types of leisure activity as well as their relationships with others which have been cultivated and have persisted over long periods of time throughout their lives. This allows the elderly to maintain a sense of integrity and continuity with their pasts. However, the term 'continuity' which might seem to mean just "carrying on", does not mean that there is no room for alteration. Atchley (1993), insists that continuity allows

adaptation to new circumstances with an open-ness to some change, which therefore may not jeopardise older adults' quality of life. In addition to Atchley's theory, Iso-Ahola (1980) has argued that people need both continuity and change throughout life with a tendency for the need for change to lessen in the later years.

Riddick (1986) has insisted that levels of leisure activity may be better predictors of retirement satisfaction than health or income. Leisure activity levels are said to be pivotal in predicting retirement satisfaction and well-being among the elderly. A few studies can be found which have looked at these types of relationships, and it seems that participation in certain activities has a stronger relation with retirement satisfaction than participating in other activities (Esteve et al., 1999). According to Esteve et al (1999), the activities which have stronger associations with retirement satisfaction seem to be social, outdoor, and sports activities. Additionally, Caldwell & Smith (1994) argue that activities related to memberships in voluntary associations, and participating actively in them, show a positive relationship to retirement satisfaction among older adults. Therefore, to detect the specific types of leisure activities associated with life satisfaction of the Korean elderly is among this study's objectives.

In terms of uncovering the relationship between life satisfaction and socio-economic factors, leisure could be a more significant variable

influencing life satisfaction than other socio-economic variables. Accordingly, the outcomes of this research may suggest that, irrespective of other socio-economic factors, continuity in everyday leisure activities among the elderly after retirement increases their life satisfaction, as stated in continuity theory. The task of the research is to investigate the effects of socio-economic factors on the leisure patterns of the elderly after retirement, and the relationship between the elderly's leisure activities and life satisfaction. Built upon the theoretical background outlined above, the hypotheses are stated below.

First, continuity will be the most common feature of leisure activity after retirement. Second, socio-economic factors such as income, occupation, education, cohabitation, and disability will have an influence on the elderly's leisure activity patterns. Third, socio-economic factors will influence life satisfaction after retirement. 1) Higher income and education will increase life satisfaction after retirement. 2) White-collar employees and individuals who held managerial jobs will have higher life satisfaction than former blue-collar workers after retirement. 3) The elderly who live with someone will have higher life satisfaction than the elderly living alone. 4) The elderly with disabilities will have lower life satisfaction than the elderly without a disability. Fourth, leisure patterns as well as socio-economic factors will have an influence on retirement life satisfaction. Fifth, each leisure activity will have a different degree of

influence on the factors comprising life satisfaction.

Chapter Three: Research Methods

In this chapter, the study's research methods will be explained. In the previous chapter, the theoretical background of the research was presented. Disengagement, continuity, and activity theories were examined along with the contemporary Korean demographic situation. Additionally, the state of knowledge about the leisure and life satisfaction of elderly people after retirement was reviewed.

This study is concerned with the relationship between the above theories, the leisure, quality of life and the life satisfaction of the elderly, and the research had a cross-sectional design. This design studies a sample at one point in time and describes a population at the time of the study. This design is commonly used in social research in conjunction with the survey method (Robson, 2002). It is quite straightforward and simple to use. As the independent variables and dependent variables coexist, and the pattern of their relationship is of interest, this method seems to suit survey research. However, this survey method has weaknesses. One of the trickiest is that external factors are hard to control, and may be responsible for variations between different groups. Labowitz and Hagedorn (1981) have argued that surveys have a high degree of representativeness but only a low degree of control over extraneous

factors. Sometimes the data can be affected by the characteristics of the respondents such as their memory, knowledge, experience, motivation, personality and so on (Robson, 2002). However, it seems that no method is perfect and each research method has its advantages and disadvantages. Its limitations can be overcome by combining multiple methods which can be complementary to each other, or by controlling other factors (Labovitz and Hagedorn, 1981). In this research a combination of methods was adopted to remedy the weaknesses of each. A large number of research projects still use a single type of research method, but it is not uncommon to use a combination. Babbie (2005) argues that combining more than one is best since each design provides a different perspective on the subject. Hence, in this research a combination of data collection methods was employed in order to make up for the weak points in each method. Kirk & Miller (2006) has argued that a combination of different methods strengthens empirical evidence in social science. Campbell and Fiske (1959) propose that a combination in which the strengths of one compensate for the weaknesses of another within the combination of methods can be called methodological triangulation. Applying a combination of methods, methodological triangulation, this research used both a structured survey questionnaire and semi-structured interviews with some of the elderly who had participated in the questionnaire survey. Additionally, documents and government records as secondary sources were used as appropriate from time to time.

As stated above, the research for this thesis was a cross-sectional snapshot. A panel design might have been favoured given the aim of the research which was to study how people's leisure and life satisfaction changed from before to after retirement, but this was out of the question within the time and other resources at the researcher's disposal. In any case, there were advantages in using a sample of different ages, who had retired up to 30 years before the date of the investigation. A major problem with the design chosen was that it required respondents to recall their pre-retirement leisure activities and life satisfaction. However, the form of the questions that was used was specifically designed to elicit whether the respondents believed that their involvement in different kinds of leisure had increased, remained much the same or decreased, and likewise the different indicators of life satisfaction that were used.

The elderly and Gang-Nam district

The subjects in this research were the elderly in Seoul, the capital of Korea. More specifically, the subjects were the elderly in the Gang-Nam area. However, the definitions of the key terms 'elderly' and 'Gang-Nam' could be too loose, so the operational definitions of these words must be set forth. A person could be classified as an elderly when he/she has grandchildren, feels physical changes related to ageing, or retires from an occupation which brings in income. However, it is hard to define the

exact criteria when dealing with a large group of people who are all “old”. So it was necessary to adopt clear criteria to classify the elderly, and in practice it made sense to fall back on chronological age.

In 1889, Germany was the first country to adopt the old-age social insurance system which was designed by the chancellor, Otto Von Bismark. He wrote to the emperor of Germany; “. . . *those who are disabled from work by age and invalidity have a well-grounded claim to care from the state*”. The age was set as 65 at that time and has remained 65 ever since. Other European countries followed suit and adopted the same age limit. However, this research was concerned with Korea, and it seemed necessary to understand the meaning of “old-age” in Korea. This country does not have an official classification of “old-age” since different government departments adopt different age groups for their policies. However, a Korean survey group, Gallup Korea (2008), carried out research and most of the respondents perceived the old age period as starting at the time of a decline in health, and when children had grown up and married. Also, the majority of the Koreans thought that old age could start at any time from age 50 onwards. Therefore, for this study, the elderly age limit was set at 50 through to 84. Those 85 and over are called the ‘oldest-old’, and are likely to experience frailty, illness and dependence in comparison to ‘younger-old’ people (Tomassini et al., 2004; Grundy & Sloggett, 2003; Coulthard, 2006). Accordingly, they are

more likely to be 'looked after' rather than being able to participate in any type of independent leisure activity. Therefore, the elderly age boundary in this study was between 50 and 84 years of age.

The study also required that the research subjects should be registered as residents of Seoul and have the right to vote in a general election. Additionally, the elderly must have lived in the same house for a minimum period of one year. The reason for this was that the respondents who had moved recently (maybe into a slightly better house) could have been more satisfied, or might have felt more dislocated and dissatisfied, than those who had been living in the same place for a longer period of time (Schorr, 1970). Lawton (1980) has argued that evaluations of the elderly's housing reflect their familiarity with that housing. Accordingly, it could affect their life satisfaction. Hence the requirement for the research subjects to have lived at the same address for a minimum of one year.

The Metropolitan City of Seoul was selected for the research for practical and methodological advantages. Firstly, Seoul is the capital city of South Korea and as in many other developing countries, this city dominates the country in economic, political and cultural respects, attracting people from different rural areas. As a result, almost a half of the entire Korea population of 48.5 million resides in the metropolitan area of Seoul today

(KNSO, 2008). The diverse character of the population in Seoul allowed the researcher to gain access to different socio-economic groups within this population – groups with different lifestyles and different living conditions, for example. Secondly, the researcher’s familiarity with the Seoul region, especially Gang-Nam district, facilitated all stages of the field study. Familiarity and ease of access are always key considerations when collecting data. Also the Gang-Nam area of Seoul, where the researcher had lived for more than 20 years, allowed for the use of detailed local knowledge and the chance to introduce an ethnographical dimension to the research.

The Gang-Nam district is located in the southern part of Seoul, 40-60 minutes by metro from the city centre. It has a population of just over half a million and is rated the third most densely populated region in Korea. Until the 1970s the Gang-Nam district remained agricultural land. Then in 1971 the city government planned to re-locate 50% of the Seoul population to the Gang-Nam district so as to reduce the population’s density (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 1991). At present, the purpose-built residential area has a well-planned road network, and is packed with new buildings, mostly high-rise apartment blocks, in a pleasant though congested environment with very little open space, and provides easy access to local amenities. It has grown to become the most affluent district in Seoul. The area is highly populated partly because the most

sophisticated primary and secondary education services in Korea are available there, which induces many people with children try to re-locate to this area.

Gang-Nam is definitely not a microcosm of present-day Korea. This is a country which has modernised only since the 1960s. It has people who lead first world lives at work and leisure, and others whose living conditions and ways of life remain traditional. We shall see as the evidence from this research is presented that there are different income levels and types of employment among the Gang-Nam residents, but overall the Gang-Nam population is better-employed and generally much better-off than the entire Seoul population, not to mention the rest of Korea. In 2007 in Gang-Nam 31.1% of the incomes from employment were in excess of £2500 per month against just 16.9% across the whole of Seoul. Apartments cost an average of £5007 per square metre in Gang-Nam, more than twice the amount in any other part of Seoul (KNSO, 2008). Despite its atypical features, Gang-Nam was suited to the purposes of this study. There are senses in which the district and its residents can be regarded as prototypical: they are the new industrial and post-industrial Koreans. It is likely that in future decades conditions present in Gang-Nam at the time of this research will become more widespread throughout Korea. Policy implications drawn from this study are therefore likely to be appropriate for the future Korea. One would expect

levels of both leisure activity and life satisfaction to be higher in Gang-Nam than throughout Korea as a whole, but there are no reasons to believe that the relationships between leisure and life satisfaction would be entirely different elsewhere.

Sampling

“Sampling is an important aspect of life in general and enquiry in particular. We make judgements about things on the basis of fragmentary evidence. Sampling considerations pervade all aspects of research no matter what research strategy or investigatory technique we use” (Robson, 2002. Real World Research, 260:8-10).

Sampling is a deliberate selection of units or individuals that represent the whole based upon which extended conclusions are drawn. The sample is supposed to be as representative as possible and it can be generalised onto the population as a whole. Two forms of sampling methods are widely used in the social sciences, which can be distinguished as non-probability sampling, otherwise known as purposive or judgmental sampling, and probability sampling. The former depends on the researcher to judge which sample should be selected and chosen for relevance, typicality and interest (Miller & Kirk, 1986). This method has several advantages such as being inexpensive, useful when a population is so widely dispersed that random sampling would not be efficient, when a sampling frame is not available, and so on. In contrast, probability sampling requires a relatively large amount of money and time which is a major disadvantage in research conducted by a single researcher with a

limited budget and time. Also it needs an explicit sampling frame - a list of the entire study population (Henry, 2004). Non-probability sampling, however, does have its downside. Kalton (1983) expressed his concerns that non-probability sampling covers a variety of procedures, including the purposive choice of a sample on the ground that they are purportedly representative of the population. He further argued that the most serious weakness of this method is its subjectivity. Nevertheless, Labowitz and Hagedorn (1981) argue that the weakness of this method can be overcome by means of combining multiple methods. Therefore, the most appropriate method that suited this study seemed to be non-probability sampling.

The sample of elderly people in this research was selected in two stages. The first stage involved selecting elderly centres from which, in the second stage, users were then approached. In addition, since the centres were not being used by all elderly persons, other respondents were obtained by approaching groups in open spaces where the elderly congregated during daytimes. These procedures are described in more detail below.

An alternative approach would have been to select apartment blocks, then canvas to locate retired persons. Such a sample would have been more

representative. The methods actually used excluded the elderly who remained at home all day. However, the option of canvassing was rejected: elderly persons might have felt threatened, especially those who were at home alone, when visited by a stranger for purposes that they could not understand. Approaching the elderly in groups avoided these problems.

Questionnaire survey

Fowler (2009) argues that good questions maximise the relationship between the answers recorded and what the researcher is trying to measure. This is called 'validity'. The key consideration is that the collected data should have a predictable relationship with the facts or subjective states that are of interest. Bearing this in mind, considering the importance of the instrument to be used in the research, great care was taken in designing one of the tools that was employed - a structured questionnaire.

Firstly, on the cover of the questionnaire, it started by introducing the researcher and his contact details. It also included a brief explanation of the purpose of the study and assurance of the confidentiality of the respondent's identity. Secondly, the age and gender of the respondent were asked. Age was measured utilising the '*mahn*' age which is the exact age used in Europe and other Western countries. Korea uses a different

age measuring system where a baby is one year old when born. Thereafter, if a lunar New Year passes, another year is added. For instance, if the present date is 18th of February, 2010 and a baby was born on the 19th of August, 2008, in the West the baby would be one-and-a-half years old. However, in Korea it would be one on the day he/she was born, two in the lunar New Year of 2009, and would turn three after the lunar New Year in 2010. Therefore, a baby who is one in the West can be three years old in Korea. Accordingly, there is always some confusion between the 'real' age and the Korean age. The researcher decided to ask the respondent's age initially by its animal symbol to calculate the exact age, since the respondents were mostly elderly and some of them were unable to identify their 'correct' ages. Fortunately, all the respondents knew their animal symbol and the exact age could be recorded. For explanation, as in the Chinese Zodiac, there are 12 animals representing the year of birth which are rat, cow, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, chicken, dog, and pig. After the researcher had asked the symbol of the year of birth, and calculated the year he/she was born, the exact age was recorded. At the top of the questionnaire, a serial number was inserted for the researcher to code the data easily, along with the date and place.

In the structured questionnaire, the questions had to be carefully considered since there are no hard and fast criteria for structuring a questionnaire. According to Oppenheim (1992), the most important

things to consider are the small details in the words. The alternative words that can be used, and the position of the questions within a questionnaire, can make a difference to how people answer. An aim is always to maximise validity, but this can never be guaranteed when respondents are asked for details about their occupations, incomes, leisure activities, or anything else. Researchers always need to be aware that there can be a difference between what people say and what they actually do, and between how they say they feel and how they really feel. Hoinville & Jowell (1978) argue that the extent to which subjective measures are unreliable will reduce the validity of these measures, but even the most reliable measures may be invalid. Therefore to maximise validity, the small details had to be thought over. Also, to improve the reliability and simplicity of the questionnaire, a well-known scale was used. Moser & Kalton (1985) argue that the Likert scale is a highly reliable and simple method. Bowling (1997) also argues that “.....*the finer the distinctions that can be made between subjects' responses, the greater the precision of the measure.*” For example, rather than asking a person to simply agree or disagree with a statement, which can yield only two responses, it is preferable to ask the respondent to indicate their opinion on a continuum of agreement. For instance, ‘strongly disagree, disagree, no opinion, agree or strongly agree’ (Likert, 1952).

Within the questionnaire, job type, education level, retirement age, retirement type, health state, income and cohabitation were recorded.

Additionally, leisure activities were measured. The 20 different leisure activities which were used in the questionnaire were measured on a five point Likert scale which was separated into two categories of before retirement and after retirement. The before and after brackets were placed right next to each other for convenience and quick comparison which was useful for both the researcher and the subjects. Respondents were asked whether they had done each activity almost never, rarely, sometimes, often, or quite often before and since retiring from employment. It was up to each respondent to decide what was meant by 'rarely', 'often' and so on. Different respondents are likely to have interpreted these terms in different ways. A frequency of participation which was 'often' to one person might have been 'quite often' to another. However, the main issue in the research was how leisure behaviour had changed since retirement, and the assumption in the questions was that the meaning that each individual attributed to 'rarely' and so on would be constant in answering for before and following retirement. This method of questioning was considered preferable to asking respondents to try to recall exactly how often they had done things prior to retirement, which could have been anything up to 30 years previously.

The 20 different leisure activities were grouped according to Edgington, Compton and Hanson's classification of the elderly's leisure activities.

According to Edgington, Compton and Hanson (1990), leisure activities for the elderly can be divided into art, home-based, sports, outdoors, hobbies, social recreation, and group social activities. Therefore, representative activities from each of these seven categories were taken from the Korean National Leisure Conditions Survey that had been conducted by the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Tourism (MCST, 2008b). There had been previous studies of elderly welfare policy in Korea, and a few small scale investigations in the leisure and elderly life satisfaction area. Since the government intervened, this research has taken-off at the national level, but at the time when the research for this thesis was being planned, the National Leisure Conditions Survey was the first and only survey that dealt with the leisure activities of different age groups at a national level. Therefore, this sole officially approved national scale research, the Korean National Leisure Conditions Survey, was the one that was taken into account in developing the research instruments in this study. Since there had previously been relatively little leisure research in Korea, this could be a weakness compared to advanced leisure research countries such as the UK and other Western countries. However, in the future, when more research has been done in this and similar fields, the situation will change for future researchers in Korea.

This ministry started what is now a series of national surveys in 2006 .Since it was then at a starting stage, the research needed a list of

leisure activities that each age group participated in. An initial set of leisure activities for people aged over 50 was taken from Strain, Grabusic, Searle and Dunn (2002). This information has been obtained over the phone after calling the person in charge of the Korean National Leisure Conditions Survey, Dr. So Young Yun.

Activities were then added or taken out to reflect Korean specificities. For example, in card games, the older generation in Korea are not familiar with blackjack or poker therefore these have been changed to *Hwatu* and *Janggi* etc. Also, since Korea's residential pattern is more in apartments than houses with gardens, gardening was put in as an indoor hobby since Koreans grow their plants indoors in pots or on a veranda. Korea's public baths or *Jjimgilbangs* have also been added.

With respect to home-based activities, reading newspapers, religious activities, watching television, watching movies and drama, using the computer, and watching videos were included. As to sports activities, playing sports and using the public baths were included. For outdoor activities, taking a stroll, going for a picnic, touring and travelling were included. For artistic activities, listening to music, singing, dancing, and playing musical instruments were included. Hobbies included all domestic hobbies and shopping. In social recreation, drinking alcohol and meeting friends were included. Finally, in group social activities, going to

social welfare centres and participating in local events were included (see Appendix B). Details on how these questions were analysed are provided when the results are presented in chapter 4.

In the latter part of the questionnaire, the life satisfaction of the elderly was probed. Hypotheses such as, 'The elderly who live with someone will have a higher degree of life satisfaction than the elderly living alone', and 'The elderly with a disability will have a lower degree of life satisfaction than the elderly without a disability', were tested via the life satisfaction section of the questionnaire. Baltes and Baltes (1990), Fisher (1995), and Kim (1999) have all argued that biological health, mental health, cognitive efficacy, social competence, productivity, personal growth and control, interaction with others, sense of purpose, self-acceptance, subjective wellbeing, positive self-image, and self-confidence, are the characteristics of successful ageing. Therefore 10 life satisfaction questions, suited to Korean conditions, one representing each of these conditions for successful ageing, were drafted by the researcher for the purposes of this study (see Appendix B).

Since the questionnaire was initially constructed based on the researcher's hunches, its appropriateness had to be assessed. Cronbach (1951) argued that reliability refers to the accuracy, consistency or dependability of a measuring technique, and Kerlinger & Howard (1999)

more specifically suggested that validity is the absence of errors between the true score and the observed score. Minimisation of error is the key factor in any research instrument. According to both Miller & Kirk (1986) and Oppenheim (1992), broadly there are three ways to estimate the reliability of a measure. These are test-retest reliability, inter-rater reliability, and inter-item reliability. The first method is to test the consistency of the respondents' responses over time and it is carried out by applying the measurements on two occasions separated by a time interval. The test correlates the two scores. This method is desirable in measures of constructs that are not expected to change over time. For instance, when measuring adults' individual height and measuring again after two years, a very high correlation would be expected. If the result differed considerably, the measurements would be suspected as inaccurate. Also measurements of personality traits such as extroversion could be tested in this way. However, as the elderly's leisure could differ in patterns as well as participation levels, this method was inappropriate.

The second method is also known as inter-observer reliability, and measures the consistency of two or more sets of responses to the same stimuli. This method's tests are most desirable when the measurements are collected through observation methods. For instance, if there is a classroom of children watching a movie and two or more observers want

to measure a certain pattern of change in their behaviour with a scale of 1 to 5, and if each independent observer grades them accordingly, one of the observers could give 1 and the other observer could give 5 to the same behaviour of the same child. This would mean that the measurement in use lacked reliability. This procedure was both unnecessary and inapplicable in a project where all the fieldwork had to be conducted by the same researcher.

Finally, inter-item reliability measures phenomena through two or more items, and this is the most widely used method among the three. When several items are to be combined to construct a single measure, this method is the only one to perform such a task. Since the researcher had to measure each respondent's life satisfaction and leisure participation, which required measuring the same items repeatedly and combining the responses into composite measurements, inter-item reliability seemed to be the most appropriate method. Inter-item reliability can be tested using correlation, split-half reliability, or computing Cronbach's Alpha coefficient (Oppenheim, 1992). Correlation calculates scores item by item, and items which do not score positive are discarded. The split-half method divides a series of questions into two parts and calculates the relationship between them. However, the most widely used and most appropriate method for this study was Cronbach's Alpha reliability test.

This interprets how much one item correlates with all the other possible items measuring the same thing. It produces results between 0 which represents perfect unreliability and 1 representing perfect reliability. Cronbach's Alpha coefficient was used to measure the stability, consistency and predictability of various sections of the survey questionnaire. Here there needed to be a requirement for the reliability level. According to Cronbach (1951), coefficients that are lower than 0.5 are considered relatively unreliable and the measure could pose a potential threat to the study. Bowling (1997), on the other hand, suggests that the recommended score should be higher than 0.6. In social science, there is no absolute level for reliability, but 0.6 and above is commonly accepted as reliable. Therefore, this study adopted 0.6 as its criterion.

In the reliability test of the 20 leisure activities, the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient value was 0.846 (see appendix C). In the reliability test the number of items was 40 because each variable had two categories which were before and after retirement. The Cronbach Alpha coefficient exceeded the minimum criterion set in the research which was 0.6, therefore it appeared that the reliability was satisfactory. There are two possible explanations for this extremely high Cronbach score, which means that some respondents answered 'often' or 'quite often' on all the leisure activities, before and after retirement, while other respondents consistently answered less frequently (just 'sometimes' or 'rarely'). One

possible explanation is that involvement in all the types of leisure was governed by a general propensity to participate. It is likely that such a general propensity operated among this sample of older persons. Previous research (see Roberts, 2006 for a summary) has shown that certain socio-demographic groups tend to be more active than others in most kinds of leisure – higher as opposed to lower socio-economic strata, for example. However, another possible explanation is that respondents differed consistently in how they rated given levels of participation. What was ‘often’ to one person could have been ‘sometimes’ to another person. This may well have been the case, and for this reason we should feel more secure in treating intra-person, before and after retirement, comparisons as valid, than inter-person comparisons of levels of leisure participation at given points in time. We can be somewhat more confident in making point in time comparisons between groups of respondents (males and females for example), though this rests on the untestable assumption that there were no consistent variations in the meanings of ‘rarely’ etc between the groups in question.

Along with the 20 leisure activities, the reliability of the 10 life satisfaction items was computed. The Cronbach’s Alpha coefficient was 0.834 which is well above 0.6, therefore the life satisfaction measurement was deemed satisfactory. The number of items tested was 20 for the life satisfaction reliability test for this also had pre- and post- retirement

columns (see Appendix D).

The leisure activities in the questionnaire were grouped using a combination of factor analysis and informed judgment. The seven types identified and used throughout the analysis are a best fit between the groups proposed by Edginton et al (1990) and the outcomes of factor analysis. We have seen above that the Cronbach Alpha for the 20 (10 pre- and the same 10 post-retirement) measurements of leisure activity was very high (.846). As with the life satisfaction questions, there are two possible explanations for this high coefficient. One, and the explanation that is normally assumed, is that all the questions measure a single underlying factor, called life satisfaction or leisure participation. This assumption is entertained throughout the following analysis. However, there is another possibility - that individuals differ in how positively or negatively they rate a given feeling about their lives. Up to now we have no assured way of validating people's statements about their subjective states.

Given the high coefficients, treating 'leisure activity' and 'life satisfaction' as single variables throughout the analysis could be justified. However, Edginton et al's (1990) seven types of leisure activity, and 'components' of life satisfaction which were identified by factor analysis (as explained further in the next chapter) are kept apart in order to see

whether some forms of leisure might be particularly efficacious in boosting life satisfaction, and whether certain components of life satisfaction were especially responsive to particular types of leisure activity.

Administering the questionnaire

Many of the seniors seemed to have difficulty in reading the questionnaire due to being illiterate or having poor eyesight. Therefore, the survey questionnaires were often read out leading to the process becoming an interview-style questionnaire. The negative point was that this could influence the data being collected through an external factor - the researcher himself. It is known that it is impossible to completely control such outer factors as Robson (2002) has argued "*.....as an experiment,it is virtually impossible to withdraw any kind of external effect.....*". Still, it was important for the researcher to be as neutral as possible, and for the subject to be influenced as little as possible by the researcher. The affirmative point, in turn, was that more information could be collected through 'interview-style' questionnaires. Some of the elderly at first refused to write or even look at the questionnaire, and seemed more interested in having a conversation with the researcher. Therefore the researcher had to take part in conversations, mainly listening, about the elderly's children, how they brought them up, difficulties when they were growing up, and other diverse stories about

their lives.

Every research has its difficulties, and in certain cases such as this research, gaining access to a sample could be a challenge. In this research, questionnaires were distributed either in centres or where a large number of elderly gathered together. Gaining access outdoors, approaching an individual, takes rather less effort than contacting facilities. However, since the elderly centres in Gang-Nam cater for a large number of elderly, and also are widespread and heavily utilised by the residents of the area, it was important to include the centres in the data collection. Therefore, prior to the questionnaire survey, it was necessary to visit the facility or elderly centre for the following reasons. Firstly, permission from the person in charge, time and date of visit, purpose of the research etc had to be discussed with the manager of each centre. Second, a small gift which is commonly given after a survey to each participant was to be thought about and discussed with the managers of the centres. Since questionnaire surveys have become common in Korea, people have begun expecting a small return, such as a gift or a small amount of money for their effort. Since the data collection needed planning it was necessary to contact the centres well before the actual date of data gathering. During contact for gaining permission to use the centres, the chairperson of one of the centres asked for a certain amount of money for access to the elderly and the centre, and also suggested that the researcher should give out toiletry

kits to the subjects as well as the staff. The chairperson gave the exact type and brand of the product to be distributed. The researcher did expect to pay a price. Nevertheless, this was a large setback. There was a limit on expenditure and this was one of the barriers that hindered the data collection. Even though Korea has developed rapidly in recent times, still in some cases bribes are part of the way to make deals. This particular centre, however, could not be included in the research: it was too expensive.

The managers of the other centres in this research did not ask for such payoffs. However, a small gift was given to all the subjects. The gift was discussed and chosen at the researcher's suggestion. Items which could awaken positive memories as well as being practical and appropriate for the subjects were sought. The researcher came up with treats of the past and thought of 'red-bean bread' called *Dan-pat-bbang* and milk. From narratives of the 'old people' which the researcher had heard and grown up on, quite a lot of the elderly reminisced and talked about how much they wanted to take a mouthful of *Dan-pat-bbang*.

Elderly centres are common throughout present-day Korea: there are around 57,000 in the entire country and 171 in Gang-Nam alone. It is a requirement in Gang-Nam that there should be one centre per 10,000 of population (KIHASA, 2007). The elderly still command respect in Korea,

which is a legacy of Confucianism. In the past this respect required children to take care of elderly relatives, but today this is often impossible. The modern economy requires many children to move away. When wives work there may be no-one at home during daytimes to care for or otherwise provide company for the elderly. The elderly centres have become a way in which Korea continues to express respect for its seniors. As explained below, these centres are used by most of the elderly, though not by all.

Seven centres were used in this research. One was used in the pilot study and the other six in the main survey. These centres can in no sense be regarded as a sample. They are those that were approached and where the managers agreed to cooperate. There can be no guarantee that these centres supplied a sample of the elderly representative of all seniors in Gang-Nam, but neither are there reasons to believe that the centres themselves were unrepresentative.

Before doing the actual survey, the centres that were to be used were visited a few times. Every morning before going to the contacted centres, the researcher collected the treats and distributed these to the elderly in the centres. Building up rapport was important which meant listening to their stories. At first, distributing gifts such as *Dan-pat-bbang* and milk, snacks, and sometimes Korean traditional rice wine, *Soju*, did take up

time and effort. However, talking with the elderly and giving them treats made the researcher popularly known as 'treat-young man' among the elderly, and some of them said they were waiting for the researcher to come. After building rapport and diminishing the distance between the researcher and subjects, it was easier to collect data in a relaxed atmosphere whilst talking about other topics relevant to the interview as well. At the end of the research in each centre, when the researcher mentioned it was the last day for him to come, some of the elderly showed signs of sorrow and some even wept.

In each of the six centres used for the main survey, questionnaires were distributed to all the elderly users who were available at the time. The actual sample comprises those who completed the questionnaire unaided, and those who agreed to have the questions read and whose answers were recorded by the researcher. Selective non-response will have occurred and will have detracted from the representativeness of the sample. However, this is of only minor consequence since the aim was not to generalise from the findings to any larger population but to explore relationships, specifically between leisure and life satisfaction, within the achieved sample.

As mentioned above, any research will have its own difficulties. In this research some difficulties arose while doing the research. It is considered

unacceptable behaviour in Korea to ask questions while a senior is talking, to correct what a senior says, and to leave a place without permission which is inevitable while doing interviews when the conversation deviates sharply from the schedule. Also during the rapport building process, drinking a lot of alcohol had to be involved. Whilst visiting a centre, the researcher did bring in *Soju* (Korean rice wine), and while building up rapport or friendship, drinking was involved most of the time. Refusing a glass of *soju* given by a senior is considered impolite, and whilst drinking the researcher had to be on bended knee (a way of showing respect to the senior) for the whole time. However, through the whole process, building up rapport further led to semi-structured interviews in some cases.

According to Powney and Watts (1987):

“Interviewers have their shopping list of topics and want to get responses to them, but they have considerable freedom in the sequencing of questions, in their exact wording, and in the amount of time and attention given to different topics.”

As Powney & Watts note, the semi-structured interview is widely used, taking advantage of its flexibility in design and ease of use. The order of the questions can be modified according to the researcher's perception of what seems most appropriate based on the situation. A flexible method seemed to be most appropriate for some of the elderly who were not willing to talk about a particular subject. In these cases the relevant

questions could be omitted and replaced with other questions. During the research, to some of the elderly, the questions on the questionnaire were read out by the researcher. Often this naturally led to a rather comfortable dialogue and resulted in collecting more information, just like an interview. Further interviews were planned on the basis of the questionnaire results in order to gain additional information about the subjects' leisure activities and life satisfaction. Fortunately, the elderly who had retired from their jobs had time to spare for the interviewer, and showed a quite positive attitude towards participating in the survey and carrying-on a dialogue.

Field methods

"A survey is not just a way of collecting data. It is rather a distinct design for systematically collecting and analysing social research data" (Marsh, 1982). Within sociology, data collection can be understood as a way of collecting data for the purpose of describing and predicting relationships between social phenomena. In this respect, data collection is important, especially when it will be processed for the purpose of establishing relationships such as between leisure activities and life satisfaction after retirement. Currently, there is no theoretical framework that is capable of guiding social researchers in matters of data collection. Therefore, the choice of the method largely depends upon a researcher's understanding of the relevant characteristics or interests (Miller, 2007).

Throughout the data collection process, 250 questionnaires were distributed within the Seoul, Gang-Nam district in South Korea during the period of 1st May, 2008 to 31st July, 2008. During the data collection, amongst the 250 questionnaires, 120 of those that were returned fell into the category that the researcher was intending to measure and analyse. Ten of the questionnaires were firstly distributed in a pilot study at the Su-Seo Elderly Centre. However, the response rate was poor and thought to be unsatisfactory. According to Bradburn et al. (1982), if the target population is over 60 years old, it can be assumed that subjects may be ill or easily tired, or with poor eyesight. In addition, if the potential respondents are poorly educated, with reading and writing skills less than good, and if the average levels of interest and motivation are low, it is preferable to adopt a face-to-face method. Therefore, in the main fieldwork, rather than the questionnaires being distributed and collected later, the researcher chose to take them to each individual and built up rapport before asking the subject to start the questionnaire. Furthermore, the face-to-face method had the advantage of providing more information about the research to the subject, thus increasing their curiosity, interest in, and understanding of the research. Even though the method the researcher adopted had disadvantages such as being relatively costly and time consuming compared to other survey methods, the advantages turned out to be: 1) able to respond to the questions that the subject asked,

2) multi-method data collection can be applied such as visual clues and observation, 3) building rapport and confidence, and 4) more time could be spent with each subject.

The data collection took place in several different places which are listed below:

Table 3.1 List of places for the survey work

Questionnaire distribution area	Number of respondents	Date of survey
Gae-Po elderly welfare centre	22	5 May, 2008
Do-San park & Gang-Nam elderly centre	10	8 May, 2008
Saem-Ter-Maeul elderly centre	6	12 May, 2008
Gang-Nam cycling association	10	19 May, 2008
Song-Pa elderly welfare centre	20	28 May, 2008
Yang-Jae stream rest area	22	2 June, 2008
Dae-Chi elderly centre	20	9 June, 2008
Gang-Nam senior club	10	17 June, 2008
Total	120	

The places of research were mainly centres where it is possible to meet a large number of elderly, 50 years old and over, in one place. Additionally, since Gang-Nam district has a large population and a limited amount of space, the best way to accommodate a large number of people was to construct buildings upwards rather than spreading them widely apart. Apartment blocks were the answer for Gang-Nam district so most of the area is dense with medium- and high-rise buildings. As part of the city development and welfare programme, Gang-Nam district also states in its 'Elderly Welfare Policy Act 31', that every set of apartment blocks with a population over 10,000 persons must have a leisure welfare facility for the elderly (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2010). Therefore, these facilities offered a practical way to contact the elderly. The local government of Gang-Nam region runs 171 elderly welfare centres throughout, and the utilisation rate of the centres is 75.6 percent with an almost even gender ratio of 49 percent male and 51 percent female (Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs, 2007). According to research carried out by 'Research Hub Korea', from 2007 to 2008 the weekly attendance rate by users indicated an average of 4.18 days a week for the male elderly aged 50 and over, and 4.30 days for the female elderly. Accordingly, elderly welfare centres were the most practical and convenient places for the data collection, though as indicated in Table 3.1, nearby outdoor sites were also used.

The time estimated to complete a questionnaire was approximately 12 minutes, but this assumed that a respondent was concentrating totally on the questionnaire. In reality, it took 30 to 40 minutes per questionnaire. As the questionnaire was distributed individually, an oral introduction and explanation of the study by the researcher had to follow for some of the respondents. On some occasions, more extended conversations took place with the seniors which prolonged the process.

The data collected from the main survey were numerically coded into an SPSS 17 computer data file for statistical analysis.

At the end of the questionnaire, each individual was asked if he or she was willing to take part in a further interview, and fortunately most of them readily accepted. However, only eight out of the elderly who agreed to take part in the interview were chosen.

Follow-up interviews

These semi-structured interviews were conducted by the researcher with eight elderly people between 20th and 29th June 2008. The interview time ranged from approximately 30 minutes to one hour and the interviews were recorded onto a tape recorder with the permission of the interviewees prior to the interviews. The participants in the interview were carefully selected taking into account: 1) people who were willing

to participate in the study further, 2) those who had higher and lower socio-economic status, and higher and lower leisure activity levels, and 3) those who seemed to have more and fewer friendships than others.

Johnson (1978) argues that due to the uniqueness of the human biography, the process of life history research does not simply involve someone telling one's story but is an interaction between the interviewer and interviewee. The outcome will vary depending on different interviewers at different times. Di Gregorio (1986) also argues that a life history not only recounts the process of a person's life, but also an individual's perspective on that life. Hence, the interview can provide important information about the elderly's lives as seen by the elderly themselves. There was also the advantage in the interviews that more data could be collected focused on a specific respondent's life which led to a better understanding of the situations of the elderly in general.

The interview followed the questionnaire, and was divided into three themes - the background of the subject's life, the role of leisure in their lives, and life satisfaction. The background topics included health status, economic status, employment, daily lifestyle and interest in various activities. However, the focus was on the leisure activities that they used to do and any changes in the pattern after retirement. In addition, their life satisfaction and current thoughts, any regrets, relationships with

friends and families, and present life situations were explored.

The interviews provided the opportunity for the elderly to talk about what was important for them rather than being guided along established paths. For example, during the questionnaire, if one gave a generally negative response to the life satisfaction items, or recorded having less than average leisure time, this could lead the researcher to focus on problems and encourage the elderly to talk about their past and present circumstances. This shifted the focus to what mattered to them. As noted by Oakley (1981), in interviews informants can be allowed to say what they want to say rather than what they think the researcher wants of them. The researcher should be more like a friend rather than a data gatherer (Oakley, 1981). The interviews were carried out at the elderly centre which was nearest to where the subject resided; this was for the convenience of the elderly. The researcher explained in advance his interest in finding out the interviewee's perspective on his/her life. All the interviews were conducted in a relaxed atmosphere. The researcher tried to listen to the meaning behind the interviewees' words rather than fitting them into his own pre-cast theory. After each interview, the researcher made notes about the process, feelings about the interview, and used this information to improve his interview skills for later interviews. Throughout the interviews, the elderly drew pictures of what their lives had been like so far and talked about their life management, relationships

with others etc.

The interviews, which were conducted in Korean, were later translated into English so that this evidence would be available for qualitative analysis in both languages. The interview transcripts were read and re-read for insights into 'processes', namely, how and why the subjects' leisure had changed from pre- to post-retirement, and how any implications for life satisfaction had arisen. In other words, the follow-up interviews were used alongside rather than independently of the quantitative evidence. Sometimes the quantitative evidence suggested explanations of how individuals' lives had unfolded. In other instances the in-depth case studies suggested how relationships in the quantitative evidence had arisen.

Rather than separating each case from the follow-up interviews into sections dealing with work, leisure, life satisfaction and so on, then setting the relevant sections from the eight interviews alongside one another, it was decided to leave each individual case intact. This was so that each slice of evidence could be set in the context of the individual's overall life history. A merit of this treatment is that it displays real lives from which the variables in the quantitative data set had been extracted.

In the following chapters the evidence from the follow-up interviews is

used to construct a bridge between the quantitative evidence in chapters 4 to 7, and the conclusions in chapter 8.

Epistemology and ontology

The author's position is Kantian, meaning that propositions can be known to be true by definition, or by logic, or on the basis of observation and experiment. However, the research reported below is compatible with any epistemological position available in sociology. Readers will treat the evidence and arguments according to their own positions. That said, all research rests on an ontology - currently unprovable assumptions about the world from which evidence has been extracted. This research's most basic underlying assumption is that actors' statements can be treated as valid accounts of their subjective states, behaviour and experiences. This assumption having been stated, the evidence can forthwith be presented at 'face value', though mindful that it all rests on fragile, inherently questionable foundations.

Nothing that follows assumes that the strength of any relationships between variables or events, or their temporal sequence, is proof of causality. This is always attributed theoretically, on the basis of all that is independently known about humans and their societies. Nor is it assumed that the original evidence in this thesis can be extrapolated to any wider population. Wider knowledge of Gang-Nam and Korea, including the

latter's history, culture and current economic, social and political conditions, allows us to suggest findings that are likely to be place and time specific from those likely to have wider purchase, but any such conclusions are equally hypotheses, capable of falsification in subsequent research in Korea or elsewhere.

Ethical issues

It will have become evident above that the fieldwork was conducted throughout in a manner which respected Korean cultural specifics. Doing otherwise would not have been in the project's interest. Beyond this, the research observed ethical standards that are expected throughout present-day sociology.

Conducting ethical research is not easy and there are challenges with every project. When sensitive issues are raised during the research, the situations become tricky. In this project it was essential to respect the subjects' privacy. According to Bryman (2008), just because informed consent is achieved, the participant has not abdicated the right to privacy. The respondent retains the right to refuse to answer any question on sensitive issues such as political opinions, sexuality or their past lives. In this research, asking about issues such as previous income, the subjects' past lifetime experiences, and issues such as the death of loved ones were the areas which were especially sensitive. As stated, it was totally up to

the subjects whether they wanted to reply to such questions and the researcher had to do his best to ensure that the project was carried out in a wholly ethical manner. However, the subjects seemed to trust the researcher throughout and happily replied to the questions. As Bryman (2008, 123) argues, "...the researcher is doing their best when earning trust of those studied by truthfully giving back what was received." In this project, the hard effort devoted to building up rapport and gaining the subjects' trust seemed to be repaid in full.

All the fieldwork was conducted with the subjects' informed consent. The purposes of the research had to be explained to the managers of the elderly centres that were used. They had to agree before any users could be approached. Information about the project was on the front of the questionnaires that were handed to all potential elderly respondents. When individuals did not wish or were unable to read the instrument, the project was explained, and the voluntary nature of their participation was stressed, person-to-person by the researcher.

In order to prevent any damage or embarrassment to any subject, individuals' names have been made anonymous. The names used in the chapters that follow are all fictitious. However, real names are used for Seoul, the part of the city (Gang-Nam) where the research was conducted,

and the elderly centres where the sample was contacted. None of the centre managers requested that their centres should be made anonymous. Using real names lends authenticity to the research without any danger that any evidence that is presented in the following chapters might be traced to known informants.

Chapter Four: Overview of Findings

Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to provide an overview of the findings. As explained in the previous chapter, an age group of 50 to 84 years of age, a total of 120 elderly retired persons who were contacted in eight different places within the Gang-Nam area of Seoul, Korea were sampled for the study. To supplement the information gathered by the structured questionnaire, a later chapter will introduce and analyse the information gathered in the semi-structured interviews carried out in order to obtain a deeper understanding of the perspectives of the elderly.

This chapter starts with a description of the demographic characteristics of the sample in terms of age, gender, previous occupations, education, cohabitation, irregular work, health condition, and income. Their leisure activities are then examined. Throughout, some characteristics of the respondents are discussed in the context of Korean culture. The findings on levels of life satisfaction are also introduced. In subsequent chapters various analytical methods will be used in order to draw out the relationships between the socio-demographic factors, leisure activities and life satisfaction. There are eight independent determinants in the research which are gender, age, education level, occupation, cohabitation

status, work status, health condition, and income. The quality of life factors are: (1) satisfaction with relationships with others, (2) satisfaction with participation, (3) satisfaction with present life conditions, and (4) satisfaction with oneself. All the variables used in the statistical analysis are from the structured questionnaire.

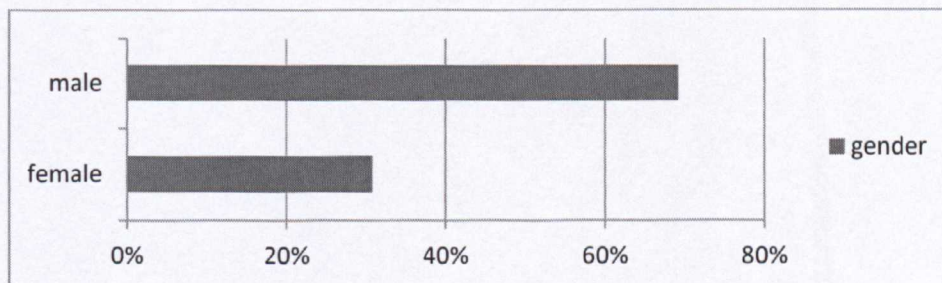
Description

Before testing any hypotheses, a description of the overall characteristics of the respondents is needed for there might otherwise be a danger of neglecting basic and important facts about the context of the research. Accordingly, several characteristics of the sample are discussed hereunder.

Independent variables

Gender

Figure 4.1 Gender of the participants

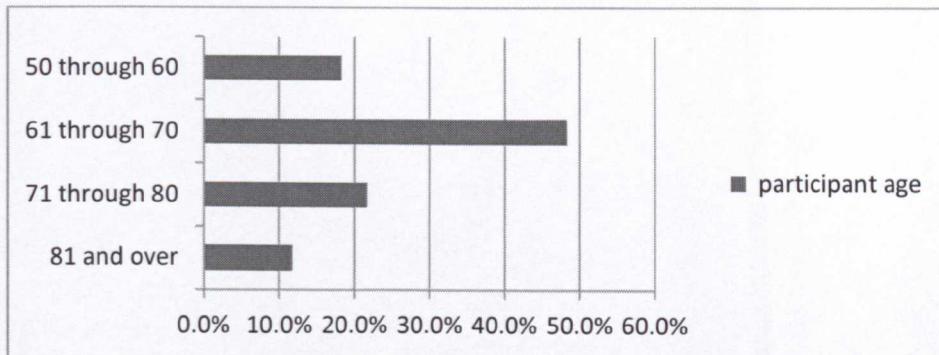


Amongst the sample of 120 subjects, 83 were male and 37 were female representing 69.2% males and 30.8% females respectively. This gender

breakdown of the respondents well represents the characteristics of the previous Korean working population that was highly weighted towards the male. The preponderance of males was intentional. A criterion for inclusion in the sample was that the person had retired from previous employment, and women were included only if they had retired from former occupations. Despite this, as we shall see, some of the women described their occupations as 'housewife'. They evidently regarded 'housewife' as their main work role during their adult lives. In the past the majority of Korean women rarely had a job outside their homes. They either had a part-time job or a full-time job for a short period of time. It was considered a virtue in Korean society in the past that the woman should stay at home, nursing the children, cooking, and serving the parents. Among the 37 female respondents, 29.7% self-described as housewives and the other 70.3% were self-described retirees. This indicates that the main breadwinners in most of the households were the male members.

Age

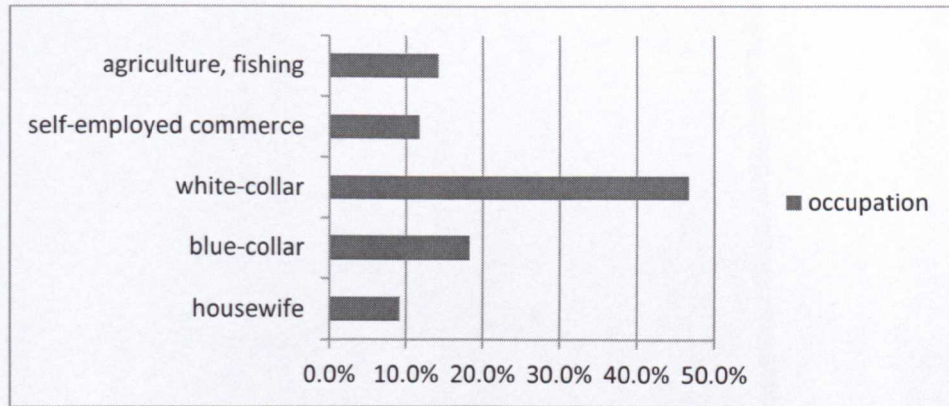
Figure 4.2 Participants' Age Distribution



The ages of the respondents ranged from 52 (born in 1956) to 84 (born in 1924) with a mean age of 68. Since the respondents were highly concentrated within the 61 to 70 group (48.3%) and 71 through 80 (21.7%) the respondents were divided into four groups: 18.3% were 50 to 60 years old, 48.3% were 61 to 70 years old, 21.7% were 71 to 80 years old, and 11.7% were over 81 years of age. The majority of the respondents were aged 61 through 80 which accounted for 70% of the sample. In the subsequent analysis the respondents are collapsed into younger (aged up to 70) and older retirees.

Occupations

Figure 4.3 Occupation in 5 Categories



Along with the original 11 types of occupations prior to retirement stated in the questionnaire, seven more types of occupations were added which were housewife (11 persons), designer (1 person), security officer (1 person), cleaner (1 person), taxi driver (2 persons), civil servant (2 persons), and ship crew member (1 person) making 18 types of occupations in total. In the questionnaire, if the occupation type did not apply to the category of the respondent, a blank area was left for the respondent to fill in. The (self-described) housewife type showed a rather large number (11 persons), therefore a category was added to the job types. However, the other 6 job types only showed small numbers. Therefore designer and civil servant were included in the white-collar occupation type. One of the civil servants worked in the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, now called the Ministry of Public Administration and Security, and the other civil servant worked

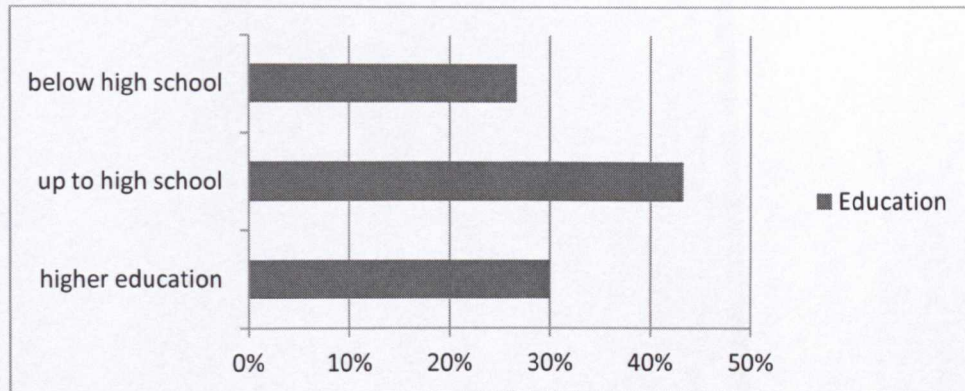
in the *Chung-Gae* Water Quality Control Office as a government worker. The sole security officer (known as security guards in the UK), cleaner, and taxi driver were all included in blue-collar group, and the ship crew member who said he was working on a deep sea fishing vessel was included in the agriculture and fishing group. It might have been better to have kept each of the original occupation types separate so as to have a more in-depth view of each category. However, this would have left too many small categories. The regrouping created a smaller number of types of occupations which broadly matches the classifications commonly employed in sociological research.

However, these were re-grouped into five categories (1) agriculture and fishing, (2) self-employed and commerce (3) white-collar, (4) blue-collar, and (5) housewife. The majority of the occupations were white-collar and blue-collar types; 46.7% (56 persons) and 18.3% (22 persons) respectively, followed by 14.2% (17 persons) agriculture and fishing, 11.7% (14 persons) self-employed and commerce, and 9.2% (11 persons) housewives. The numbers in other categories were too small to justify further analysis, so in later chapters comparisons are confined to the blue- and white-collar groups. In later chapters the blue-collar group becomes a merger between blue-collar, housewife, and agriculture and fishing, while white-collar consists of white-collar and self-employed, and commercial occupations. Blue-collar then comprises 41.7% of the sample (50 persons)

and white-collar comprises 58.3% (70 persons).

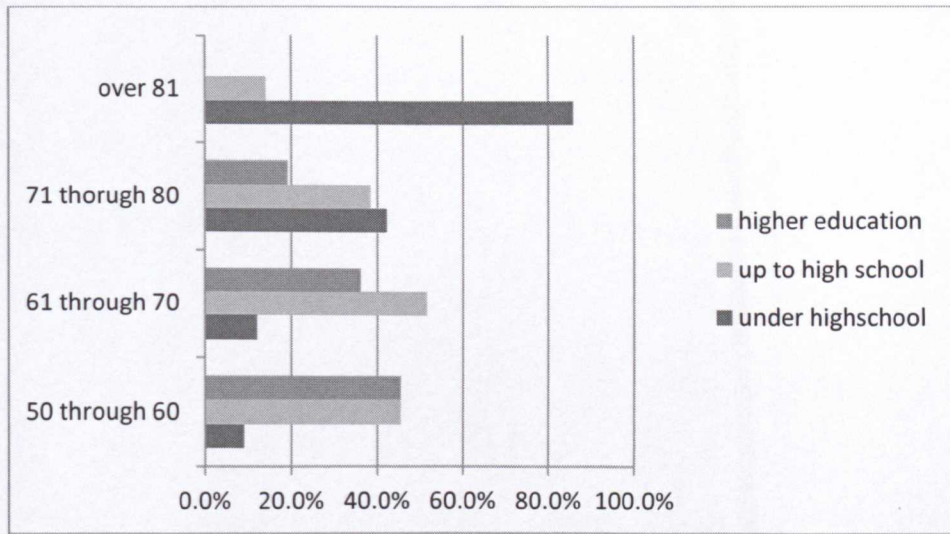
Education

Figure 4.4 Education in 3 Categories



Korea today has a similar education system to the USA. There are six years of primary school, three years of middle school and three years of high school. All are now compulsory, which is the same as in most states in the USA. This is the result of the so-called 'No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB)' system. University and onwards are optional. Nevertheless, in this research, the proportion of the elderly who had obtained high school qualifications was 43.3% (52 persons) followed by higher education at university and above at 30.0% (36 persons), and below high school at 26.7% (32 persons). The respondents had been educated before the present-day system was developed.

Figure 4.5 Education and Age



Differences in rates of participation in higher education by age illustrate that the relatively young elderly had a higher participation rate compared to the relatively old elderly. The reasons can be narrowed down to two; namely, the Korean War and Korean culture. The elderly who experienced the Japanese occupation (1909-1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953) could not have accessed any proper education. Indeed, it was an era of desperate fighting against hunger, and education could hardly be a priority during that period.

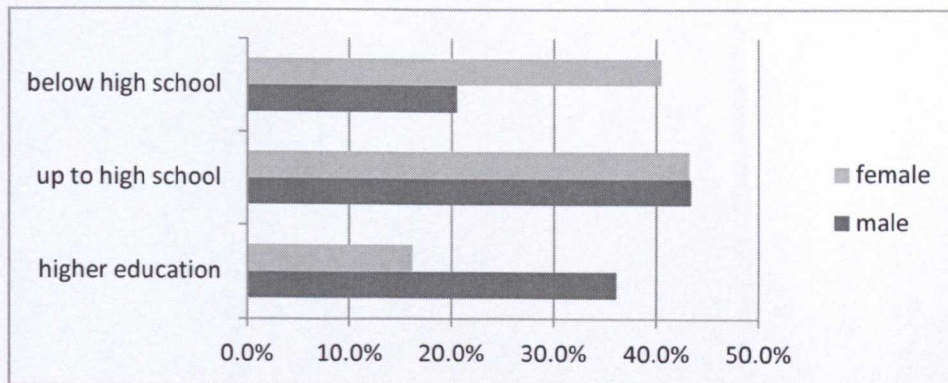
A BBC report dealt with the topic in an article in 2005 which noted South Korea's educational progress:

".....Korea has heavily invested in education as a central part of its economic future. In the 1960s, South Korea had national wealth on a level with Afghanistan. However, as a member of the OECD, the younger generation have the world's highest education rate of 97% of the 25 to 34

year olds reaching upper-secondary education.....”

The value of education is an important cultural element in Korea and it is primarily based on Confucianism. Within Confucianism, the teacher's role is seen as the ruler of the society. According to Strom, Griswold and Slaughter (1981), educators are dispensers of knowledge and moulders of character for students. Likewise, the importance of education has been emphasised and reflected throughout Korean history and has an ever-increasing impact upon the Korean people as each generation passes the culture down. This is part of the character of Korean Confucianism. Figure 4.5 indicates the remarkably high under high school education rate of 85.7% for the over 81s whereas only 9.1% fall into the same category among the 50 to 60 year olds. Figure 4.5 also shows the proportion with higher education at nil for the over 81 group, 19.2% for the 71 to 80 year olds, 36.2% among the 61 to 70 year olds, and 45.5% among the 50 through to 60 group, which clearly demonstrates the gradual upward trend in participation in higher education. As to the up to high school category, 14.3% of respondents aged over 81, 38.5% among the 71 to 80 age group, 51.7% in the 61 to 70 group, and 45.5% among the 50 to 60 year olds belonged to this category. Figure 4.5 illustrates how the participation rate in higher education has gradually increased whereas the proportion completing less than high school has gradually decreased over time.

Figure 4.6 Education and Gender

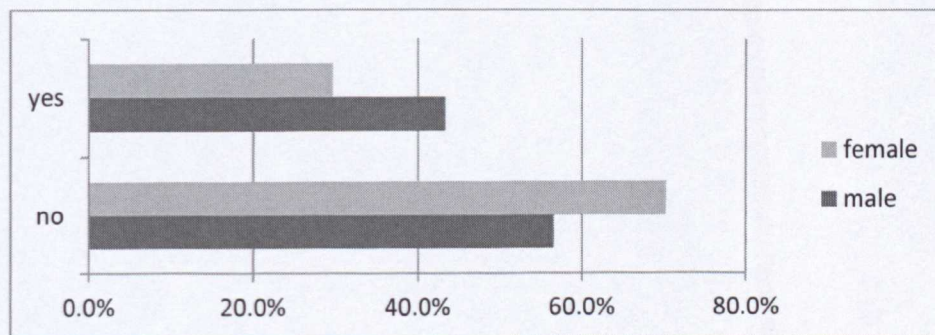


Along with the importance of education being passed down through the generations in Korea, another characteristic is the difference in education levels by gender. This could be treated as evidence of inequality or discrimination between the genders reflecting another element of Korean culture in the past. Women were less educated than men for diverse reasons. It was mainly because women were in charge of housekeeping including cooking and looking after family affairs. This was regarded as the ultimate virtue of a woman in the past, and accordingly higher education was considered unnecessary. Additionally, there is a saying that “if a hen cries, the house will collapse” which means if a female gets educated, and becomes clever and fills up with knowledge, she will interfere in making household decisions as well as in even bigger issues such as political matters affecting the entire country. This has not been considered appropriate for women: it has been considered more virtuous

for women to do as they are told by men. The up to high school category shows similar percentages in both genders - 43.4% for males and 43.2% for females respectively. However, in the higher education group there is a greater proportion (36.1%) of males compared with 16.2% of females. The below high school group contains 20.5% of males and 40.5% of females. Therefore Figure 4.6 clearly indicates that the female subjects were less educated than their male counterparts.

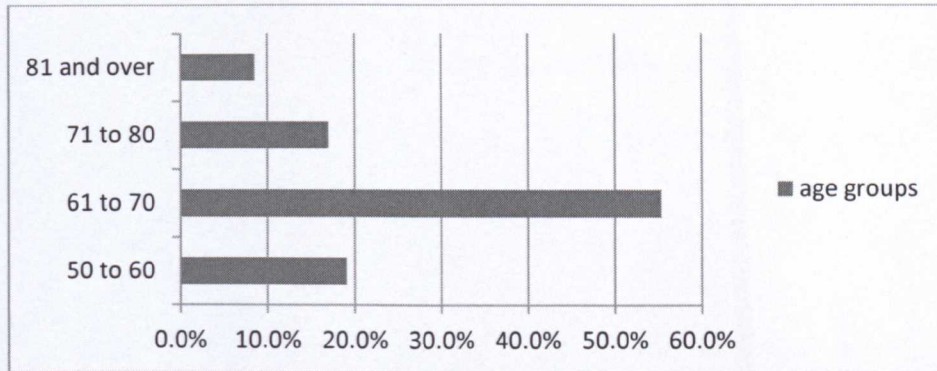
Irregular work

Figure 4.7 Irregular Work



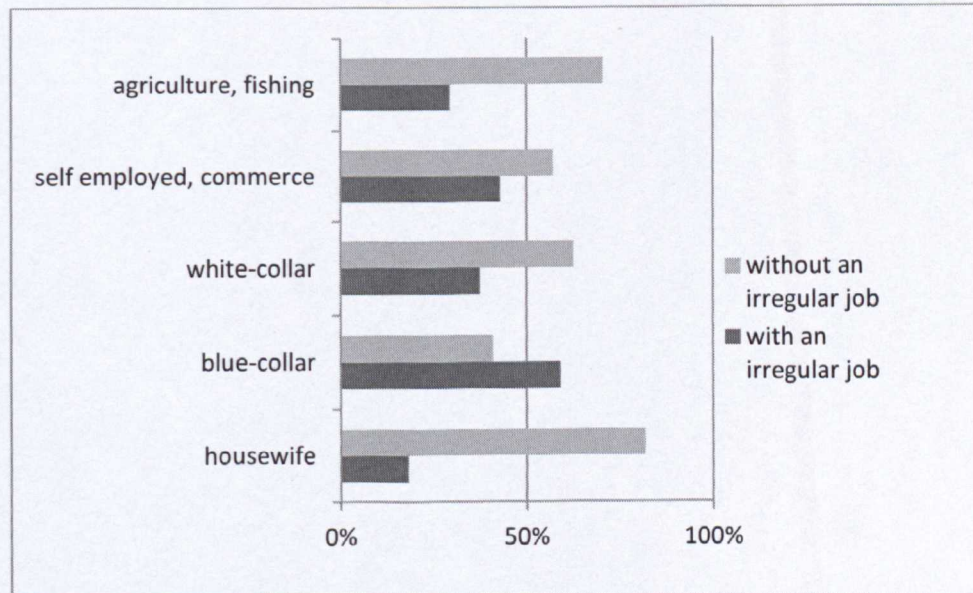
In the questionnaire, a question about current participation in irregular work was asked. The people who participated in post-retirement irregular work amounted to 39.2% of the sample. Amongst the elderly who were doing some irregular work, the majority were male subjects (76.6%) whereas the female counterparts showed 23.4%. Figure 4.7 shows that even after retirement the elderly who were the main bread earners of the household still tended to be males rather than women.

Figure 4.8 Irregular Work according to Age Groups



As regards to age and irregular work (see figure 4.8), the youngest age group, 50 to 60 year olds showed 19.1% of participation in irregular work after retirement, 55.3% among the 61 to 70 year olds, 17.0% in the 71 to 80 age group, and 8.5% among the over 81s. The 61 through 70 year olds had the highest participation in irregular work after retirement.

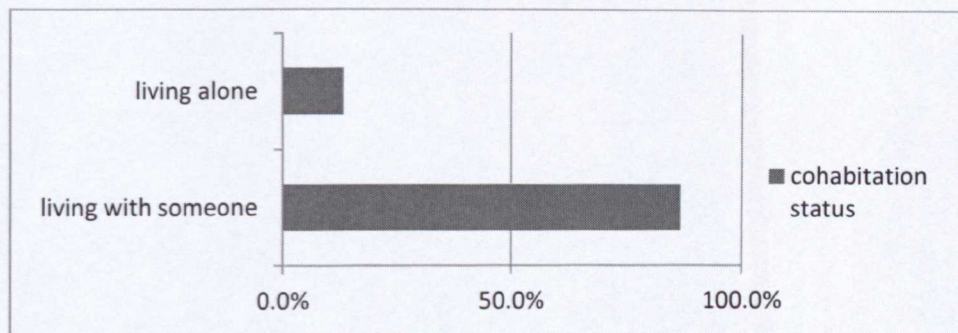
Figure 4.9 Irregular Work and Occupation



According to former occupation groups, the blue-collar workers had the highest rate of post-retirement irregular work (59.1%) whereas other occupation types indicated higher rates of not having an irregular job.

Cohabitation

Figure 4.10 Cohabitation Status

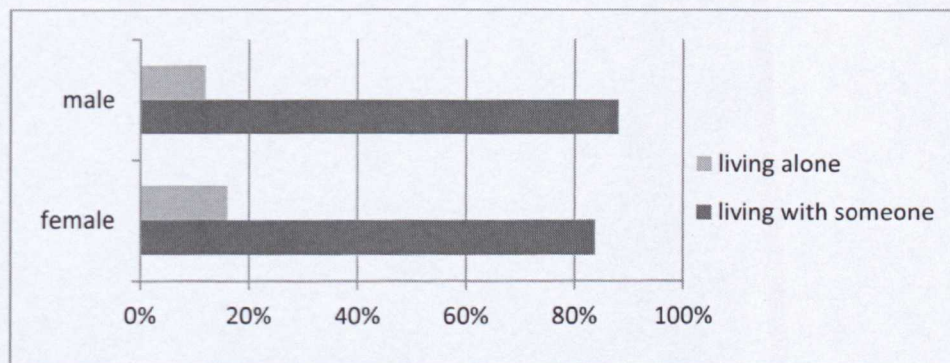


Initially, the question about cohabitation was asked with six categories in the questionnaire which were spouse 70% (84 persons), son 34.2% (41 persons), daughter 21.7% (26 persons), alone 13.3% (16 persons), mother 0.8% (1 person), and grandchildren 0.8% (1 person). However, it was re-grouped into two, namely, living with or without someone since the issue in the research was the relationship between cohabitation (living with someone else) and life satisfaction.

As in figure 4.10, the elderly who lived with someone were far more

numerous, 104 persons (86.7%), compared with those who lived alone, 16 persons (13.3%). It is commonly known that the male's life expectancy is lower than the female's, specifically 67.7 for males and 75.7 for females in Korea (KNSO, Korea Statistical Yearbook, 2008), and also men tend to marry women who are younger than themselves. Most men are likely to remain married until they die whilst most women are widowed. Not surprisingly, therefore, Figure 4.11 indicates that the elderly who lived alone comprised a higher percentage of the females (16.2%) than the males (12.0%). That said, the vast majority of both sexes were living with someone else.

Figure 4. 11 Cohabitation and Gender

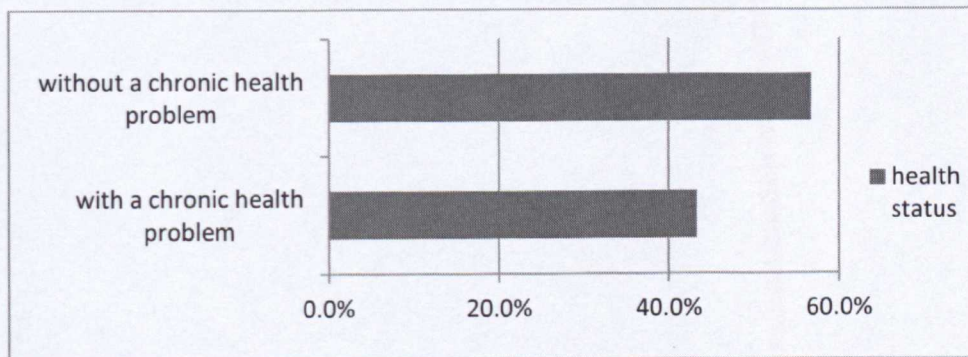


The female cohabitation rate was lower than the male rate, and it appeared that this was due to the partner's death rather than divorce or other reasons. In the research, none of the female respondents were divorced. It could be clearly seen that the elderly in this study had lived

in the traditional way. Confucianism teaches that there are three stages that a woman has to follow in her life. In the first stage, when she is young she must follow her parents; in the second, after getting married, she must follow her husband; and in the third, when her husband dies, she must follow her children. This rule applies not only to women. Men follow a rule that, if a man leaves his wife who has shared all the difficulties in their lives together, he will be punished in his after-life. It is regarded as very shameful to be divorced for both women and men.

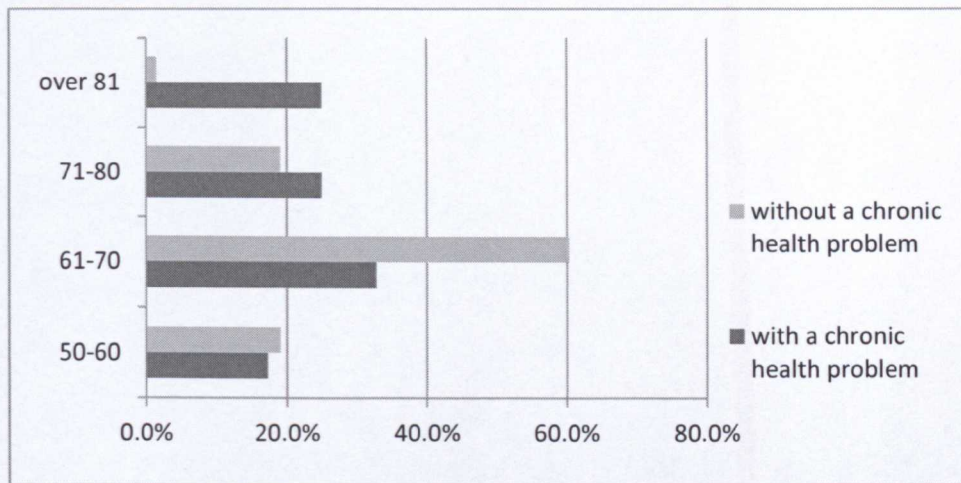
Health condition

Figure 4.12 Health condition



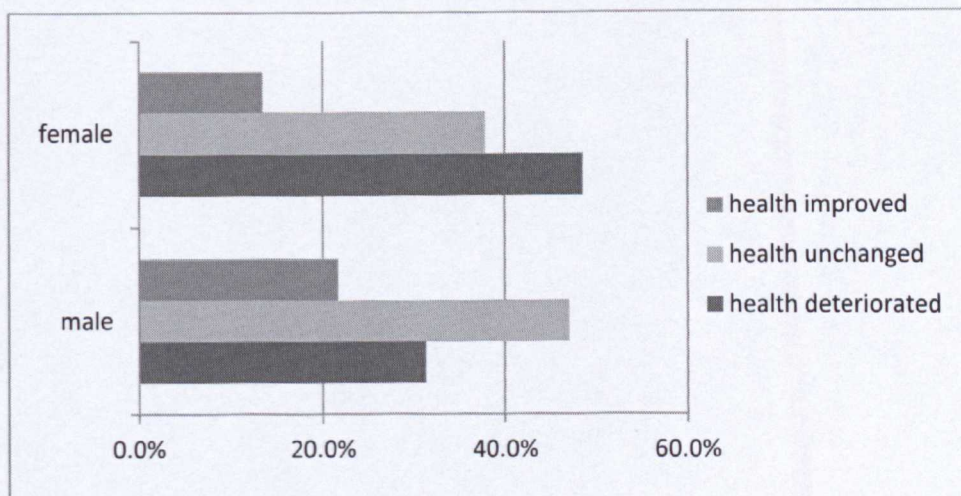
The elderly who replied that they had a chronic health problem were 43.3% (52 persons), and those who replied that they had no chronic health problem were 56.7% (68 persons).

Figure 4.13 Health Status and Age Group



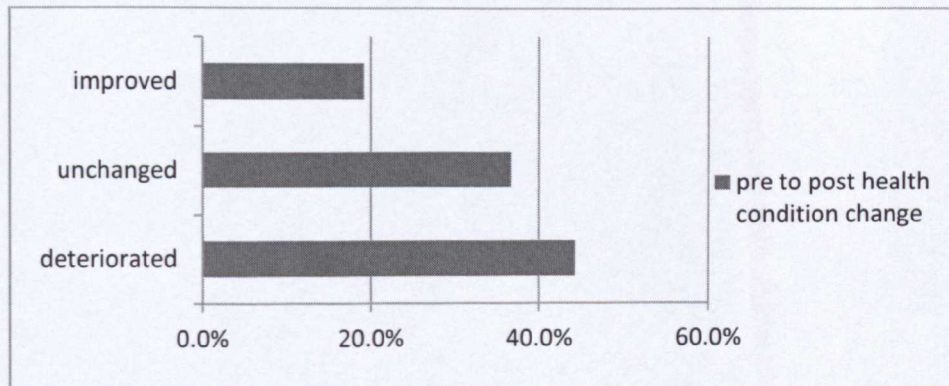
The retirees who replied that they had a chronic health problem comprised 17.3% (9 people) in the 50-60 years old age group, 32.7% (17 persons) in the 61 to 70 group, 25.0% (13 persons) among the 71-80 year olds, and 25.0% (13 persons) in the over 81s. Apart from the low rate among the under-60s, having a chronic health condition was not related to age.

Figure 4.14 Health status and Gender



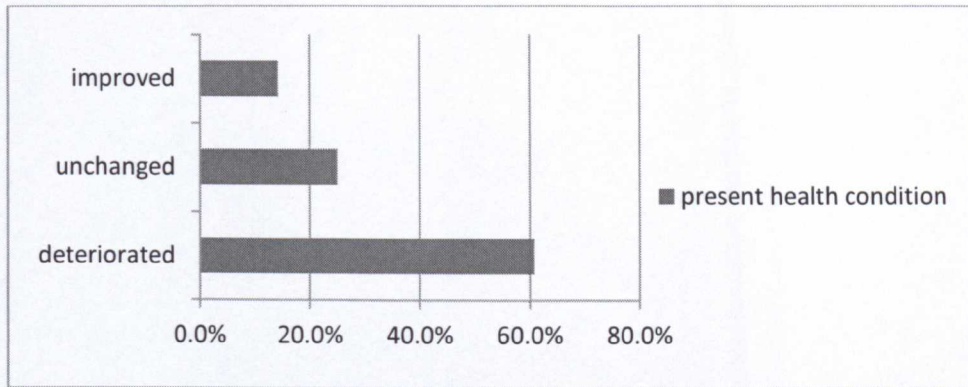
Between the genders, the male retirees showed a slightly higher rate in unchanged health (47.0%) followed by deteriorated health (31.3%) and improved health (21.7%). On the other hand, the females had the highest proportion in the deteriorated category (48.6%), almost half of the respondents, followed by unchanged (37.8%) and improved (13.5). The male retirees seemed to be enjoying the better health.

Figure 4.15 Health Status Change from Before to After Retirement



The questionnaire asked about the respondents' health condition before and after retirement. Further questions measured the number of times the elderly had been to hospital for a medical examination before and after retirement. The questions about pre- and post-retirement health conditions indicated that for 44.2% of the sample their perceived health had deteriorated since retirement, in 36.7% of the cases it had remained the same, and in 19.2% there had been a perceived improvement (see figure 4.15).

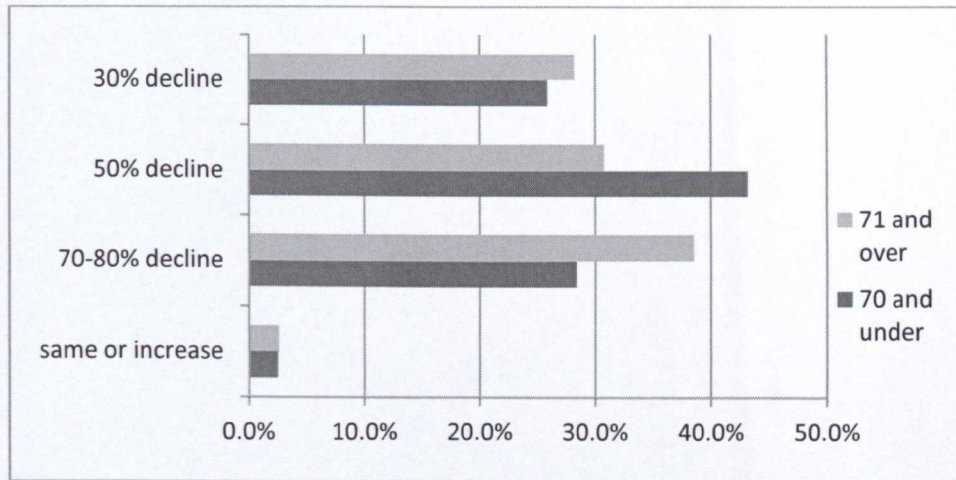
Figure 4.16 What the Elderly think about the Present Health Condition



A further question directly asked how their health condition had changed and 14.2% answered improved, 25.0% remained unchanged, and 60.8% replied that their health had deteriorated (see figure 4.16). Therefore, both of the two questions indicated an overall deterioration in health. The health question which asked whether respondents suffered from a chronic condition is the item from the health section of the questionnaire that is used in the further analysis.

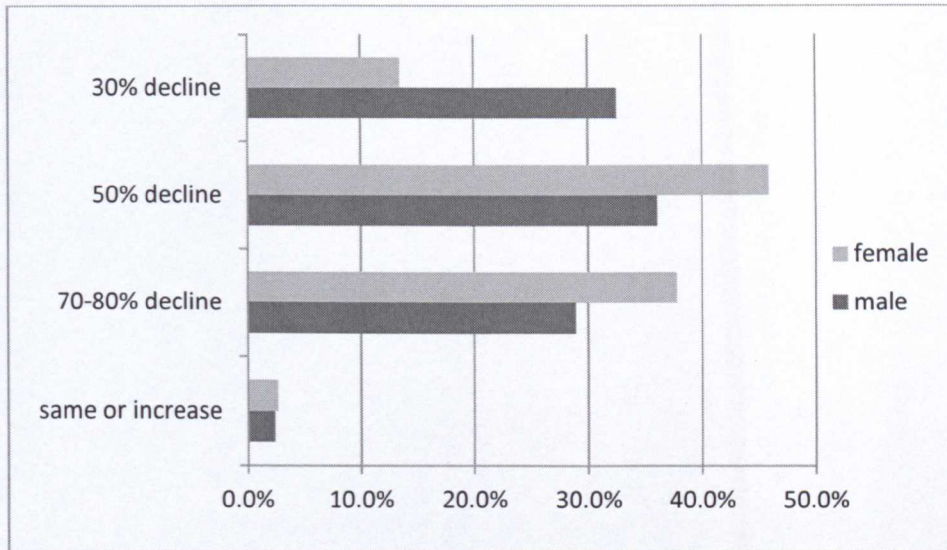
Income change

Figure 4.17 Income Change and Age



The retirees who were in the younger age group tended to have experienced moderate (30% to 50%) declines in their incomes following retirement. The older respondents were far more likely to report steeper declines. However, around a quarter in both age groups had experienced declines of no more than 30%.

Figure 4.18 Income Change and Gender



The male retirees seemed to have experienced lesser declines in income after retirement compared to the female retirees. The male retirees (32.5%) showed a much higher rate in the up to 30% decrease category than their female counterparts (13.5%). In contrast, 37.8% of female retirees reported declines of over 50% compared with 28.9% of the male retirees.

Figure 4.19 Income Change after Retirement

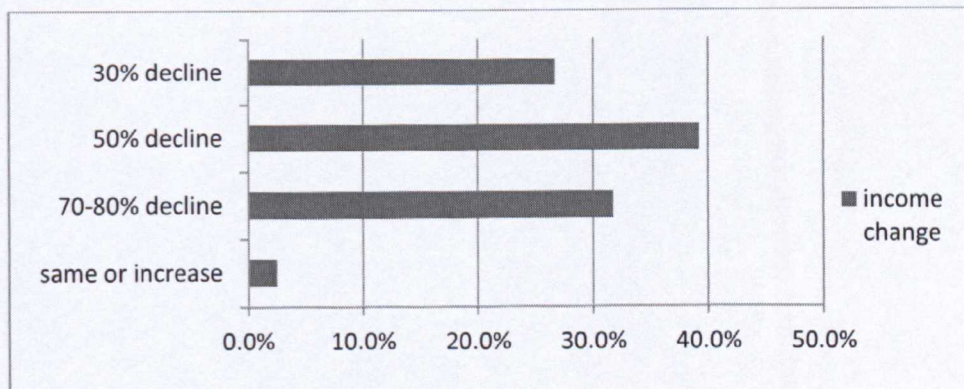
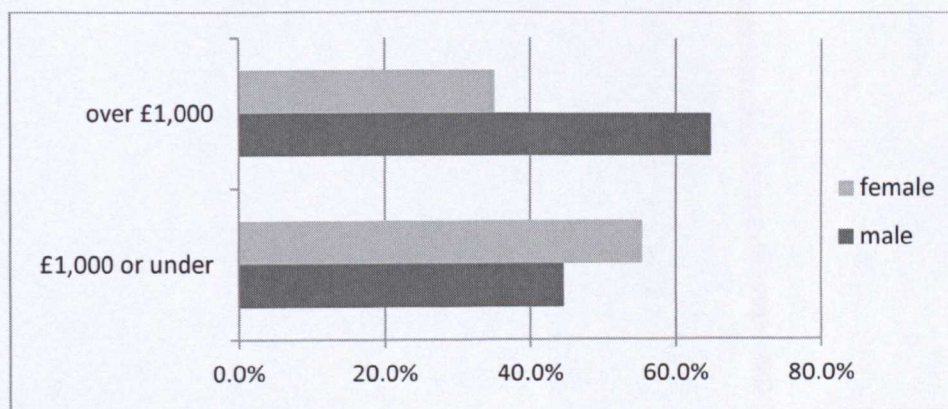


Figure 4.19 shows changes in all the respondents' income from before to

after retirement. It shows that 26.7% had experienced an up to 30% decline in their incomes after retirement, 39.2% had experienced a 31% to 50% decline, 31.7% a 70% to 80% decline (no- one reported a decline of between 50% and 70%), and 2.5% answered unchanged or increased. Later in the analysis, the question about income change is collapsed into two categories of up to 50% and over 50% decline.

Income prior to retirement

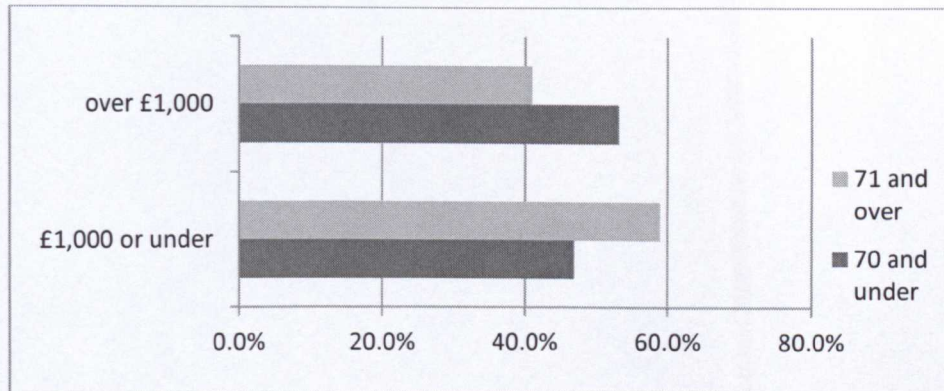
Figure 4.20 Income Prior to Retirement and Gender



In the questionnaire, income before retirement was asked. It was asked in six different categories: under £500; £500 to £700; £800 to £1,000; £1,050 to £1,250; £1,300 to £1,500; and over £1,500. It was thereafter grouped into two as £1,000 and under, and over £1,000. The retirees who earned under £1,000 comprised 50.8% of the sample (61 persons) and those who earned over £1,000 were 49.2% (59 persons).

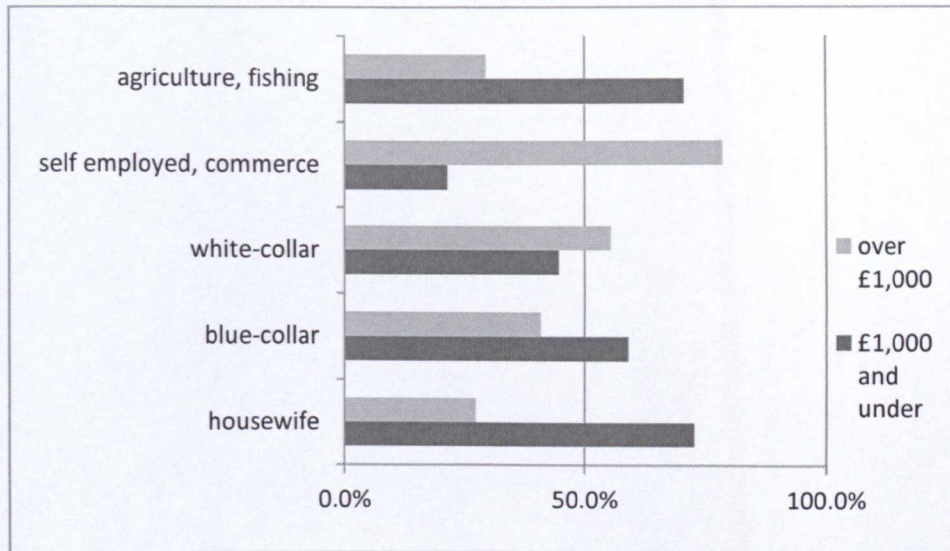
Between genders, the male retirees were the ones who earned more, over £1,000, (78.0%) compared with female retirees (22.0%) whereas the female retirees showed a higher rate in the lower income group (under £1,000) of 64.9% compared with their male counterparts (35.1%).

Figure 4.21 Income Prior to Retirement and Age



The retirees in the younger age group (53.1% were in the higher income group) indicated a higher earning power prior to retirement than the older counterparts (41.0%).

Figure 4.22 Income Prior to Retirement and Occupation



According to occupation type, three occupation types had been in the lower income group: agriculture and fishing, blue-collar, and housewives. On the other hand, self employed, commercial and white-collar groups had majorities in the higher income group of over £1,000.

Figure 4.23 Income Prior to Retirement and Irregular Work

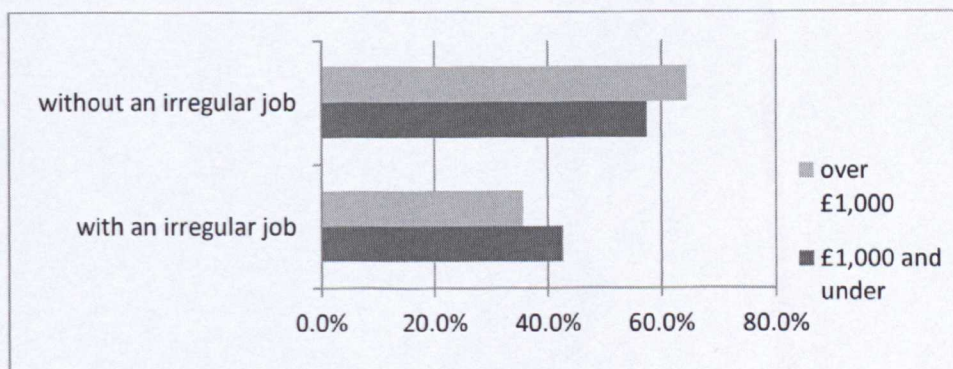


Figure 4.23 show that retirees who had a higher income prior to retirement had a lower rate (35.6%) in taking up an irregular job after retirement than the £1,000 and under pre-retirement income group (42.6%).

Outlook on life

Factors making for a satisfactory later life

The questionnaire enquired about the elderly's concerns and needs, their life values and the effect upon their life satisfaction. As discussed previously, cultural factors can make a considerable impact upon life satisfaction. Culture is a complex of objects, ideas, values, and norms which are continuously renewed and transmitted from generation to generation (Lee, 2005). Chang, et al. (1998) has argued that the cultural context shapes the person's life structure and identity. Thus, in different cultures different values exist and the importance placed upon them also varies. Accordingly, it is necessary to understand what the Korean elderly regard as important in their later lives, and what the problematic factors are that the elderly identify.

Table 4.1 Rank Order of Factors for a Satisfactory Life According to Age Groups

Age group	Money	Occupation	Health	Religion	Family	Friend
50-60	1	6	2	4	3	5
61-70	2	4	1	5	3	6
71-80	2	5	1	5	3	4
81 and over	3	.	1	3	2	4

* Numbers are the ranking in the row

The different age groups reported different concerns. First, to the question on the most important things for a satisfactory later life, from the questionnaire the 50 to 60 age group answered money (68.2%), health (54.5%), family (36.4%), religion (22.7%), friends (13.6%), and occupation (4.5%). The 61 to 70 age group answered health (65.5%), money (48.3%), family (13.8%), occupation (22.4%), religion (17.2%), and friends (13.8%). The 71 to 80 age group answered health (57.7%), money (50%), family (34.6%), friends (26.9%), occupation (15.4%), and religion (15.4%). The over 81 age group answered health (85.7%), family (42.9%), religion (28.6%), money (28.6%), and friends (14.3%). Across all the age groups, health and money were considered the most important factors for a satisfactory later life. However, in the younger age group the money factor had more importance than health, whereas the older the age group, the greater the importance of health together with family. The results show a similarity to the argument of Aldwin (1994) in that the

older male and female participants were more concerned about family and health issues than younger groups who were more concerned about their finances.

Problematic factors in later life

To the question, “What do you think is the most problematic thing for older people in later life?”, the most frequent answers were health (60.0%) and money (35.0%). However, in the 50 to 60 age group health (54.5%) and money (45.5%) had similar percentages. With age increasing up to the 81 and over group, the factors of health (85.7%) and money (21.4%) diverged in importance. Also, in the over 81 category, the importance of family (21.4%) and loneliness (50.0%) increased. As people age and health deteriorates, dependence on family members (who can look after them) increases. In traditional Korean culture, children are taught to think of the family first and to discharge their responsibility for their parents’ well-being. However, this traditional value has been weakening generation after generation, and the traditional value no longer stays as strong as formerly. The younger generation no longer devote themselves to the well-being of their aged parents. The old parents try to understand the changed attitudes of their adult children and try to adapt themselves to these attitudes. Therefore, the elderly have to face increasing problems of loneliness and change in the traditional values attached to family relationships.

Figure 4.24 Summary of Respondents

Gender	% (N)	Cohabitation	% (N)
Male	69.2% (83)	Living with someone	86.7% (104)
Female	30.8% (37)	Living alone	13.3% (16)
Total	100% (120)	Total	100% (120)
Age	% (N)	Irregular work	% (N)
50-60	18.3% (22)	Yes	39.2% (47)
61-70	48.3% (58)	No	60.8% (73)
71-80	21.7% (26)	Total	100% (120)
81 and over	11.7% (14)	Health condition	% (N)
Total	100% (120)	Health got worse	36.7% (44)
Occupation	% (N)	Health is the same	44.2% (53)
Agricultural, fishing	14.2% (17)	Health got better	19.2% (23)
Self employed, commerce	11.7% (14)	Total	100% (120)
White collar	46.7% (56)	Income change	% (N)
Blue collar	18.3% (22)	30% decline	26.7% (32)
House wife	9.2% (11)	50% decline	39.2% (47)
Total	100% (120)	70-80% decline	31.7% (38)
Education	% (N)	Same or increase	2.5% (3)
Below high school	26.7% (32)	Total	100% (N)
Up to high school	43.3% (52)		
Higher education	30% (36)		
Total	100% (120)		

Figure 4.24 summarises the characteristics of the sample that have been described above.

Leisure variables

Leisure activities

The 20 leisure activities, selected from the Korean National Leisure Condition Survey (MCST, 2008a) in the research have been divided into the Edgington et al. seven categories.

The 20 leisure activities were drawn from the '2008 White Paper on Leisure' published by the 'Ministry of Culture Sports and Tourism' and 'Korea Culture and Tourism Institute'. These were presented as the leisure activities most often practised by Koreans aged 50 and over.

The reasons for dividing the leisure into seven types were, first, it seemed useful to group together activities with similar characteristics, and second, keeping all 20 activities separate would produce too many outcomes to interpret the analysis (cross-tabulations, T-tests etc). Third, classification systems related to leisure activities can be found in a number of different sources, including the literatures related to travel, time use, personal values, personality types, lifestyle etc (Snir & Harpaz, 2002; and also, Madrigal, 1995; Lanzendorf, 2002). Some, such as Overs (1970), categorise leisure under purposes. However a common classification is into sports; nature; art and music; organisations; education, entertainment and culture; volunteering; and collecting. According to Passmore &

French (2001), leisure can be divided into a simple tripartite classification as achievement leisure, social leisure and time-out leisure.

As above, there are many ways to divide leisure activities, but for the 20 leisure activities in the Korean context, it seemed most appropriate to incorporate Edgington, Compton and Hanson's classification method which seemed uniquely able to take on board all the Korean leisure activities.

1) Home based: watching television (news); watching television (movies, historical plays); watching videos and DVDs; listening to music, singing; reading newspapers; using the computer.

2) Sports/health-type: sports, exercise; going to public bath, Jjim Jil bang¹.

3) Outdoor: going on a tour, journey; picnic, day trips; stroll.

4) Artistic: dancing and playing musical instruments.

5) Hobbies/domestic: games (playing cards, baduk, janggi, hwatu, including computer games), indoor hobbies, gardening, sewing etc. shopping (supermarket, department stores etc.).

6) Social/recreational: drinking (alcohol); seeing friends, socialising.

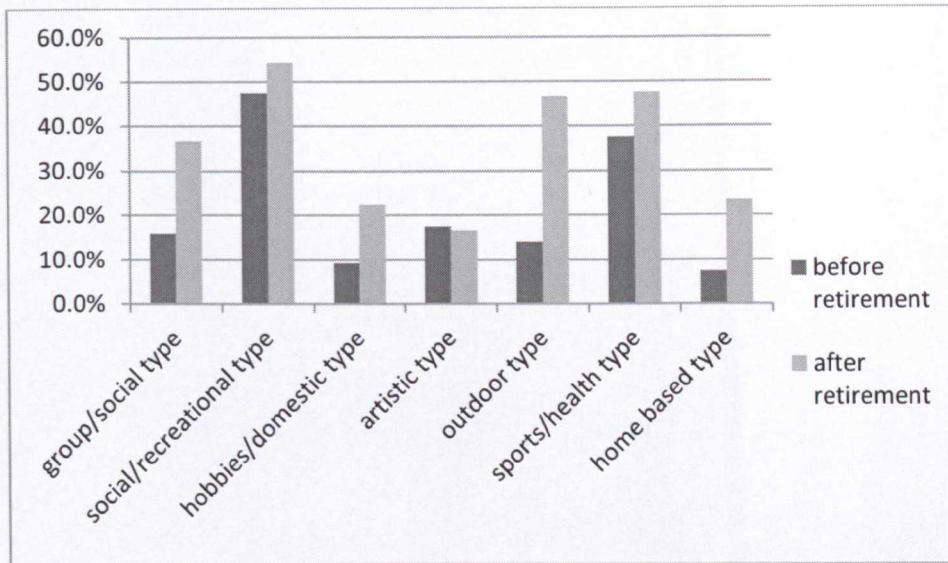
7) Group/social: religious activities; participating in local events, voluntary work; going to the elderly hall, culture hall.

¹ Jjimjil bangs are large, gender-segregated public bathhouses in Korea. These consist of hot tubs, showers, saunas, and massage tables. They have unisex areas in the building, usually with a snack bar. Under floor heating for lounging and sleeping, a wide-screen TV, computers and sleeping mats are also common.

Participation in leisure activities.

Respondents were asked about their frequency of participation in each of the 20 activities before retirement and after retirement. Previous (Western) research has consistently found that participation in most forms of leisure declines following retirement, then continues to decline throughout later life. We shall see in later chapters that the older respondents in this research did indeed have lower current participation rates than the younger retirees. However, the reported increases from before to after retirement contrast with all previous evidence. There are most likely to be three explanations. First, this research measured perceived (not necessarily actual) changes. Second, the respondents had grown up in a society and at a time when formal leisure provisions were rare, and their adult lives had been dominated by work. Many of the leisure opportunities that they had used since retirement had become available in Korea only during the latter stages of their lives. Third, many respondents had retired while still in their 50's, when they were still in excellent health, and some had continued to work and earn in irregular jobs up to the time of survey.

Figure 4.25 Participation in Leisure Type



Participation rates in each of the 20 individual leisure activities in the seven different leisure categories were examined with the following results.

1) Home based type: watching television (news) indicated 51.6% doing this ‘sometimes’, ‘often’ or ‘always’ before retirement and 73.3% after retirement. Watching television (movies, historical plays) showed 49.1% before retirement and 30.9% after retirement. Watching videos and DVDs showed 24.1% and 31.7% before and after retirement. Listening to music and singing indicated 33.3% and 48.0% before and after retirement. Reading the newspaper showed 60.0% and 67.5% before and after retirement. Using the computer had relatively low proportions of 21.6% and 22.5% before and after retirement. The respondents tended to spend more time watching TV news, listening to music and singing after

retirement.

2) Sports/health related leisure including all sports and exercise indicated 40.9% and 49.2% before and after retirement; going to the public bath or *Jjimjil bang* showed 64.2% before and 69.2% after retirement.

3) Outdoor type: tours and journeys showed 37.5% and 30.9%; picnics and daytrips 39.1% and 55.0%; and going for a stroll 41.6% and 70.0% before and after retirement. It seems that more stroll activities were taken after retirement.

4) Artistic type: dancing and playing musical instruments recorded 17.5% and 16.6% before and after retirement.

5) Hobbies and domestic type: playing games (cards, *baduk*, *janggi*, *hwatu*, computer games) showed 30.8% and 42.5%; indoor hobbies 22.4% and 41.6%; and shopping 54.2% and 56.7% before and after retirement.

6) Social/recreational type: drinking showed 65.0% and 39.1% whereas seeing friends and socialising recorded 57.4% and 80.0% before and after retirement. A considerable decrease in drinking (25.9%) and a considerable increase in socialising (22.6%) were noted.

7) Group/social type: religious activities showed 52.5% and 62.5%; participating in local events 35.8% and 42.5%; and going to an elderly hall 25% and 46.7% before and after retirement. An increase of 21.7% in using the elderly halls was noticed.

These are the proportions who claimed to participate at least 'sometimes'

in each of the 20 individual leisure activities. Figure 4.25 groups the activities into the seven types and gives the proportions who took part at least 'sometimes' in all the activities within the type. This method of processing the evidence repeats the overall picture gained from the participation rates in individual types of leisure. In all the types of leisure except 'artistic', participation had risen from pre- to post-retirement.

The most considerable increase after retirement was shown in strolling (28.4%) in the outdoor types of leisure activities whereas drinking alcohol (25.9%) in the social/recreation type leisure activities showed a considerable decrease after retirement. Four leisure activities - watching television (movies and historical plays), tours and journeys, dancing and playing musical instruments, and drinking - showed a decrease in participation after retirement whereas all the other activities showed considerable increases in participation after retirement.

Table 4.2 Change of Pattern in Leisure Type

Type of Leisure	Change	N	%
Home based type	Increase	79	65.8
	Continuity	21	17.5
	Decrease	20	16.7
Sports/ Health type	Increase	59	49.2
	Continuity	36	30
	Decrease	25	20.8
Outdoor type	Increase	74	61.7
	Continuity	28	23.3
	Decrease	18	15
Artistic Type	Increase	14	11.7
	Continuity	93	77.5
	Decrease	13	10.8
Hobbies/ Domestic type	Increase	66	55
	Continuity	33	27.5
	Decrease	21	17.5
Social/ Recreational type	Increase	47	39.2
	Continuity	43	35.8
	Decrease	30	25
Group/ Social type	Increase	71	59.2
	Continuity	35	29.2
	Decrease	14	11.7

A complementary analysis involved grouping respondents according to whether they increased or decreased, or continued with an unchanged level of involvement in each type of leisure from pre- to post-retirement. The above table (4.2) shows that 'increase' tended to have higher

proportions than 'continuity', but we should note that 'continuity' allowed for changes in levels of participation in specific activities within each of the broad types.

As explained above, the 20 individual leisure activities were bound into seven categories, and the three patterns of change in participation in the leisure activities, namely, increase, continuity, and decrease, were distinguished. Respondents were allocated to these patterns of change by calculating mean scores for participation in all the leisure activities within each type, pre- and post-retirement. Table 4.2 shows that in home-based leisure 65.8% increased, 17.5% continued unchanged, and 16.7% decreased their participation. Sports and health-type leisure had 49.2% increasing, 30.0% were cases of continuity, and 20.8% decreased their involvement. Outdoor leisure shows 61.7% increasing, 23.3% continuity, and 15.0% decreasing. Artistic leisure shows 11.7% increasing, 77.5% continuity, and 10.8% decreasing. Hobbies and domestic leisure show 55.0% increasing, 27.5% continuity, and 17.5% decreasing. Social and recreational leisure shows 39.2% increasing, 35.8% continuity, and 25.0% decreasing. Group social type leisure shows 59.2% increasing, 29.2% continuity, and 11.7% decreasing. Across all the leisure activities, increase was the dominant form of change in participation, followed by continuity then decrease, except for artistic types of leisure in which continuity was the dominant pattern followed by increase and then

decrease. Artistic type leisure activities such as dancing and playing musical instruments may be carried on well into the later lives of the elderly. However, the frequency rate for artistic type leisure was relatively low compared to other types of leisure activities.

In most of the leisure types, more than 80% of the respondents seemed to at least continue (increase and continuity combined) their involvement after retirement except for sports/health type and social/recreation types where 20.8% and 25.0% replied that their participation declined.

The Associations between Leisure Activities before and after Retirement

Table 4.3. Mean Scores in Types of Leisure Activities Before and After Retirement

Leisure types	Mean	N	df	T
Home based type before retirement	2.1194	120	119	-6.218***
Home based type after retirement	2.4181			
Sports/ Health type before retirement	2.4375	120	119	-2.673***
Sports/ Health type after retirement	2.6667			
Outdoor type before retirement	2.1861	120	119	-6.575***
Outdoor type after retirement	2.7028			
Artistic type before retirement	1.6250	120	119	.253***
Artistic type after retirement	1.6083			
Hobbies/ Domestic type before retirement	2.0444	120	119	-5.332***
Hobbies/ Domestic type after retirement	2.3444			
Social/ Recreational type before retirement	2.6750	120	119	-2.231***
Social/ Recreational type after retirement	2.8417			
Group/ Social type before retirement	2.1111	120	119	-6.734***
Group/ Social type after retirement	2.5000			

***P <.001

To test links between uses of leisure before and after retirement, paired sample T-tests were conducted on the seven leisure categories. Here the mean scores from the 5-point scales are used to make the calculations. Pair one which is home-based leisure had a mean value of 2.1194 before retirement and 2.4181 after retirement, an increase by 0.29861. Pair two, sports and health type leisure, indicated 2.4375 before and 2.6667 after retirement, an increase by 0.22917. Pair three, outdoor type leisure, indicated 2.1861 before and 2.7028 after, an increase by 0.51667. However, pair four, artistic type leisure, showed a slight decrease after retirement by 0.01667 from 1.6250 before to 1.6083 after retirement. Pair five, hobbies and domestic leisure, indicated 2.0444 before and 2.3444 after, an increase by 0.30000. Pair six, social recreational leisure, also showed an increase of 0.16667 from 2.6750 before to 2.8417 after retirement. Pair seven, group social leisure, showed 2.1111 before and 2.5000 after retirement, an increase by 0.38889.

The three leisure types of group/social (-6.734), outdoor (-6.575) and home-based (-6.218) seemed to be most significantly influenced by retirement whereas the artistic type (0.253) seemed to be least effected by retirement.

Life satisfaction variables

Life satisfaction was measured by 10 questions on the questionnaire

which were addressed by asking respondents to assess their conditions before and after retirement. The questions were:

- 1) I believe what I am doing now is important to my life and also has importance for my family.
- 2) Generally, I have the time and the conditions to do what I desire to do.
- 3) I am satisfied with socialising, and participating in other social activities.
- 4) I have a good relationship with friends and others.
- 5) I think I am healthier than others who are the same age as me.
- 6) I have a comfortable place to live.
- 7) I have a reasonable income to maintain a life.
- 8) I am considered a 'good person' by others and my image seems to be good.
- 9) I am not lonely or isolated.
- 10) I am satisfied with my religious life.

The 10 questions were constructed by the researcher based on evidence in previous research. Sung & Ahn (2008) had insisted that there is a significant relationship between life satisfaction and what a person is doing at present (question 1). Sohn (2008) had argued that life satisfaction has a significant relationship with a person's present condition and situation such as having enough resources and time

(question 2). Question 3 is derived from Kim & Yoo's (1994) study, which found that socialising and participating boost satisfaction. Baik's (2008) study, 'Determinants of Retirement Satisfaction of Retirees' indicated that there is significant relationship between satisfaction and relationships with others, one's dwelling, and personal image as believed to be perceived by others (questions 4, 6, and 8). Question 5 was based on health and life satisfaction research at Myung-Ji University (2005), while income and life satisfaction were significantly related in Jung's (2003) study. Park (2004) had argued that cohabitation had a significant relationship with life satisfaction (question 9). Finally, Kim (2008) insisted in his research, 'A Study on the Determinants of Life Satisfaction for Elderly Koreans', that religion had a positive relationship with life satisfaction (question 10). It could have been better to have taken a set of questions from another previously accomplished project which had been well received by the research community. However, finding a questionnaire that fitted exactly into this research's requirements was impossible.

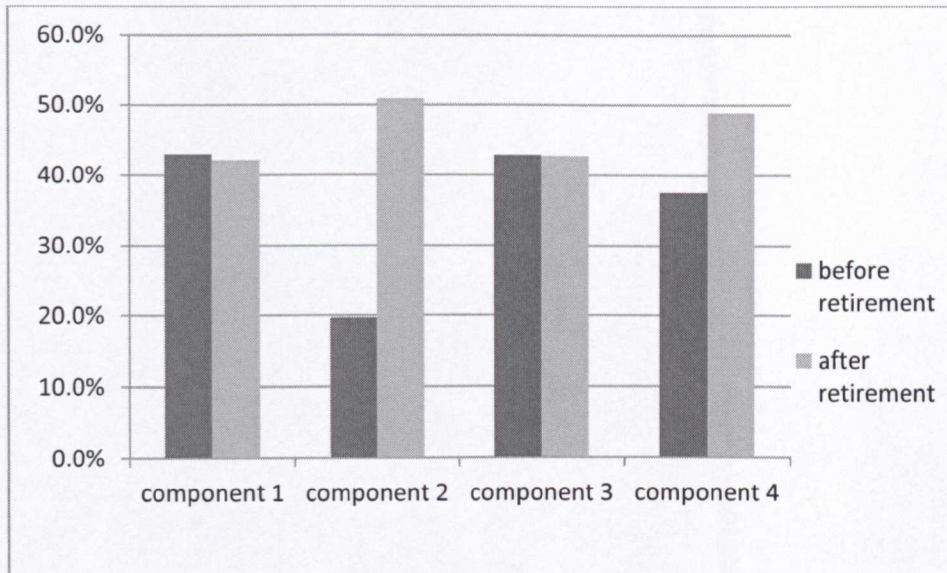
Figure 4.26 Life Satisfaction Divided into Four Components

Component	Loading
Component 1: Satisfaction with relationship with others	
1. I am considered as a 'good person' to others and my image seems to be good.	.701
10. I am not lonely or isolated.	.800
Component 2: Satisfaction in participating	
2. Generally, I do have the time and given condition to do what I desire to do.	.754
3. I am satisfied in socialising, participating in other social activities.	.683
4. I have a good relationship with friends and others.	.714
Component 3: Satisfaction with the present condition of life	
5. I think I am healthier than the other elders who are the same age as me.	.821
6. I have a comfortable place to live.	.628
7. I have reasonable income to maintain a life.	.452
Component 4: Satisfied with myself	
8. I believe what I am doing now is important to my life and also has importance upon my family.	.612
9. I am satisfied with my religious life	.770

The ten questions were set into four groups following factor analysis. Component 1 consists of questions 1 and 10 and is labelled 'satisfied with relationships with others'. Component 2 consists of questions 2, 3 and 4 and is labelled 'satisfaction with participation'. Component 3 consists of questions 5, 6 and 7 which indicate 'satisfaction with present conditions of life'. Component 4 includes questions 8 and 9 and is labelled 'satisfaction with oneself'. As a result of the Rotated Component Matrix with the rotation method of Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation, Question 1 had a loading value of .612; question 2 .754; question 3 .683; question 4 .714; question 5 .821; question 6 .628; question 7 .452; question 8 .701; question 9 .800 ; and question 10 .770.

The satisfaction score of each component is the mean of the proportions who 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' with the statements that comprise the component. Component 1, which represents satisfaction with relationships with others, recorded 42.9% responding positively about their lives before retirement and a decrease of 0.8% to 42.1% after retirement, meaning that the respondents 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' slightly less. However, in this case the scores more or less the same before and after retirement. Component 2 indicates that satisfaction with participation had 19.7% positive responses before retirement and 50.8% after retirement. Component 3 representing satisfaction with one's present condition showed 42.8% and 42.7% before and after retirement. Component 4, which indicates satisfaction with oneself, showed 37.5% and 48.8% positive before and after retirement. Component 2 had the widest gap of 31.1% between the before and after retirement responses, followed by component 4 at 11.3%. On the other hand, component 1 and component 3 showed small decreases of 0.8% and 0.1% respectively.

Figure 4.27 Life Satisfaction Before and After Retirement



On the individual questions, question 1 showed positive answers by 56.7% before retirement and 48.4% after retirement, a decrease of 8.3%. Question 2 showed 13.3% before retirement and 50.0% after retirement, an increase by 36.7%. Question 3 had 15.8% positives before and 42.5% after retirement, an increase by 26.7%. Question 4 had a 30.0% increase with 30.0% before and 60.0% after retirement. Question 5 had 32.5% and 38.3% before and after retirement, an increase by 5.8%. Question 6 showed a 4.2% increase in satisfaction with 56.6% before and 60.8% after retirement. Question 7, on the other hand, showed a decrease in life satisfaction recording 39.2% before retirement and 29.1% after retirement, a 10.1% decline. Question 8 had 29.2% positive responses before retirement and 48.4% after retirement, showing a 19.2% increase after retirement. Question 9 showed a 3.4% increase after retirement from 45.8% before retirement to 49.2% after retirement. Finally, question 10 indicated

29.1% before and 35.8% after retirement, an increase by 6.7% following retirement. Overall, the life satisfaction questions indicated increases except for questions 1 and 7.

More respondents reported negative impacts on their income (question 7, where the positive scores decreased by 10.1%) and reputations among others (question 1, which decreased by 8.3% after retirement). On the other hand, more respondents seemed to be satisfied with more time to participate in leisure (question 2, where positive responses increased by 36.7%), with their social activities (question 3, an increased of 26.7%) and relationships with others (question 4, where the increase was 30.0% after retirement). Only small variances were recorded in the other questions.

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Following on from this presentation of the variables that were measured in the questionnaire and the overview of the characteristics of the sample and their responses, the next chapter examines leisure differences, before and following retirement, between the various socio-demographic groups. Subsequently chapter 6 treats life satisfaction similarly - differences between socio-demographic groups, pre- and post-retirement – then teases out inter-connections between levels and changes in leisure activities, and levels and changes in life satisfaction.

Chapter Five: Leisure Differences

Introduction

The previous chapter described the entire sample's levels of involvement in specific leisure activities, and in seven broad types of leisure activities, before and after retirement. We also saw that there was a general reported trend for leisure activity to have risen from pre- to following retirement. Here we ask whether this trend had occurred throughout the sample or only within specific groups of respondents. We shall see that when men are compared with women, the better- with the lesser-educated, and so on, there are always some differences in reported leisure behaviour, yet it is never possible to conclude that one group was the more active across leisure as a whole either pre- or post-retirement. Actually, all the groups shared very similar leisure, probably due to their similarity in age and life stage, and their common place of residence. In contrast, there were reported increases in almost every kind of leisure, in virtually all the socio-demographic groups, from pre- to post-retirement.

There are two ways in which this study's data on leisure participation (and life satisfaction) can be presented. Both were illustrated in chapter 4. We can present the proportions of the sample as a whole, and in different

socio-demographic groups, who reported participating ‘sometimes’ or more frequently (and the proportions who agreed or strongly agreed with the life satisfaction statements) pre- and post-retirement. This approach gives the most authentic impression of what the respondents said they were doing and how they felt about their lives. The alternative is to present mean scores on 5-point scales. Here the results on most kinds of leisure, for most socio-demographic groups, cluster between 2.0 and 3.0, suggesting only tiny differences, though the last chapter showed that there were often wide differences in the proportions taking part ‘sometimes’ or more frequently. However, the mean scores are the most accurate (they take account of everyone’s answers) and can be addressed using T-tests to separate statistically significant from other differences, though we must bear in mind that the respondents in this research were not a random sample, and hence the T-tests that have been applied are really ‘rule of thumb’ measurements. With this caution, Table 5.1 and subsequent tables present results that are moderately significant* (0.05), significant** (0.01) and highly significant*** (0.001). These tables contain evidence only where there are at least moderately significant differences.

Leisure differences between socio-demographic groups

Gender

Table 5.1 The Difference between Gender and Leisure Types

Leisure Type	Retirement	Gender	Mean	N	df	t
Home based type	before	Male	2.2048	83	118	2.456*
		Female	1.9279	37		
	after	Male	2.4859	83	118	1.804
		Female	2.2658	37		
Outdoor type	before	Male	2.1004	83	118	-2.170*
		Female	2.3784	37		
	after	Male	2.7751	83	118	1.428
		Female	2.5405	37		
Social Recreational type	before	Male	2.8012	83	118	3.074**
		Female	2.3919	37		
	after	Male	2.9819	83	118	3.145**
		Female	2.5270	37		
Group social type	before	Male	2.0843	83	118	-.601
		Female	2.1712	37		
	after	Male	2.3936	83	118	-2.228*
		Female	2.7387	37		

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

All the significant gender differences show men as more active than women. These differences reached significance in home-based and informal social leisure before and after retirement, outdoor leisure pre-retirement only, and group social leisure after retirement only. This means that on most comparisons there were no significant or even moderately significant differences between the males and females.

Age

Table 5.2 The Difference between Age and Leisure Types

Leisure Type	Retirement	Age	Mean	N	df	t
Home based type	before	Under 70	2.2387	81	118	3.371***
		70 and over	1.8718	39		
	after	Under 70	2.5473	81	118	3.418***
		70 and over	2.1496	39		
Sports health type	before	Under 70	2.4074	81	118	-.645
		70 and over	2.5000	39		
	after	Under 70	2.7901	81	118	2.151*
		70 and over	2.4103	39		
Artistic type	before	Under 70	1.4815	81	118	-2.805**
		70 and over	1.9231	39		
	after	Under 70	1.6173	81	118	.156
		70 and over	1.5897	39		
Hobbies domestic type	before	Under 70	1.9465	81	118	-2.731**
		70 and over	2.2479	39		
	after	Under 70	2.3457	81	118	.029
		70 and over	2.3419	39		
Group social type	before	Under 70	2.0041	81	118	-2.362*
		70 and over	2.3333	39		
	after	Under 70	2.4239	81	118	-1.517
		70 and over	2.6581	39		

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

As regards age, the younger (up to 70 year olds) respondents were the more active in some, and the over-70s were the more active in other kinds of leisure. The over-70 year olds' leads were all in pre-retirement leisure (in hobbies, artistic and group social leisure). The younger respondents were the more active in home-based leisure pre- and post-retirement, and sport after retirement only. Again, the most noteworthy point is probably that there were differences only on some of the leisure activities, and then sometimes only before or only after retirement. Moreover, the differences did not consistently show that either age group was the more active.

Education

Table 5.3 The Difference between Education and Leisure Types

Leisure Type	Retirement	Education	Mean	N	df	t
Home based type	before	Below high school	2.0099	84	118	-3.247***
		Higher education	2.3750	36		
	after	Below high school	2.2976	84	118	-3.372***
		Higher education	2.6991	36		
Outdoor type	before	Below high school	2.2262	84	118	1.020
		Higher education	2.0926	36		
	after	Below high school	2.6111	84	118	-1.857
		Higher education	2.9167	36		
Social Recreational type	before	Below high school	2.6071	84	118	-1.640
		Higher education	2.8333	36		
	after	Below high school	2.7262	84	118	-2.608**
		Higher education	3.1111	36		

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

Unlike with age, all the leisure differences by education favoured the more highly educated. They reported being the more active in home-based leisure pre- and post-retirement, and also in outdoor and group social leisure after retirement only. We can note, however, that on most comparisons there were no significant differences.

Occupation

Table 5.4 The Difference between Occupation and Leisure Types

Leisure Type	Retirement	Occupation	Mean	N	df	t
Home based type	before	Blue collar	1.9433	50	118	-2.885**
		White collar	2.2452	70		
	after	Blue collar	2.2833	50	118	-2.027*
		White collar	2.5143	70		
Sports health type	before	Blue collar	2.2200	50	118	-2.819**
		White collar	2.5929	70		
	after	Blue collar	2.3800	50	118	-2.980**
		White collar	2.8714	70		
Outdoor type	before	Blue collar	2.0933	50	118	-1.309
		White collar	2.2524	70		
	after	Blue collar	2.3933	50	118	-
		White collar	2.9238	70		
Social recreational type	before	Blue collar	2.5200	50	118	-2.087*
		White collar	2.7857	70		
	after	Blue collar	2.7300	50	118	-1.368
		White collar	2.9214	70		

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

The former white-collar employees displayed similar differences vis-à-vis blue-collar workers to those between the more highly and lesser educated. The former white-collar employees had been the more active in

home-based leisure pre- and post-retirement, in informal social leisure pre-retirement only, and in outdoor leisure after retirement only.

Whether or not the respondents were currently doing paid (irregular) work was unrelated to levels of involvement in any type of leisure.

Income

Table 5.5 The Difference between Income before Retirement and Leisure Types

Leisure Type	Retirement	Income	Mean	N	df	t
Sports health type	before	£1,000 and under	2.3934	61	118	-0.666
		Over £1,000	2.4831	59		
	after	£1,000 and under	2.4754	61	118	-2.360*
		Over £1,000	2.8644	59		
Hobbies domestic type	before	£1,000 and under	2.1530	61	118	2.110*
		Over £1,000	1.9322	59		
	after	£1,000 and under	2.4973	61	118	2.610**
		Over £1,000	2.1864	59		
Group social type	before	£1,000 and under	2.3060	61	118	3.084**
		Over £1,000	1.9096	59		
	after	£1,000 and under	2.6612	61	118	2.293*
		Over £1,000	2.3333	59		

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

Respondents who earned the higher incomes pre-retirement had significantly higher participation rates only in sport, and then only following retirement. Surprisingly, the lower income group had the

higher participation rates in hobbies and group social leisure before and after retirement.

The extent to which respondents' incomes had fallen since they retired was related to their levels of participation only in the group social type of leisure. Those who went on to experience the steepest declines in income following retirement were significantly less active before, and remained moderately less active following their retirement.

Health

Table 5.6 The Difference between Health and Leisure Types

Leisure Type	Retirement	Health	Mean	N	df	t
Home based type	before	With a chronic disease	1.9712	52	118	-2.493*
		Without a chronic disease	2.2328	68		
	after	With a chronic disease	2.2756	52	118	-2.225*
		Without a chronic disease	2.5270	68		
Sports health type	before	With a chronic disease	2.2981	52	118	-1.835
		Without a chronic disease	2.5441	68		
	after	With a chronic disease	2.3750	52	118	-3.150**
		Without a chronic disease	2.8897	68		
Outdoor type	before	With a chronic disease	2.2308	52	118	.649
		Without a chronic disease	2.1520	68		
	after	With a chronic disease	2.3974	52	118	-
		Without a chronic disease	2.9363	68		
Artistic type	before	With a chronic disease	1.5962	52	118	-.331
		Without a chronic disease	1.6471	68		
	after	With a chronic disease	1.3846	52	118	-2.427*
		Without a chronic disease	1.7794	68		

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

Respondents who reported good health (without a chronic condition) had higher participation rates than their comparator group in home-based leisure and sports, both pre- and post-retirement, and in artistic and outdoor leisure after retirement only. One might have expected stronger and more widespread (across the various types of leisure) differences. Their absence could be due to most of the leisure activities on the questionnaire being compatible with many of the chronic conditions that are likely to afflict people in later life.

Cohabitation

Table 5.7 The Difference between Cohabitation and Leisure Types

Leisure Type	Retirement	Cohabitation	Mean	N	df	t
Sports health type	before	Living with someone	2.4904	104	118	2.036*
		Living alone	2.0938	16		
	after	Living with someone	2.7500	104	118	2.590*
		Living alone	2.1250	16		
Outdoor type	before	Living with someone	2.2115	104	118	1.080
		Living alone	2.0208	16		
	after	Living with someone	2.7660	104	118	2.149*
		Living alone	2.2917	16		

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

Living with someone else was related to higher reported participation rates in sports before and after retirement, and in outdoor leisure after retirement only. Once again, there were far more comparisons where there were no significant differences.

The most noteworthy feature of the sum of the above evidence is the absence of omnipresent, recurrent differences across all or most kinds of leisure, pre- and post-retirement, between any of the pairs. Neither gender, age, education nor anything else was making a significant difference to participation in all or most of the various types of leisure, either before or after retirement. As we have seen, all the socio-demographic predictors were associated with at least one significant leisure difference, and participation in all the kinds of leisure differed significantly within at least one of the pairs. That said, the overall impression is of huge similarities between uses of leisure in all the socio-demographic groups. This is unlikely to apply across the entire population of Korea. We must bear in mind that the entire sample in this study was composed of older, retired persons, all living in the same (generally affluent) district on the outskirts of Seoul. All the respondents were interviewed outside their homes, so the sampling could have been biased towards the more active members of the age group. However, there were meeting places, used by the elderly, within or close to all the

blocks of flats where all the respondents lived, and at least in this limited sense, 'going out' regularly was probably the norm among the elderly in the district in question.

Leisure participation before and after retirement (See Appendix E)

The 'patchy', thinly spread significant differences in the above section contrast starkly with the results which compare respondents' rates of participation in the different types of leisure, pre- and post-retirement, within each of the socio-demographic groups. The tables are plastered with significant differences, nearly all indicating increases in leisure participation following retirement.

Participation in home-based and group social leisure had risen in every socio-demographic group. Participation in hobbies had risen significantly in all groups except the over-70s and those living alone. Participation in outdoor leisure had risen in all groups except females, the over-70s, those with chronic health conditions, and those living alone. In reporting differences between pre- and post-retirement involvement in these activities, it is more economical to report exceptions (where there had been no post-retirement increase) rather than the more numerous instances where there were significant upward shifts in participation.

In contrast, participation in artistic leisure declined following retirement but only in the older age group, and this was the sole instance of a significant post-retirement decline in participation in any kind of leisure. Participation in artistic leisure had risen significantly post-retirement among younger respondents, the less educated, and those with chronic health conditions.

Casual social leisure had risen only among the younger (up to 70 year old) respondents, the less educated, those with chronic health conditions, those with irregular jobs, whose incomes had declined by less than 50% since they retired from their main occupations, and those who were not living alone.

Sport participation had risen among males, up to 70 year olds, the less educated, those who held irregular jobs, and who had earned over £1,000 a month pre-retirement, whose incomes had declined by less than 50% since they retired, who had been employed in white-collar jobs, and who were free from chronic health conditions.

Intuitively, these findings look realistic even though they are based on self-reports and rely on respondents' recall of their lives pre-retirement, which in some cases was over 20 years prior to being interviewed for this study. Increased participation was reported most consistently (across all

socio-demographic groups) in home-based leisure (the retired were spending more time at home), group social activities (many attended elderly centres on most days), and low to moderate intensity outdoor recreation, all accessible via the centres at which many of the seniors in this research were contacted. The relevant uses of leisure were generally low cost (in money) yet time expensive, thus matching the constraints and opportunities likely to be encountered post-retirement. The next chapter enquires whether these increases in leisure activity were associated with post-retirement levels of life satisfaction.

Chapter Six: Life Satisfaction and Leisure

Introduction

This chapter proceeds like the previous chapter. First we look at differences between the socio-demographic pairs, this time in their mean scores on the four components of life satisfaction, pre- and post-retirement. We then make comparisons within each of the groups before retirement and after. When we make the latter comparisons the results are clear and startling. We shall see that the general post-retirement improvement in life satisfaction reported in chapter 4 was evident in every single socio-demographic group, though in some cases the relationships fell short of statistical significance. It was mainly improvements in component 2 (satisfaction with participation) that were responsible for the general post-retirement improvement.

Were the increases in leisure activity reported in chapter 5 responsible for the post-retirement gains in life satisfaction? It is never possible to prove causality. Causal processes can never be observed in the social and psychological domains. A causal relationship is always attributed. The attribution has to be consistent with the empirical evidence. In this instance there is full consistency, and the attribution looks plausible. The

final section of this chapter further enhances this plausibility by correlating levels of leisure activity and life satisfaction within all the socio-demographic groups pre- and post-retirement. All told, the evidence suggests that leisure activity does indeed boost life satisfaction in Korea, and that its causal power, its efficacy, strengthens in the post-retirement life stage.

Life satisfaction in different socio-demographic groups

Cohabitation

Reported life satisfaction was strongly and consistently related to certain socio-demographic predictors. The best predictor was whether a respondent was cohabiting or living alone (Table 6.1). On all the components of life satisfaction, living alone was associated with significantly reduced life satisfaction scores except on component 2 (participation) and component 4 (satisfaction with oneself), and then only pre-retirement, when the individuals were very likely to have been cohabiting.

Table 6.1 Difference between Cohabitation and Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction	Retirement	Cohabitation	Mean	N	df	t
Comp 1 Satisfied with relationship with others	before	Living with someone	3.28	104	118	2.754**
		Living alone	2.84	16		
	after	Living with someone	3.35	104	118	2.266*
		Living alone	2.91	16		
Comp 2 Satisfaction in participating	before	Living with someone	2.86	104	118	1.117
		Living alone	2.69	16		
	after	Living with someone	3.35	104	118	2.304*
		Living alone	2.88	16		
Comp 3 Satisfaction with the present condition	before	Living with someone	3.33	104	118	3.080**
		Living alone	2.88	16		
	after	Living with someone	3.27	104	118	3.155**
		Living alone	2.65	16		
Comp 4 Satisfied with myself	before	Living with someone	3.21	104	118	1.564
		Living alone	2.91	16		
	after	Living with someone	3.18	104	118	2.110*
		Living alone	2.72	16		

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

Health

The next best predictor of life satisfaction was being free of a chronic health condition. This boosted component 1 (relationships with others) and component 3 (satisfaction with present condition), and also component 2 (participation) but post-retirement only in this case (the pre-retirement difference was in the same direction but was not statistically significant). Having a chronic condition had no apparent effect on component 4 (satisfaction with oneself).

Table 6.2 Difference between Health Status and Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction	Retirement	Health	Mean	N	df	t
Comp 1 Satisfied with relationship with others	before	With a chronic disease	3.10	52	118	-2.047*
		Without a chronic disease	3.32	68		
	after	With a chronic disease	3.12	52	118	-2.312*
		Without a chronic disease	3.43	68		
Comp 2 Satisfaction in participating	before	With a chronic disease	2.91	52	118	1.175
		Without a chronic disease	2.78	68		
	after	With a chronic disease	3.04	52	118	-3.048**
		Without a chronic disease	3.47	68		
Comp 3 Satisfaction with the present condition	before	With a chronic disease	3.04	52	118	-
		Without a chronic disease	3.44	68		
	after	With a chronic disease	2.87	52	118	-
		Without a chronic disease	3.43	68		
Comp 4 Satisfied with myself	before	With a chronic disease	3.26	52	118	1.240
		Without a chronic disease	3.10	68		
	after	With a chronic disease	3.01	52	118	-1.251
		Without a chronic disease	3.20	68		

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

Occupation

Former white-collar employees had higher life satisfaction scores than former blue-collar workers but these differences reached statistical significance pre- and post-retirement only on component 1 (relationships with others). There were significant relationships after retirement only on component 2 (participation) and component 4 (satisfaction with oneself), plus a moderately significant relationship pre-retirement only on component 3 (present condition).

Whether or not the respondents held irregular post-retirement jobs did not have a significant relationship with any of the life satisfaction components.

Table 6.3 Difference between Occupation and Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction	Retirement	Occupation	Mean	N	df	t
Comp 1	before	Blue collar	3.09	50	118	-2.074*
		White collar	3.32	70		
Satisfied with relationship with others	after	Blue collar	3.13	50	118	-2.040*
		White collar	3.41	70		
Comp 2	before	Blue collar	2.86	50	118	.334
		White collar	2.82	70		
Satisfaction in participating	after	Blue collar	3.07	50	118	-2.567*
		White collar	3.43	70		
Comp 3	before	Blue collar	3.14	50	118	-1.895
		White collar	3.36	70		
Satisfaction with the present condition	after	Blue collar	3.05	50	118	-1.622
		White collar	3.28	70		
Comp 4	before	Blue collar	3.11	50	118	-.727
		White collar	3.21	70		
Satisfied with myself	after	Blue collar	2.94	50	118	-2.016*
		White collar	3.24	70		

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

Income

Pre-retirement income, like a white-collar occupation, made a significant positive difference pre- and post-retirement on component 1 (relationships with others), but only post-retirement on component 3 (present condition).

The extent to which respondent's incomes has fallen since they retired appeared to be making no difference to any components of their life satisfaction.

Table 6.4 Difference between Income and Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction	Retirement	Income	Mean	N	df	t
Comp 1	before	£1,000 and under	3.07	61	118	-
		Over £1,000	3.39	59		
Satisfied with relationship with others	after	£1,000 and under	3.14	61	118	-2.324*
		Over £1,000	3.45	59		
Comp 2	before	£1,000 and under	2.82	61	118	-.366
		Over £1,000	2.86	59		
Satisfaction in participating	after	£1,000 and under	3.21	61	118	-1.009
		Over £1,000	3.36	59		
Comp 3	before	£1,000 and under	3.17	61	118	-1.646
		Over £1,000	3.36	59		
Satisfaction with the present condition	after	£1,000 and under	2.99	61	118	-
		Over £1,000	3.38	59		
Comp 4	before	£1,000 and under	3.16	61	118	-.168
		Over £1,000	3.18	59		
Satisfied with myself	after	£1,000 and under	3.13	61	118	.195
		Over £1,000	3.10	59		

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

Education

Education shows significant differences only on component 1 (relationships), and the post-retirement relationship was only moderately significant. The sole additional significant difference by education was post-retirement on component 4 (satisfaction with oneself). The 'social class' variables (occupation, income and education) proved far less effective in predicting life satisfaction than health, and whether or not a person was living alone.

Table 6.5 Difference between Education and Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction	Retirement	Education	Mean	N	df	t
Comp 1 Satisfied with relationship with others	before	Below high school	3.15	84	118	-2.117*
		Higher education	3.40	36		
	after	Below high school	3.21	84	118	-1.896
		Higher education	3.49	36		
Comp 2 Satisfaction in participating	before	Below high school	2.87	84	118	.979
		Higher education	2.76	36		
	after	Below high school	3.20	84	118	-1.852
		Higher education	3.48	36		
Comp 3 Satisfaction with the present condition	before	Below high school	3.22	84	118	-1.191
		Higher education	3.37	36		
	after	Below high school	3.12	84	118	-1.567
		Higher education	3.35	36		
Comp 4 Satisfied with myself	before	Below high school	3.14	84	118	-.552
		Higher education	3.22	36		
	after	Below high school	2.97	84	118	3.087**
		Higher education	3.46	36		

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

Age

Age has a significant relationship with life satisfaction post-retirement on component 4 (satisfaction with oneself) and moderately significant pre- and post-retirement relationships on component 3 (present condition). All the differences by age favour the younger age group.

Table 6.6 Difference between Age and Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction	Retirement	Age	Mean	N	df	t
Comp 1 Satisfied with relationship with others	before	Under 70	3.23	81	118	.246
		70 and over	3.21	39		
	after	Under 70	3.35	81	118	1.281
		70 and over	3.17	39		
Comp 2 Satisfaction in participating	before	Under 70	2.78	81	118	-1.553
		70 and over	2.96	39		
	after	Under 70	3.35	81	118	1.359
		70 and over	3.15	39		
Comp 3 Satisfaction with the present condition	before	Under 70	3.34	81	118	1.911
		70 and over	3.11	39		
	after	Under 70	3.28	81	118	1.962
		70 and over	2.99	39		
Comp 4 Satisfied with myself	before	Under 70	3.23	81	118	1.497
		70 and over	3.03	39		
	after	Under 70	3.25	81	118	2.560*
		70 and over	2.85	39		

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

With gender, irregular work after retirement, and income change there were no significant life satisfaction differences whatsoever.

Our socio-economic predictors performed better with life satisfaction than with levels of leisure participation, yet only cohabitation and health had really strong predictive power, pre- and post-retirement, across most of the life satisfaction components.

Life satisfaction and socio-demographic factors before and after retirement

We saw in chapter 5 that reported leisure behaviour was not strongly patterned by any of our socio-demographic predictors. In contrast, there was a crystal clear relationship with life stage: there had been a general upward shift in leisure activity following retirement. Our findings on life satisfaction are broadly similar. The clearest differences are between pre- and post-retirement rather than within any of the socio-demographic pairs. We saw in chapter 4 that reported life satisfaction had improved overall following retirement. Here we can show that it was improved scores on Component 2 (satisfaction with participating) that were almost wholly responsible.

Satisfaction with relationships with others (Component 1)

There were no significant differences whatsoever between the pre- and post-retirement scores within any of the socio-demographic groups on

component 1 (relationships with others), except that respondents whose post-retirement incomes had declined only modestly (by less than 50%) had significantly higher mean scores than before retirement. Otherwise relationships with others appeared to have remained equally good or bad.

Table 6.7 Satisfaction with Relationship with Others and Socioeconomic Factors

Socioeconomic factor	retirement	Mean	N	df	t	
Gender	Male	Before	3.22	83	82	-7.496
		After	3.27			
	Female	Before	3.24	37	36	
		After	3.34			
Age	Under 70	Before	3.23	81	80	-7.517
		After	3.35			
	70 and over	Before	3.21	39	38	
		After	3.17			
Education	Below high school	Before	3.15	84	83	-4.128
		After	3.21			
	Higher education	Before	3.40	36	35	
		After	3.49			
Health status	With a chronic disease	Before	3.10	52	51	-1.382
		After	3.12			
	Without a chronic disease	Before	3.32	68	67	
		After	3.43			
Income before retirement	£1,000 and under	Before	3.07	61	60	-4.847
		After	3.14			
	Over £1,000	Before	3.39	59	58	
		After	3.45			
Cohabitation	Living with someone	Before	3.28	104	103	-6.492
		After	3.35			
	Living alone	Before	2.84	16	15	
		After	2.91			
Occupation	Blue collar	Before	3.09	50	49	-2.158
		After	3.13			
	White collar	Before	3.32	70	69	
		After	3.41			
Irregular work	With an irregular job	Before	3.22	47	46	-1.331
		After	3.36			
	Without an irregular job	Before	3.23	73	72	
		After	3.25			
Income change	Up to 50% decrease	Before	3.18	79	78	-2.008*
		After	3.34			
	Over 50% decrease	Before	3.30	38	37	
		After	3.20			

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

Satisfaction with participating (Component 2)

With Component 2 the findings are very different. Table 6.8 shows statistically significant improvements following retirement within almost every socio-demographic group. The exceptional groups, where the post-retirement changes were in the right direction (upwards) but did not reach statistical significance, were females, over 70 year olds, those suffering from chronic health conditions, and those who were living alone.

Table 6.8 Satisfaction in Participating and Socioeconomic Factors

Socioeconomic factor	retirement	Mean	N	df	t	
Gender	Male	Before	2.78	83	82	-7.496***
		After	3.37			
	Female	Before	2.96	37	36	
		After	3.10			
Age	Under 70	Before	2.78	81	80	-7.517***
		After	3.35			
	70 and over	Before	2.96	39	38	
		After	3.15			
Education	Below high school	Before	2.87	84	83	-4.128***
		After	3.20			
	Higher education	Before	2.76	36	35	
		After	3.48			
Health status	With a chronic disease	Before	2.91	52	51	-1.382
		After	3.04			
	Without a chronic disease	Before	2.78	68	67	
		After	3.47			
Income before retirement	£1,000 and under	Before	2.82	61	60	-4.847***
		After	3.21			
	Over £1,000	Before	2.86	59	58	
		After	3.36			
Cohabitation	Living with someone	Before	2.86	104	103	-6.492***
		After	3.35			
	Living alone	Before	2.69	16	15	
		After	2.88			
Occupation	Blue collar	Before	2.86	50	49	-2.158*
		After	3.07			
	White collar	Before	2.82	70	69	
		After	3.43			
Irregular work	With an irregular job	Before	3.22	47	46	-5.724***
		After	3.36			
	Without an irregular job	Before	3.23	73	72	
		After	3.25			
Income change	Up to 50% decrease	Before	3.18	79	78	-6.567***
		After	3.34			
	Over 50% decrease	Before	3.30	38	37	
		After	3.20			

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

Satisfaction with the present condition (Component 3)

On component 3 (present condition) there had been significant declines in reported satisfaction among those with chronic health conditions (which were likely to have developed post-retirement), those who did not have irregular jobs at the time of the research, and those whose incomes had fallen by over 50% since they retired.

Table 6.9 Satisfaction with the Present Condition and Socioeconomic Factors

Socioeconomic factor	Retirement	Mean	N	df	t	
Gender	Male	Before	3.30	83	82	1.674
		After	3.20			
	Female	Before	3.19	37	36	
		After	3.14			
Age	Under 70	Before	3.34	81	80	.954
		After	3.28			
	70 and over	Before	3.11	39	38	
		After	2.99			
Education	Below high school	Before	3.22	84	83	1.800
		After	3.12			
	Higher education	Before	3.37	36	35	
		After	3.35			
Health status	With a chronic disease	Before	3.04	52	51	2.138*
		After	2.87			
	Without a chronic disease	Before	3.44	68	67	
		After	3.43			
Income before retirement	£1,000 and under	Before	3.17	61	60	2.815**
		After	2.99			
	Over £1,000	Before	3.36	59	58	
		After	3.38			
Cohabitation	Living with someone	Before	3.33	104	103	1.079
		After	3.27			
	Living alone	Before	2.83	16	15	
		After	2.65			
Occupation	Blue collar	Before	3.14	50	49	.982
		After	3.05			
	White collar	Before	3.36	70	69	
		After	3.28			
Irregular work	With an irregular job	Before	3.26	47	46	-.553
		After	3.30			
	Without an irregular job	Before	3.27	73	72	
		After	3.11			
Income change	Up to 50% decrease	Before	3.24	79	78	.254
		After	3.22			
	Over 50% decrease	Before	3.28	38	37	
		After	3.04			

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

Satisfied with myself (Component 4)

Those who had earned over £1000 a month when in employment, and those whose incomes had declined by over 50% since they retired, reported reduced post-retirement satisfaction on component 4 (satisfied with oneself). On this component of life satisfaction there were also significant declines between pre- and post-retirement among respondents with chronic health conditions, the lesser educated, and a significant upward shift among those with higher education.

Table 6.10 Satisfied with Myself and Socioeconomic Factors

Socioeconomic factor	retirement	Mean	N	df	t	
Gender	Male	Before	3.19	83	82	.374
		After	3.16			
	Female	Before	3.11	37	36	.804
		After	3.01			
Age	Under 70	Before	3.23	81	80	-.172
		After	3.25			
	70 and over	Before	3.03	39	38	1.300
		After	2.85			
Education	Below high school	Before	3.14	84	83	2.231*
		After	2.97			
	Higher education	Before	3.22	36	35	-2.048*
		After	3.46			
Health status	With a chronic disease	Before	3.26	52	51	2.422*
		After	3.01			
	Without a chronic disease	Before	3.10	68	67	-1.252
		After	3.20			
Income before retirement	£1,000 and under	Before	3.16	61	60	.238
		After	3.13			
	Over £1,000	Before	3.18	59	58	.922
		After	3.10			
Cohabitation	Living with someone	Before	3.21	104	103	.416
		After	3.18			
	Living alone	Before	2.91	16	15	.878
		After	2.72			
Occupation	Blue collar	Before	3.11	50	49	1.480
		After	2.94			
	White collar	Before	3.21	70	69	-.460
		After	3.24			
Irregular work	With an irregular job	Before	3.16	47	46	-.097
		After	3.17			
	Without an irregular job	Before	3.17	73	72	1.073
		After	3.08			
Income change	Up to 50% decrease	Before	3.20	79	78	-1.519
		After	3.32			
	Over 50% decrease	Before	3.16	38	37	3.774***
		After	2.75			

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

Overall it was component 2 (participating) that was responsible for most groups experiencing enhanced life satisfaction following retirement. This suggests that it could well have been the reported increases in leisure activity that were responsible. Was this indeed the case?

Life satisfaction and leisure

We have already acknowledged that causality cannot be positively proven. Empirical evidence can only enable causal claims to be rendered implausible. We proceed accordingly here. Among the respondents in this study, reported leisure participation and life satisfaction had both moved upwards following retirement. There could be a causal link. If so, the link could run in either direction. Here we examine whether the respondents who reported the higher levels of leisure activity were the same persons who reported the higher levels of life satisfaction.

Tables 6.11 and 6.12 respectively give the Pearson correlations between levels of reported participation in the seven different types of leisure and each of the four components of life satisfaction, pre- and post-retirement.

Table 6.11 Life Satisfaction and Leisure Types Before Retirement

		Satisfied with relationship with others	Satisfaction in participating	Satisfaction with the present condition	Satisfied with myself
Home based type	Pearson correlation	-.070	.167	.062	.091
	Significance (2 tail)	.446	.068	.503	.324
Sports health type	Pearson correlation	.013	.274**	.131	-.079
	Significance (2 tail)	.889	.002	.154	.389
Outdoor type	Pearson correlation	-.091	.427***	.155	.103
	Significance (2 tail)	.322	.000	.091	.265
Artistic type	Pearson correlation	-.064	.129	-.129	-.049
	Significance (2 tail)	.486	.161	.159	.594
Hobbies domestic type	Pearson correlation	-.233**	.187*	-.100	-.142
	Significance (2 tail)	.010	.041	.279	.123
Social recreational type	Pearson correlation	-.123	-.109	.008	-.071
	Significance (2 tail)	.181	.235	.933	.440
Group social type	Pearson correlation	-.296***	.350***	-.137	.167
	Significance (2 tail)	.001	.000	.135	.068

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

Before retirement (Table 6.11) most of the significant correlations are between leisure participation and life satisfaction component 2 (participation), and all these correlations are positive. The only other significant correlations are on component 1 (relationships) and these correlations are negative, meaning that high levels of participation in hobbies and group social leisure were associated with lower levels of reported satisfaction. The types of leisure that were significantly and positively correlated with scores on life satisfaction component 2

(participation) were sport, outdoor, hobbies and group social. High levels of participation in home-based leisure, artistic leisure, and casual social leisure did not appear to have any beneficial pre-retirement life satisfaction effects.

Table 6.12 Life Satisfaction and Leisure Types After Retirement

		Satisfied with relationship with others	Satisfaction in participating	Satisfaction with the present condition	Satisfied with myself
Home based type	Pearson correlation	.112	.252**	.073	.102
	Significance (2 tail)	.221	.005	.431	.267
Sports health type	Pearson correlation	.423***	.338***	.327***	.230*
	Significance (2 tail)	.000	.000	.000	.012
Outdoor type	Pearson correlation	.279**	.628***	.352***	.163
	Significance (2 tail)	.002	.000	.000	.075
Artistic type	Pearson correlation	.141	.140	.042	.153
	Significance (2 tail)	.126	.127	.651	.095
Hobbies domestic type	Pearson correlation	-.125	.174	-.050	-.064
	Significance (2 tail)	.174	.057	.588	.490
Social recreational type	Pearson correlation	.183*	.294***	-.091	.091
	Significance (2 tail)	.045	.001	.321	.325
Group social type	Pearson correlation	-.125	.133	-.208*	.203*
	Significance (2 tail)	.173	.147	.023	.026

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

There are more significant correlations in Table 6.12, suggesting that leisure had become a more important source of life satisfaction following retirement and the loss of occupational roles. All but one of the

significant correlations in Table 6.12 are positive: the exception is group social leisure which correlates negatively with component 3 (satisfaction with present condition). Component 2 (satisfaction with participation) again proves the most responsive to leisure participation, but there are significant positive correlations between participation in all but one type of leisure and the life satisfaction components.

Artistic leisure is the exceptional type of leisure in the absence of a significant correlation with any of the life satisfaction components either pre- or post-retirement. After retirement, home-based leisure appears to boost component 2 (participation). Participation in sports appears to boost significantly all four life satisfaction components. Outdoor leisure boosts all the components except component 4 (satisfaction with oneself). Hobbies boost component 2 (participation) only, and this correlation is just moderately significant. Casual social leisure boosts component 1 (relationships) and component 2 (participation). Group social leisure boosts component 4 (satisfaction with oneself) but correlates negatively with component 3 (satisfaction with present condition).

Overall, as regards improving life satisfaction post-retirement, artistic leisure, hobbies, home-based and group social leisure appear the least efficacious. Casual social leisure appears moderately efficacious. The most efficacious kinds of leisure appear to be sports and other forms of

outdoor recreation. The respondents in this study reported increased participation in these forms of leisure following their retirement. All our evidence is consistent with these changes being responsible for the respondents' enhanced life satisfaction, operating primarily via Component 2 (satisfaction with participating).

Of course, all the above is based on evidence from a structured questionnaires/interview schedule. In the next chapter these quantitative findings are triangulated with evidence from unstructured, in-depth interviews.

Chapter Seven: Real Lives

Introduction

This chapter presents individual case studies, eight vignettes, based on the in-depth interviews that followed the main questionnaire survey. In the process more details are given, supplementing the information in chapter 3, about the area and the places where the elderly were contacted.

One purpose of this chapter is to add ‘flesh and blood’ to the statistics in chapters 4-6. Exactly how had the elderly increased their leisure activity since retirement? How much and what were they really doing before and after? What did they mean when they reported that their lives had become more satisfying?

The previous chapters (4-6) dealt with groups of respondents. They were grouped by age, gender, previous occupations and so on. Information about their previous jobs, previous and current reported health, current family circumstances and so forth were each and separately related to reported pre- and post-retirement leisure. This kind of analysis loses sight of how age, gender and employment intersect. Also, the analysis is temporally ‘flat’. Variables are related cross-sectionally. We lose sight of processes whereby behaviour is reshaped from pre- to post-retirement,

and how individuals' past lives affect how they experience the present. These deficiencies can be corrected by a complementary focus on individuals, their whole lives, and their biographies. Hence the vignettes that are at the centre of this chapter. One aim is to create a 'bridge' to chapter 8 which explores statistical associations between pre- and post-retirement leisure behaviour on the one hand, then, on the other, reported pre- and post-retirement life satisfaction. The vignettes illuminate the processes that are likely to have been responsible for the changes and associations. The vignettes also clarify what respondents meant when they claimed to do things 'sometimes' or 'often', and what being satisfied with various aspects of their lives meant to them.

The discussion with which this chapter concludes draws from the interviewees' biographies to suggest how and why the lives, the leisure, and the judgments of life satisfaction of Korea's present-day elders may well prove cohort-specific.

This chapter proceeds by presenting additional information about the place (Gang-Nam) where the research was conducted, and the venues where the elderly were contacted. The observations that are reported below help in setting the elderly's own statements in context.

Gang-Nam

Gang-Nam district is a very important area in social, political, cultural and economic terms. This area is densely populated. It has more education facilities than anywhere else in Korea. Due to this, many people with children try to live in the area. Korea is one of the world's most highly investing countries in education. It is one of the countries where the largest amounts of assets move between generations within the family: for investing in education towards the child, and also to support the elderly (Harper, 2009). Due to its popularity, house (apartment) prices in Gang-Nam have soared and it is the most expensive area in Korea. People with enough money to purchase dwellings in this area bring their children and also their parents to support both sides. People who do not have enough income to afford the house prices and living costs still settle down by renting a property and bringing their parents and children all together for educational reasons. According to Sarah Harper (2009), "Korea has a unique culture in investing in education, probably one of the highest not only in the Asia region but also in the world". One reason for choosing this particular area for this study was that it was easy to gain access to people with origins in all regions in Korea.

The mean retirement age in Korea is currently 56.8. Compared to the UK this is a very low figure. In the research, the questionnaires were distributed to people who were over 50 and retired. The upper age limit

was set to 85. The ‘oldest-old’, those 85 and older, are more likely to experience frailty, illness and dependence in comparison to ‘younger-old’ people. Accordingly, they are more likely to be ‘looked after’ rather than being able to participate in any type of independent leisure activity.

Table 7.1 Distribution Chart of the Interviewees

Gae-Po Elderly Welfare Centre	Do San Park	Gang-Nam Cycling Club	Song-Pa Elderly Welfare Centre
J (71), female	S (75), male	J (65), male	Y (84), female
P (66), male	K (78), male	H (59), male	C (57), male

* the brackets () indicate the interviewee’s age

Gae-Po Elderly Welfare Centre

This consists of two floors in an apartment block and it is divided by gender in catering for the elderly. Korea has a strong Confucian culture, and it seemed that the elderly males would not be pleased to have to share the same space with the female elderly. Most of the female elderly on the first floor occupied a single room where they sat in a big circle. On the day when the researcher first visited this centre there were about 30 elderly females cared by two female carers. Some of the elderly were chatting and some played cards. The rest were watching television. The two carers were preparing a meal for the elderly. The male elderly room had fewer people, 14, and most watched television or read newspapers. The atmosphere was quite laid back and looked comfortable.

During six hours of observation a day for three days, most of the elderly came in at around 9.00 am and went back to their homes by 3.00 or 4.00 pm. Nothing special happened and normally watching television and playing card games seemed to be the normal everyday routines. Lunch was served around 12.00 noon and some of the elderly came just for the meal and then left the centre.

During the research, the researcher found out that building up rapport was one of the really vital things to do. The female elderly were quite open and accepted the researcher quickly. The male elderly did not open up until a certain amount of time had passed. The researcher bought cakes, *Soju* (Korean traditional rice wine), fruit and other eats in order to get a bit closer. It took two to three days with the same procedure, visiting the elderly, talking with them and bringing in some food, before they started to talk freely to the researcher. Afterwards, when the researcher arrived at the centre, the elderly people said that they had been waiting, and kept on asking the researcher to have lunch with them. After the questionnaires and interviews when the researcher had finished collecting data from the centre and was leaving, some of the elderly showed some tears and asked to be visited again. Affection could be felt between the researcher and the elderly and the whole procedure was a very moving experience. A few of the elderly had experienced the Korean War and had not received even a

basic education: some were illiterate. Some of the elderly had bad eyesight. Hence the researcher had to read out the questionnaire and wait for replies. The plus side was that this could bring out fuller answers than when the questionnaire was handed out, but the downside was that it was very much time consuming.

From the interviews it appeared that there was a similarity amongst the female elderly which was that they had kept to the traditional value of staying at home and doing housework, looking after the children and cooking. Normally the female elderly had a lower level of education than the male elderly.

Some of the older persons had difficulty with moving and reading, and had a very limited category of leisure activities which they could carry out. Accordingly, the researcher had to limit the age by asking or otherwise visually sorting out potential interviewees who looked able to cope with the questionnaire and interview. The follow-up interviews did not have a particular form. It seemed more natural just to talk. However, the researcher tried to keep to issues which were related to the project. Another problem with the elderly was that they seemed to interpret a question from a different angle to what the researcher had intended. This was another factor that was quite difficult to control.

Jung Mi-ae (71,female)

Could you tell me about yourself a bit please?

Yes, I think I am not much different to the other women here. I had a hard life just like the others. We all experienced the Korean War and nothing was plentiful. I grew up in a small town near Busan and we grew rice for a living. In the past rice was like money, and you could go to the market and exchange it for other things which you needed. Things were not plentiful but we were happy. I have two sons and the elder one lives here in Seoul.

So why are you here now? And do you do anything in Seoul?

Ha ha! What do I have to do? I am very old now and nobody wants an old granny! Ha ha. I am here because I have nowhere else to go. My son brought me here after my husband died and I am living with my grandchildren, daughter-in-law and son. I am a burden to him (*the other elderly women were listening to this conversation and told the interviewee not to say harsh things and just say good things, so the researcher moved into a small room to get more privacy and to obtain a better interview*). I educated my son and he is responsible for looking after me now. I spent all my money on educating my sons and now he just has enough money to educate his. Ha ha. He gives me 100,000 KRW (equivalent of £50) a month to spend but I come here and have food at lunch and chat with the others. I kill all my time and go home at 5

o'clock. At least my daughter-in-law doesn't need to feed me during lunch time and look after me. I don't spend the money from my son: I give it to my grandchildren. I know my son works very hard. He has not enough money, I know that!

So do you do anything during your spare time? Have you done any activities when you were young?

I come here and watch dramas on television and chat with the other women. Sometimes we play *hwa-to* (Korean card game) and go home.

Do you go on trips or meetings? Socialising?

From the centre we go on day trips once every six months. Maybe that is it. Otherwise I come and go from the centre to home. My legs are not too good and it is hard for me even to come up the steps. If you develop a policy for the old people please install an elevator here first! Ha ha.

Do you meet your friends at all?

I had friends but some of them are still in Busan. Some of them died and now I'm just waiting for my day to go back (this means to return to the soil; death).

Do you have any hobbies?

Hobbies? I got married and worked all my life. I cannot even read. I used

to write Seo-Yae (*Korean painting, using black ink and a thick brush on thin paper*) but now I don't do it.

Do you feel lonely?

If I come to the centre I am OK.

Thank you for your time!

Have some food before you go.

Jung is a good example of present-day Korea's better-off female elderly. Her entire life has been family centred and she is now family dependent. As a child, and then as an adult, she engaged in little independent leisure. In retirement she attends the elderly centre and in this sense does more than formerly. Her leisure participation had risen since retirement, but from a very low base. Jung was satisfied. She ensured that her sons were given a good start, and now her elder son supports her: a good life, far better than Jung had experienced when young, then as a child-rearing mother.

Park Soon-ho (66, male)

Hello! Could you tell me about yourself please?

Ha ha, well I used to work for a construction company. I quit when I was 53 when the company pressured me to resign. You know the IMF in 1999,

2000?

Did you have any hobbies or leisure activities that you enjoyed before resigning?

Yes, I used to go to the mountain every weekend and drink with my friends or colleagues from my workplace. I also went swimming every morning but not when I had a hangover, ha ha. During the weekends I also read books to develop myself because I was close to the owner of the company and we had to talk about something. Every night I went out for a stroll with my wife, but this was only possible when I got back early from work, ha ha.

Park had grown up and become an adult before the spread of commercial leisure took-off in Korea. He had always been leisure-active, but alcohol had been virtually his only leisure purchase.

That is great! So do you still carry on the leisure activities you used to do? I mean after retirement?

Well, yes. In fact, I think it has increased because I don't work anymore. I am a Sam-Shik, ha ha (*Sam-Shik means a person who eats three meals at home, and normally refers to male retirees whose wives have to cook three times a day whereas before retirement they only had to cook once or twice because the husband dined outside*). I still go swimming in the

early morning and during the afternoon I sometimes go to the mountain.
And at night time I go for a stroll with my wife.

We can note that none of Park's enlarged leisure life involved spending money.

That is quite a lot of exercise.

Well, yes. But I have to keep healthy otherwise who would care for me if I was in hospital? My wife will leave me, ha ha!

Ha ha! So do you mean your leisure activities have increased? Are there any other activities that have increased?

I do the regular exercises that I used to do. Even though I want to learn, I am a bit too old. You cannot teach old dogs new tricks, ha ha. But I am planning to take a computer course on the internet. There are so many courses available nowadays.

So are you happy with your life after retirement?

Well, yes, I think so. Firstly, I do not get any stress except from my wife, ha ha! And I can do what I want to do. To be honest, when I first came out of my job I felt very down and did not know what I should do. I thought of opening a business myself, a small office or something, but I felt a bit scared to compete in such a narrow market. As you know, us old

people are no match for the young people. They are so good! I just tried to get used to my current situation and I did struggle for two years or so. The loss was very big! You will understand later too! Ha ha! Men doing something for 30-40 years and suddenly losing it! Imagine that!

Oh! I feel sorry for you about that. But you are happy now? Are you satisfied with your life?

I mean, yes! It depends on how you spend your time. If you are constructive and want to develop yourself, it is very good, but if you just do nothing and give up, time just flows and you die. How useless would that be? I try to develop myself and learn more and at the same time keep healthy! Because without a healthy body, you cannot do anything. If you lose your health, it's over. The only thing is, you need to be careful with your spending. I used to save a lot! Oh no, my wife did, ha ha, and if we have nothing special coming I think we have enough to spend until we die!

Could you teach me how to save like that please? Ha ha.

Ha ha, it's a secret, ha ha!

Well, thank you so much for your interview.

If Jung can be considered a typical elderly female, Park can be

considered a typical elderly male. He had always enjoyed more independent leisure than his wife. While he stayed in good health he was continuing with his former leisure activities and, like other residents in Gang-Nam, he (and his family) had enough money to enable him to do so. Indeed, he had increased his involvement in some activities because he had more leisure time. However, Park admitted that adjusting to the loss of his work role had been difficult at first.

Do San Park.

Some interviewees were contacted in Do San Park, which lies at the heart of the Gang-Nam area, close to the elderly centre, so a lot of elderly people use the park. During the daytime, the elderly come out to take a stroll and sometimes talk with others. Some of the elderly come with their grandchildren while the parents are at work. The reasons for choosing this park were, first, it was easy to get access to a large number of elderly people both male and female, and second, it was an open space and easy to approach anyone to have a chat. The setting is good so the people from the elderly centre use the park a lot. The park is occupied normally during the daytime by the elderly who live in the Gang-Nam area, and there are seldom younger people there for they are at work.

Shim Jae-kwang (Male, 75)

Hello! So could you tell me about yourself a little bit please?

Yes, I am 75 and I was born in 1935. I worked in a coalmine when I was 30 and quit when I was 50 – a total of 20 years. I came to Seoul in 1982 and worked as a gas security manager and left in late-1996. So since then I am jobless. Ha ha: 13 years is it? Ha ha. Well, I worked in a coalmine in a place called Young Joo, Kyung buk. Do you know it?

Yes I do.

Well, I got silicosis and that is the reason I quit. I went to the hospital in 1982 and the hospital said there was no problem, but in 1985 I went to Seoul City Hospital and they said it was silicosis. I had a hard time for 3-5 years and took medicine. The hospital said I had to eat well so I ate dogs, boiled goats, and snakes. I think I ate 20-30 snakes. The hospital told me to go to a recuperation centre, but if I went, who would my family rely on?

So you mean you were the only breadwinner?

Of course. It was like that in the past. All the men worked and the women stayed home. Nowadays the women go out and work, but before it was different. Then I heard one day that there was (financial) support from the government if you had silicosis but I could not get it because they said the extent was not to a certain level.

So did you have any leisure activities that you used to do before

retirement?

What kind of leisure? Like sports?

Any type of leisure. Like watching TV or smoking....etc

I think I did what others do. I don't do any sports except walking but I drink and smoke.

So, before and after retirement is there any difference in your leisure?

Watching TV and newspapers are the same, but I have quit smoking and drinking. I used to smoke two packets of cigarettes a day until I was 65 but then I quit. Drinking, I used to drink till 67 but now I just drink very rarely. I think what I used to do before retirement and after are the same.

What could change?

OK, so your leisure activities are pretty much the same?

Yes.

So are you satisfied with your lifestyle now? Do you meet friends? Do you have a good relationship with your family? Do you go out often?

I am very happy to see my grandchildren. That is why I live these days. They are so cute and adorable. I think I help my son and daughter-in-law a lot. I look after the grandchildren as much as I can. If I die they should remember me! Ha ha. I meet my friends maybe once or twice a week and

play card games. And I have a good relationship with my family as well. My daughter-in-law always says that the younger people are very ignorant, and she says that I have intelligence and the young ones have to learn. She is a very good daughter-in-law. She bought me this jacket.

That's great! So what do think are the most important things in life?

Health is very, very important! So always keep it. Another thing is, your friends and family are the ones who are always on your side. Do well to them. And finally, do not spend your hard earned money easily! No matter how much money you have, if you start throwing it away it will be gone soon. That's it!

Thank you very much!

From a 21st century Western perspective, neither Shim nor any of the previous interviewees appeared to have led, or to be currently leading a full leisure life. They must have been applying modest benchmarks in the questionnaire when they claimed to have done things 'sometimes' or more frequently. We can also note that no-one had been born and brought-up in Gang-Nam. The district had not been built when they were young. The respondents had all moved into the area, in many cases to live with or close to children who were enjoying career success. The life stories would no doubt have been rather different had the research been

conducted in a different part of Seoul. The respondents' families, and therefore they themselves, had experienced improvement, and their expressions of life satisfaction must be set in this context.

Kim Jin-chul (78, male)

Hello! Could you tell me about yourself a bit please?

I live right there in that apartment with my daughter and grandchildren. Block 101. Are you from the government? Can you give us support? Ha ha!

Ha ha! Sorry I'm not from the government. I'm just a student! I told you before! Ha ha! Could you let me know what you used to do and a bit about yourself please?

OK, OK. I used to work as a farmer in Buahn Julla province. I worked as a farmer for 30 years and I was also the head of the village. I used to look after land at the Shin Han Company (*it was a Japanese run company in the early 1900s, formed to take over the land*). After the Japanese left, I worked as a manager there and re-distributed the land to Koreans. Then I came back to become a farmer again.

That is very interesting. What did you do for leisure back then? Do you take part in any leisure activities now?

Back then, I used to drink alcohol. I could get hold of good quality

Japanese sake and I drank that. But I do not smoke. I never smoked. After the Japanese left, I studied at Dongbu University while I worked as a farmer. I think this is leisure. Studying is very enjoyable. I studied back then about agriculture and now I still study English! *'How are you? How do you do?'* Ha ha. I do a lot of walking to keep my body working and they say walking is very good for old people so I walk like this.

So how did your leisure change before and after retirement?

Because I was a farmer, I was very busy. The younger generations do not know that. Farmers are very busy. However, I studied whenever I had a chance and maybe because of that I was elected as head of the village. Since I quit working, I still read books and watch the Discovery TV channel to learn something. Is learning leisure? I think my leisure is more or less the same. Or it has increased a bit more because I do not have compulsory work.

So are you happy with your leisure life now? Do you have a good relationship with the people around you?

I have enough time and friends to keep myself entertained, but I do not have financial support.

Did you use all your money for educating your children?

It is the same for everyone. I did support my children and they should

support me when I get old. I feel a bit sorry and feel a burden, but there is no other way I can live. I used to go to a temple but I changed to become a Christian because my daughter-in-law wanted me to go to church. I think my problem is that I do not have economic independence. Well, yes, I have good relationships and I think it is better than before because I see them more often.

Thank you very much!

The men who were interviewed were more leisure active than the women, but Westerners would be unlikely to regard any as highly participant. None except two retired teachers (see below), one of whom had children who had emigrated, reported pre-retirement overseas travel. No-one reported regular (in a Western sense) visits to the theatre, the cinema or concerts. These elders had never been part of the 'age of consumption'. They typically mentioned how, post-retirement, money had become a constraint. The men's main items of pre-retirement leisure spending appeared to have been cigarettes and alcohol products, which had usually been cutback or eliminated. Neither the older men nor women wished to abuse the support that their children were typically offering, which would have meant taking what might alternatively have been spent on their own grandchildren.

Gang-Nam Cycling Association

This was another place where respondents in this research were contacted.

Whilst doing the fieldwork, the researcher came to know an area where elderly males gathered every day in the daytime, and it was in front of the Gang-Nam Cycling Association. The area has a lot of benches and since it has only a bicycle approach road, no cars can pass by. It also has a small stream so it is quiet and there is a pleasant atmosphere for the elderly to sit down and chat.

Jang hong-rim (Male, 65)

Hello! Could you tell me about you and what you used to do before retirement?

I worked as a teacher at JamShil Middle School. It is a private school and I stayed there for 30 years or so.

That is great! So did you do any particular leisure activity whilst you were working?

I used to practice Gum Do (*a type of fencing*) and learned Japanese. I am interested in Asian history and languages so I go to Japan sometimes.

So were you a history teacher?

Yes, exactly!

So what are you doing here sitting on the bench?

I am actually a member of the cycle club so I am waiting for others to come.

Oh. That's great! You do a lot of activities!

Yes, I try to keep active which is known to grow new cells in your brain and keep you healthier for longer.

I did not know that! Wow, a teacher is different!! Ha ha!

Ha ha. So are you using SPSS for your research?

Yes, how did you know?

I can see from your questionnaire. Most of the people use that and my daughter is studying in the US doing her PhD in psychology so I have seen her using it on her computer.

I am so surprised to see someone of your age know so much!

So what do you want to know from me?

I would like to compare your leisure activities before and after retirement and your life satisfaction before and after. Could you tell me please?

Yes, I'll make it simple, Before retirement, I used to practice Gumdo three times a week, two hours per session, and read Japanese books and

watch NHK. Also I would finish early at five o'clock because I was a teacher, so I already had a lot of time compared to others who had to work till 9 or 10 at night! My wife was also and still is a teacher at Daewang Primary School so we both could go for a walk or go shopping. We watched movies quite often because my wife likes movies, and during the weekends we would go to other regions to visit temples or sample popular and famous foods of other regions of Korea. After retirement, I have a lot of time. In the morning I prepare my wife for school! Ha ha, don't tell! I think I do the chores now and after morning the time goes quickly. I come here and ride the bicycle. I am trying to learn inline skating, and when my wife retires we will come here together and exercise together!

That is fantastic! Sounds very good!

Ha ha.

So did your leisure increase or decrease or is it the same?

It seems to be increasing, but the things that I do are the same except the housework! Ha ha. I just try to learn the bicycle and that is an addition, the rest is the same. I think it is possible because we have enough income and both of us earned. Well, I'm retired so I get the private school teachers' pension.

I heard it is quite a lot!

Yes, well it is enough! Ha ha.

So what about your relations with other people, and are you happy with your life? Are you satisfied compared to pre-retirement?

Yes I am. Sometimes I miss when I could teach teenagers lessons and reprimand them when they smoked in the road with their uniforms on. I could walk up and tell them, 'I am a teacher', and ask their names. They would be afraid of me, but now I am nothing so that is the only thing. I guess otherwise I am happy with the pension and all the time I get. My relationships with others are good and I meet my friends who are retired to go and play. One of my friends joined me in the cycle club. Leisure has increased and I think I am always happy. The satisfaction is the same. I was happy to work and now I'm happy to play!

Thank you very much!

This resident in Gang-Nam was middle class in terms of his own (and his wife's) occupation. They were among a minority within the sample who had not moved into Gang-Nam to join their children. Their incomes had been and remained sufficient to allow them to live, and to continue living, independently, and to participate in a range of modern leisure activities.

Ha Sang-yup (59, male)

Hello. Could you tell me about yourself a bit please?

Yes, my name is Ha Sang-yup and I was born in Busan. I have a son and a daughter and both of them are abroad. I live with my wife in Samik apartment just across the road. I used to work for a fisheries company and my wife runs a bakery. I retired when I was 51 and ever since I have been jobless. I used to be a chief executive officer at 'O' Fisheries. However, the IMF kicked in and I had no choice but to resign.

I'm sorry about that. I would like to ask you about the leisure life you had before and after retirement, and life satisfaction prior to retirement and after.

Before retirement I used to go to the gym after work during the week, and at the weekends, I used to go to the mountain or go swimming. Sometimes my family would visit relatives and stay overnight. Since I had a high position in the firm, I had to be an example to others so I had to report for work earlier than the others, know more than others and always be clean and neat. To do so, I had to maintain my health, not smoke, and even though I drank with others, I came home early for the next day. I had to be strict to myself. Also I had to study English and Russian since we had co-workers in other countries. My life for the 30 or so years that I dedicated to the company was very strict towards myself, but without that I would not have been able to get to that position with

only a high school degree. Also I would not have been able to educate my children either! But after retirement I feel a bit relaxed, and since I have felt so much discrimination during those years because I did not have a university degree, I am now in the third year of my bachelor degree. I am studying management at Hankook University of Foreign Studies. I am studying and reading a lot. I go swimming and go to the gym regularly as well as visiting my relatives a bit more often than before. The amount of leisure seems to be a bit more or the same.

Then could you tell me about your life satisfaction?

Yes, I have a comfortable house, a wife who stills works, and my retirement pension, both of my children study abroad, and I have friends around me, So I think I am a very happy man. I am healthy until now, my wife is healthy and my relatives all have no problems. I think that's the end of the story! And before and now? I sense that the satisfaction has come down just a little bit because I liked the work and it gave me a feeling of belonging, but the satisfaction now is OK. I prefer the times when I could work! Also younger the better! Nobody can change time with money!

So what do you think is the most important thing in life in order to lead a happy life? And what are the most problematic things?

It's a challenging question. The most important things are money and

health, and the most problematic things are health and money, I think! You have to study and work hard but that is to live a happy healthy life. I know money is not everything but still it is a large something in life. So money and health are the most important.

Thank you very much for your time!

Ha was another middle class (by former occupation) respondent who clearly attached considerable importance to continuing his education, and was still doing so. We can also note that just like Jang (the retired teacher), Ha had children who had been abroad for higher education. This respondent spoke in some detail about the loss of his former occupation and his initial difficulties in adjusting, but just like all the other men (and women) he felt that he had adjusted. Atypically, perhaps on account of the high status of his former job, this respondent felt that on balance his quality of life had declined slightly since retirement. Most of the men and women felt otherwise; they thought that if anything their lives had improved.

Songpa Area Elderly Welfare Centre

Songpa elderly centre is situated in the eastern part of Gang-Nam. It is in a ten storey building and it offers leisure programmes and facilities. It has quilt, dance, flower arrangement and singing classes and many more.

However, since recruitment to the research was best limited to surroundings where the elderly gathered without a particular purpose, the researcher chose the ground floor where the elderly simply came and sat for a chat or a rest.

Yang bok-ja (84, female)

Hello. Could you talk to me about yourself please?

Yes. I was born in the north, and during the Korean War I came to the south in search of refuge. It was a very hard time back then and everybody was starving. You would not be able to imagine. Even now I am very sad when I think about that time. I lost all my family and I do not know who is still in the north. Because there were so many people evacuating, we all got mixed up and lost each other. It is such a disaster to lose your loved ones. Imagine one day you suddenly lose contact with everyone you know. It is such a painful memory (sobs).

Yes, it would be very painful. I do not know exactly how it was because I have not experienced such a thing but I think that it must have been a painful time. I am sorry.

No, it is OK. The fault is everyone's greed. Because people are greedy, war happens. War should not happen again!

So back then how did you survive on your own? I mean did you work

or.....?

Yes. I had to live to meet my loved ones again, so I had a reason to live. I picked myself up and started to search for a job. I studied at university back then which was quite rare and usually a privilege for the ones who had plenty. I studied at Yeoun Hee Special College (*now Yonsei University*) in the mathematics department.

Then you might have been elite?

Yes, back then it was a top college. I was happy that I was educated because right after independence a lot of middle and high schools looked for teachers and they paid quite a lot to teachers, for education became important in Korea. I only finished the second year at university but still they wanted me to come and teach. So I went to teach in BangBae Women's Middle School.

So you have been a teacher ever since? So how old were you when you started?

I was 25, I think. And I did teach until 55, right until retirement. I also got married to a teacher and now I have five children and 12 grandchildren. One of my grandchildren got married and had a baby. So I also have one great grandchild.

Aww...that is so nice.

Yes, she (great grandchild) is turning two next year. I am very happy with her.

Could you tell me about your life when you were working? Was it well paid? Did you have any leisure back then?

Yes, I was well paid, and my husband was well paid, so we could have a nanny in our house to look after the children while we worked. Back then, after the war, since it was a very hungry period, people would come and work if you just gave them food and shelter. She did bring up all our children. I am so thankful to her. I don't know where she has gone now.

So, did you do any leisure activities?

Men normally would go out to have a drink or smoke but we women had to come back and do the chores and look after the children. I had a hobby though. Do you know ShipJaSoo (*cross stitching*)?

Yes, I do.

I liked to do that in a quiet surrounding. That was my leisure. I thought of lots of things while I would do that. I would think of my family and brothers and sisters, friends, children.....It was a time for meditation.

So do you still do it?

Not anymore. I did sew things for my children and they brought garments

to me to get them sewed. Now my eyes are tired so I do not do it anymore.

So after 55 did you do other leisure activities?

Ah! When I was young! 55 is young, ha ha. I still did the ShipJaSoo. I looked after my grandchildren and I started to do exercise because I had diabetes. The war generation was normally very hungry and had to eat as much when they could, so I also ate quite a lot. Sweets were what I liked most because they were not plentiful during the war, and after that the US military gave us some. So I knew the taste. I just ate a lot and back then nobody thought about health, well-being...etc. If you had a full stomach, that was happiness.

So what kind of exercise did you do? Did your leisure increase after retirement?

Definitely. My life quality had gone up quite a lot so I can look after my grandchildren, eat a lot and my son-in-laws buy me walking machines, bicycles and all sorts. So I do a lot of exercise and I am very happy.

Do you mean you came to do a lot more activities than before?

Yes.

Did you learn anything else as leisure?

No. I had a surgery. I fell on the ice and broke my leg bone here (shows

the area). It took a long time for the bone to stick because I had diabetes. They put a steel frame inside. Since that, what can I do? I just walk and walk. That is my only leisure. I am going to die soon. I just want to see my children and their offspring head to success.

No, you will live a long happy life.

Ha ha. Thank you.

So are you happier now than before retirement?

Yes I am. I am much more relaxed and my daughters take me on trips. One of my daughters lives in Los Angeles and one lives in Canada. I go and visit them once a year. They keep on asking me to come. I go to help them, but they take me around a lot. I am very happy.

Well, I hope you are always healthy. Thank you very much for the interview.

Thank you!

Many respondents had retired at far younger ages than would be considered normal in the UK. This has been possible because Korea has a huge labour surplus. Unemployment may be low whatever conventional measure is used, but there are as many 'irregular' as 'regular' (full-time, permanent) employees, and a similar number who are self-employed and

family workers (often on farms). Early retirement has often been enforced because, since the present-day elderly were young, Korea has raised its higher education participation rate towards the top of world rankings. Thus there are armies of highly educated young people competing for any regular job. In this context, older workers who are displaced have little chance of re-establishing themselves in regular employment.

Unless they had decent pensions, which were regarded as a privilege by those concerned who always appreciated their financial independence, the respondents were usually being supported by their families, by their children. They were often living with their children and grandchildren. Some had moved to Gang-Nam from elsewhere in Korea specifically for this purpose. Here we must bear in mind that Gang-Nam is one of the most prosperous districts in the whole of Korea. Here the adult cohorts seemed able and willing to support retired family members. We know that parents in Korea are continuing to invest heavily in their children's education: the country has one of the world's highest rates of participation in tertiary education. In so far as they are able to do so, it appears from the evidence in this research that grown-up children in Korea are continuing to honour their traditional obligations towards ageing parents.

Choi Joo-myung (57, Male)

Hello! Nice to meet you. Could you tell me about yourself please?

I am a retired taxi driver. I am on my way to e-mart to get some food.

Are you going shopping?

Yes I am.

So when did you retire? Do you have another job at the moment?

I retired when I was 54 because of my knees. I had a surgery because the gristle in my knee was damaged. Since that I have not worked and I stay at home. I do not have a job at present.

So is your health better than before?

It seems to be because after the surgery I try to look after myself a bit more.

So what is your main income at the moment? And do you have other family members to look after you?

I rely on my savings and I have an unmarried son. He is currently trying to pass the civil service examination but it is his third time. The younger one got married to a person who runs a lighting shop and they live well.

So your daughter is married?

Yes, so I live with my wife and son.

I would like to ask you about your leisure before and after your retirement. Could you tell me about that please?

I used to play football for a weekend football club at Young-Hee Primary School on Sunday mornings, and I joined a Sonata (*brand of the car*) car wash and car maintenance club later on.

So before retirement you had two main activities?

Yes.

Did you drink or travel or watch TV?

TV of course, I still watch it. I watched it in the car while I drove all the time, and before there was in-car entertainment I would go to the driver restaurant (*restaurants for drivers that provide food for a cheap price*) and watch TV there. When I got home I watched TV as well.

What about drinking?

I do not have a good liver so I did not drink that much because when I was in the army I went to the marines and I ruined myself there. Even now I do not drink.

That is actually good, ha ha.

So I do not spend money on alcohol. Ha ha.

So before retirement and after retirement how did your leisure change in terms of frequency and time?

Of course my leisure time has increased. My wife goes to work and I stay at home with nothing to do. I meet my friends or watch TV, read the newspaper and have a stroll. My life is very simple now. Previously, when I was driving I always wanted to quit because of the young ones getting drunk and acting rude to me. This was a big source of anger. Now I feel so good not to see that any more thanks to my knee. Maybe God let me have a break! Ha ha.

So have you done any other sort of leisure since?

I go to the public bath more often. I use a monthly member coupon and it only costs 35,000 won (equivalent to £17) per month. I meet lots of people there and sometimes we go out for food and so on. There are lots of retired men like me in the public bath. We wash, read, watch TV, chat and sometimes have food. It is my new job, ha ha.

That's why you have good skin, ha ha. Are you satisfied with your life now? Could you compare before and after retirement?

Before I was happy to earn money to support my family, and now I am still happy to treat myself.

Do you think you are doing something important for your family?

Yes! Of course, ha ha! A father just being in a family is so important for the whole image of the family itself. Look at families without fathers, others look down on them!

OK! Well, what about your relationships with friends? And your image to others?

Before retirement I did not have enough time to meet my friends because most of them worked. This was the case even though my time was quite flexible. But after retirement I have made more friends from the sauna (*public bath*), and some of my retired friends and I gather quite often! The friends from the *Sonata* club sometimes meet at the sauna as well. There are some retired ones in the club and we do not want to interrupt our wives! Ha ha. The friends of mine think of me in the same way because we have been friends for a long time. A friend is always the same! We are *Bootal Chingu* (*genital friends; it means friends since very young, so that they have seen each other naked since being kids*). But the friends from my work think differently! To men it's always the same.

Do you mean the others are not as close as the Bootal Chingu?

Yes, because people you meet later are looking for a profit towards themselves. No friend can be the same as *Bootal Chingu*, ha ha!

So for the childhood friends, your image is always the same but for the ones you have met later in life it has changed?

Yes!

So is it positive or negative?

It is negative probably. Men not working, who would see it as good? To men work is everything during their mid-age, isn't it?

Ha ha, yes! Do you think you are lonely? And what are the things you think are important for later life?

When I stay at home, yes, I can get lonely, but if I come out, it's OK. And the important things in life? Maybe health. Health is the most important! If you lose health you lose everything. Another is money.

Thank you very much for your time!

If indeed the link is causal, it will be the kinds of changes in leisure following retirement reported in the above interviews that were responsible for the improved post-retirement life satisfaction scores recorded in the questionnaire survey. The retired were enjoying more leisure time than when they were in employment, and they had left behind the pressures of raising families. No-one complained about a

serious drop in living standards. This applied to those who had held ‘ordinary ‘ jobs, whose typical leisure spending had been limited to alcohol and tobacco (for males only), and also to middle class respondents who had been able to retire on decent pensions. Everyone appeared to have benefitted from the economic growth that had transformed Korea during these individuals’ lifetimes.

Discussion

The seniors in this research are most likely to be part of a time-limited generation. The findings are likely to be very different if this research is repeated in, say, 20 years time. The questionnaire gathered information about the respondents’ education and main occupations, but it took the interviews to draw-out the full, lifelong implications of having been born and having grown-up in pre-industrial Korea.

The sample had all been born and had grown up before, during and/or just following the Korea War in the early-1950s. Today’s young Koreans are among the world’s best educated young people, but this was far from the case 50 years ago. We noted earlier that many of those attending the elderly centres had difficulty in completing the written questionnaire. Failing eyesight may have been a problem in some cases, but a more

common problem would have been the low levels of literacy. A couple of the follow-up interviewees had managed to obtain higher education, but others had not even completed elementary school. The questionnaire revealed that the younger old had received more years of schooling than the older old, but even the latter had been poorly educated compared with the achievements of young Koreans in the 21st century.

The sample in this research had usually started their lives in villages, and their first jobs had been in primary industries. Farming had been the most common first occupation. Some had spent their entire working lives as farmers. One interviewee had risen to become a manager in a fisheries business. If they left the villages most of the women appeared to have become, or remained, basically housewives. Some of the men had moved into modern occupations such as coal-mining and construction. Those who had received some post-secondary education had all become teachers which was, and still is, a respected occupation in Korea – a legacy of Confucianism. One interviewee had become taxi-driver. Everyone, except the teachers, stressed that their lives had been hard. This was a recurrent expression. The teachers used this term only to refer to conditions when they were children. For others life had remained hard. Health had been a factor in several retirements. It is noteworthy that none of the interviewees had worked in Korea's manufacturing industries.

These had become the base of Korea's economy during the respondents' lifetimes, but manufacturing has never employed the majority of Korea's workforce. The respondents in this research were too old to have been sought by the manufacturing firms that expanded from the 1970s onwards. The new industries wanted younger employees, the children of the sample in this research.

In stark contrast to the conditions in which they had grown up, the respondents in this project were ending their lives as residents in one of the most prosperous districts in industrial Korea. Gang-Nam had not existed when they were young. The middle class interviewees had been able to settle in Gang-Nam on the basis of their own incomes, but in all other cases the respondents had moved into Gang-Nam following retirement to live with grown-up children. The older Koreans had invested in their children's education, and many expressed pride in having done so. The children had been able to build careers in Korea's new economy, and therefore had been able to obtain apartments in Gang-Nam. At the time of this research the children were fulfilling their obligation under Korea's unwritten 'contract between the generations' in enabling ageing parents to move into their apartments and share their prosperity. One wonders for how many further cohorts this pattern will be repeated.

According to the questionnaire results, the respondents' life satisfaction had risen since retirement. Most were certainly living in greater material comfort in Gang-Nam than in earlier parts of their lives. The burden of arduous jobs had been lifted. Those with chronic health conditions were better-able to cope with retirement than with their previous employment. Overall, the questionnaire findings indicated that levels of leisure activity had risen, alongside life satisfaction, since the respondents had retired. The interviews portray vividly the low baselines from which any increases in leisure activity had occurred. The male teacher who was interviewed reported that he and his wife (also a teacher) had made regular trips to temples and other sites of interest throughout Korea, but no-one else mentioned holidays away, visits or excursions as normal parts of their adult leisure lives. There were no references to the cinema, theatre, concerts or sports events. Some males reported that their luxuries had been smoking and drinking. None of the female interviewees reported such expenses, and the males had typically given up following retirement. Their adult leisure had been low cost, and in some ways seemed to be a relic from the pre-television era. Television broadcasting in Korea had commenced only in the 1970s. All the seniors in this research had spent their childhoods and youth in the pre-TV age. Their staple adult leisure activities had been strolling, sometimes in the mountains, swimming, performing exercises, and sewing and similar crafts in the case of women. Some men reported having played sports

such as football and fencing. Although not well-educated as children, a number of the seniors reported having taken-up studying as adults. This reflects the underlying Confucian culture and the value attached to learning. These Koreans had not been pursuing vocational qualifications. Languages and history had been their favourite subjects. Some were still studying. Indeed, one was following a degree course when interviewed.

Post-retirement, most of the seniors appeared to be continuing with leisure activities as before, possibly doing things more often through having more time available, for as long as they were able to do so. One male who was interviewed was continuing to attend a car maintenance 'club'. Another was continuing with a cycling club. At the elderly centres the staple routine was watching television, playing cards and chatting. It was possible to enroll for a class at some centres, but none of the interviewees mentioned attending one. The centres might organise occasional (twice a year) excursions, but again, any such trips passed unmentioned in the interviews. The visits by the researcher were obviously highlights for most of the seniors – something out of the ordinary.

If the link is causal, it will be the kinds of changes in leisure following retirement reported in the interviews that were responsible for the improved post-retirement life satisfaction scores recorded in the questionnaire survey. The retired were enjoying more leisure time than when they were in employment, and they had left behind the pressures of raising families. No-one complained about a serious drop in living standards. Everyone appeared to have benefitted from the economic growth that had transformed Korea during these individuals' lifetimes.

One of the interviewees was making regular visits to children who were in Canada and the USA. All the seniors appeared to have invested quite heavily in their own children's education, and were proud of having done so. They would have been among the first cohorts of Korean parents for whom it was normal to see children complete high school, and possibly enrol in college. Enabling a child to study abroad, usually in North America, was the ultimate investment. It could be expected to pay-off in career benefits for the child, and both psychic and material benefits (trips abroad) for the parent. The benefit from their investments that was being enjoyed by other respondents was basically being able to move-in with children in Gang-Nam.

Most respondents in this research were not in receipt of pensions, and were therefore entirely dependent on their children for accommodation, food and other necessities, and spending money, unless the seniors had savings on which they could draw. It was evident in the interviews that the seniors set great store on not burdening their children unnecessarily. One mentioned how his mid-day meal at the elderly centre relieved his daughter-in-law of the expense. The seniors typically spent zero on pleasures for themselves. They did not even expect to be able to renew their clothing. The foundation for a satisfying life following retirement appeared to be good relationships and daily contact with family and friends. This was enough for the respondents in this research. Will it be enough, if it is still available, for future cohorts of Korean retirees?

Most of the present-day Korean workforce will retire without pensions, but more than in the past will have their own apartments in districts such as Gang-Nam. Will they vacate these apartments to live with their children? Koreans who have entered the workforce since the 1980s have become a consumer generation. Their normal leisure involves spending money on clothes, meals out, entertainment and technology. Future research may use the findings from this project as a baseline for appraising how future cohorts adjust, or fail to adjust, following their retirement.

Chapter Eight: Leisure and Theories of Ageing

Introduction

In order to progress from the evidence in chapters 4 through 7 to policy implications, the evidence needs to engage with the theories about ageing with which this thesis opened.

Disengagement theory treats later life as a time for gradual withdrawal from adult social roles. Contributions from elders cease to be required in either the family, local community or the labour market. It is claimed that gradual disengagement reduces the disruption that would otherwise ensue on death and sudden, abrupt, total withdrawal.

Activity theory treats the social institution of retirement as creating a life stage and life space wherein ageing persons can adopt new social roles and take-up wholly new activities. This is the active ageing recipe for ageing well.

Continuity theory asserts that there is a powerful tendency for people to stick with routines for as long as they are able to do so. This tendency is expected to minimise both disengagement and experimentation with wholly new roles and activities.

Disengagement

This theory always wins in the long-run because all humans eventually die, at which point their disengagement becomes total. Death may be preceded by short or prolonged periods of illness and incapacity, physical and mental decline, during which relinquishing roles and activities, including leisure activities, is enforced. This is not the case when people die suddenly in accidents or from unexpected heart attacks. These events are likely to be shocking and traumatic for the deceased's family, friends and work colleagues (if any). They may need to make rapid adjustments to their own routines. These difficulties will be lessened when disengagement is gradual, and death may even come as a relief to all concerned.

The leisure evidence from this research supports disengagement theory in so far as the 'younger old' had generally higher participation rates than the 'older old'. However, according to the respondents' reports, disengagement had not been a master trend operating from the point of retiring from their main occupations onwards. In Korea, as elsewhere, changes in demography and the structure of the life course have created a life stage when children have become independent, people can retire from their main occupations, and can then anticipate years, sometimes decades, of life during which they remain physically and mentally fit. The general trend, following retirement, as reported by the respondents in this

research, evident in the quantitative and qualitative (in-depth interview) findings, had been for leisure activity to increase. This trend could be wholly or partly due to Korea's recent history. Today's elders received very little socialisation into modern leisure interests, tastes and activities during their own childhoods and youth. Their adult lives were typically dominated by the demands of work – paid work and housework. During the respondents' prime years of working life, salaries were too low to permit much leisure spending.

That said, the previous chapters have shown that retirement need not be a period of progressive disengagement. Rather, the evidence shows that it can be a time when leisure interests develop and strengthen, and occupy a larger part of people's lives.

Activity and continuity

These are overlapping rather than diametrically opposed theories. One issue at stake here is whether, during retirement, people are as likely or more likely to take up new activities as they are to increase or maintain their involvement in existing activities. The relevant evidence is in Table 8.1. In respect of each of the 20 leisure activities about which respondents were questioned, it divides the sample into those who:

- Never or rarely participated before or since retiring.

- Practised the activity before retirement, but subsequently ceased or reduced their involvement.
- Continued to participate at their pre-retirement levels.
- Newly started an activity that they had never or rarely practised pre-retirement.
- Increased participation in an activity in which they were already taking part.

Table 8.1 Changes in Participation in Different Leisure Activities from Before to After Retirement

Leisure		Never	Decreased	Continue	New starter	Increase		
Home based type	News	N	8	15	42	14	41	
		Percent	6.7	12.5	35.0	11.7	34.2	
	Movie	N	9	17	40	15	39	
		Percent	7.5	14.2	33.3	12.5	32.5	
	Video	N	56	15	24	6	19	
		Percent	46.7	12.5	20.0	5.0	15.8	
	Music	N	31	12	29	17	31	
		Percent	25.8	10.0	24.2	14.2	25.8	
	Newspaper	N	12	25	44	8	31	
		Percent	10.0	20.8	36.7	6.7	25.8	
	Computer	N	66	14	22	6	12	
		Percent	55.0	11.7	18.3	5.0	10.0	
	Sports health type	Sports	N	33	20	28	10	29
			Percent	27.5	16.7	23.3	8.3	24.2
Bath		N	5	24	44	9	38	
		Percent	4.2	20.0	36.7	7.5	31.7	
Outdoor type	Tour	N	19	17	25	18	41	
		Percent	15.8	14.2	20.8	15.0	34.2	
	Picnic	N	15	23	32	12	38	
		Percent	12.5	19.2	26.7	10.0	31.7	
	Stroll	N	13	9	37	18	43	
		Percent	10.8	7.5	30.8	15.0	35.8	
Artistic type	Dance	N	63	13	30	6	8	
		Percent	52.5	10.8	25.0	5.0	6.7	
Hobbies domestic type	Game	N	42	18	21	15	24	
		Percent	35.0	15.0	17.5	12.5	20.0	
	Hobbies	N	42	14	24	16	24	
		Percent	35.0	11.7	20.0	13.3	20.0	
	Shopping	N	13	27	35	7	38	
		Percent	10.8	22.5	29.2	5.8	31.7	
Social recreational type	Drinking	N	16	50	29	6	19	
		Percent	13.3	41.7	24.2	5.0	15.8	
	Friends	N	3	11	35	9	62	
		Percent	2.5	9.2	29.2	7.5	51.7	
Group social type	Religion	N	27	12	43	6	32	
		Percent	22.5	10.0	35.8	5.0	26.7	
	Events	N	28	13	36	14	29	
		Percent	23.3	10.8	30.0	11.7	24.2	
	Clubhouse	N	35	8	29	19	29	
		Percent	29.2	6.7	24.2	15.8	24.2	

There are four sets of comparisons that we can make:

- i. Among those who rarely or never practised an activity before retirement, there were just five leisure activities where new starters exceeded the numbers who remained uninvolved. In the 15 remaining

leisure activities, those who remained uninvolved exceeded the numbers of new starters. The five exceptional cases where the new starters were in the majority were watching TV news and TV movies (which may not have been available in the respondents' homes during their working lives), seeing friends, strolling, and visiting the baths.

ii. In all 20 leisure activities, the respondents who were involved before retirement and who remained involved at the same level or increased their involvement exceeded the numbers of new starters.

iii. There was just one activity (drinking alcohol) where, among those who practised the activity prior to retirement, the number who decreased their involvement exceeded the number who maintained or increased. Otherwise there was a prevalent tendency for people to remain involved at the same level or to increase their participation in activities that they were already practising.

iv. People who were already participating before retirement were more likely to increase than reduce their involvement in 17 of the leisure activities: the exceptions were drinking alcohol, dancing, and using the computer (which had probably been a work-related activity).

We can conclude that respondents had been much more likely to persist or raise their participation in existing leisure activities than to take-up something that was entirely new to them. Overall, this evidence supports continuity theory, but the exceptions prove that the retired are capable of breaking into forms of leisure that are new to them.

Life satisfaction and changes of pattern in leisure activities

A second set of questions that can be addressed to our evidence concerns whether starting a new leisure activity or increasing one's level of involvement appear to boost life satisfaction in excess of what would be expected by simply continuing with an activity (no increase or decrease). The evidence in tables 8.2, 8.3, 8.4, 8.5 enables us to address this question. These tables contain data from all 20 separate leisure activities, and add to the contents of Table 8.1 the respondents' pre- and post-retirement mean scores for the four components of life satisfaction.

Table 8.2 Home Based Type Leisure Pattern Before and After Retirement

		News		Movie		Video		Music		Paper		
Retirement	Pattern	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	
Satisfied with the relationship with others	Before	Never	.	.	.	.	56	3.31	31	3.24	.	.
		Continue	42	3.32	40	3.34	.	.	29	3.28	44	3.39
		Increase	41	3.21	39	3.13	.	.	31	3.05	31	3.18
	After	Never	.	.	.	.	56	3.29	31	3.18	.	.
		Continue	42	3.42	40	3.43	.	.	29	3.22	44	3.45
		Increase	41	3.29	39	3.15	.	.	31	3.52	31	3.29
Satisfaction in participating	Before	Never	.	.	.	.	56	2.80	31	2.81	.	.
		Continue	42	2.96	40	3.03	.	.	29	2.99	44	2.95
		Increase	41	2.80	39	2.68	.	.	31	2.92	31	2.84
	After	Never	.	.	.	.	56	3.09	31	2.95	.	.
		Continue	42	3.45	40	3.49	.	.	29	3.49	44	3.51
		Increase	41	3.28	39	3.25	.	.	31	3.39	31	3.31
Satisfaction with the present condition	Before	Never	.	.	.	.	56	3.29	31	3.30	.	.
		Continue	42	3.37	40	3.33	.	.	29	3.32	44	3.47
		Increase	41	3.24	39	3.21	.	.	31	3.13	31	3.16
	After	Never	.	.	.	.	56	3.21	31	3.11	.	.
		Continue	42	3.32	40	3.32	.	.	29	3.30	44	3.36
		Increase	41	3.08	39	2.96	.	.	31	3.10	31	3.12
Satisfied with myself	Before	Never	.	.	.	.	56	3.21	31	3.13	.	.
		Continue	42	3.31	40	3.24	.	.	29	3.31	44	3.14
		Increase	41	3.16	39	3.19	.	.	31	3.15	31	3.08
	After	Never	.	.	.	.	56	2.96	31	2.82	.	.
		Continue	42	3.30	40	3.33	.	.	29	3.21	44	2.97
		Increase	41	3.00	39	2.95	.	.	31	3.31	31	3.15

Table 8.3 Sports Health, Outdoor Type Leisure Pattern Before and After Retirement

Retirement	Pattern	Sport		Bath		Tour		Picnic		Stroll		
		N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	
Satisfied with the relationship with others	Before	Never	33	3.15	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Continue	28	3.21	44	3.36	.	.	32	3.19	37	3.32
		Increase	29	3.40	38	3.25	41	3.40	38	3.33	43	3.24
	After	Never	33	2.97	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Continue	28	3.25	44	3.36	.	.	32	3.16	37	3.27
		Increase	29	3.71	38	3.45	41	3.52	38	3.61	43	3.36
Satisfaction in participating	Before	Never	33	2.67	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Continue	28	2.88	44	2.87	.	.	32	2.89	37	2.94
		Increase	29	2.99	38	2.81	41	2.93	38	2.90	43	2.88
	After	Never	33	3.22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Continue	28	3.26	44	3.37	.	.	32	3.40	37	3.29
		Increase	29	3.57	38	3.39	41	3.65	38	3.70	43	3.45
Satisfaction with the present condition	Before	Never	33	3.18	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Continue	28	3.44	44	3.29	.	.	32	3.21	37	3.26
		Increase	29	3.44	38	3.29	41	3.46	38	3.39	43	3.38
	After	Never	33	3.08	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Continue	28	3.10	44	3.15	.	.	32	3.08	37	3.07
		Increase	29	3.52	38	3.34	41	3.36	38	3.40	43	3.31
Satisfied with myself	Before	Never	33	3.15	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Continue	28	3.11	44	3.15	.	.	32	3.34	37	3.18
		Increase	29	3.16	38	3.24	41	3.15	38	3.20	43	3.23
	After	Never	33	2.91	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Continue	28	3.14	44	3.16	.	.	32	3.17	37	3.14
		Increase	29	3.31	38	3.16	41	3.11	38	3.21	43	3.13

Table 8.4 Hobbies Domestic and Social Recreational Type Leisure Pattern Before and After Retirement

Retirement	Pattern	Game		Hobby		Shop		Drink		Friend		
		N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	
Satisfied with the relationship with others	Before	Never	42	3.29	42	3.51	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Decrease	.	.	.	.	27	3.07	50	3.20	.	.
		Continue	.	.	.	.	35	3.26	29	3.29	35	3.16
		Increase	.	.	.	.	38	3.25	.	.	62	3.32
	After	Never	42	3.40	42	3.55	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Decrease	.	.	.	.	27	3.26	50	3.20	.	.
		Continue	.	.	.	.	35	3.33	29	3.47	35	3.17
		Increase	.	.	.	.	38	3.36	.	.	62	3.49
Satisfaction in participating	Before	Never	42	2.86	42	2.94	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Decrease	.	.	.	.	27	3.05	50	2.74	.	.
		Continue	.	.	.	.	35	2.85	29	2.85	35	2.93
		Increase	.	.	.	.	38	2.89	.	.	62	2.82
	After	Never	42	3.45	42	3.31	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Decrease	.	.	.	.	27	2.99	50	3.24	.	.
		Continue	.	.	.	.	35	3.29	29	3.18	35	3.25
		Increase	.	.	.	.	38	3.68	.	.	62	3.45
Satisfaction with the present condition	Before	Never	42	3.29	42	3.44	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Decrease	.	.	.	.	27	3.19	50	3.39	.	.
		Continue	.	.	.	.	35	3.23	29	3.21	35	3.24
		Increase	.	.	.	.	38	3.37	.	.	62	3.39
	After	Never	42	3.33	42	3.43	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Decrease	.	.	.	.	27	3.00	50	3.19	.	.
		Continue	.	.	.	.	35	3.08	29	3.13	35	3.19
		Increase	.	.	.	.	38	3.37	.	.	62	3.30
Satisfied with myself	Before	Never	42	3.30	42	3.40	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Decrease	.	.	.	.	27	3.13	50	3.21	.	.
		Continue	.	.	.	.	35	3.26	29	3.05	35	3.26
		Increase	.	.	.	.	38	3.12	.	.	62	3.20
	After	Never	42	3.37	42	3.20	.	.	.	.	.	.
		Decrease	.	.	.	.	27	2.87	50	2.90	.	.
		Continue	.	.	.	.	35	3.21	29	3.07	35	3.33
		Increase	.	.	.	.	38	3.20	.	.	62	3.04

Table 8.5 Group Social and Artistic Type Leisure Pattern Before and After Retirement

Retirement		Pattern	Religion		Event		Culture hall		Dance	
			N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
Satisfied with the relationship with others	Before	Never	.	.	28	3.36	35	3.50	63	3.20
		Continue	43	3.24	36	3.21	29	3.09	30	3.28
		Increase	32	3.13	29	3.31	29	3.07	.	.
	After	Never	.	.	28	3.34	35	3.50	63	3.26
		Continue	43	3.40	36	3.35	29	3.24	30	3.32
		Increase	32	3.17	29	3.47	29	3.17	.	.
Satisfaction in participating	Before	Never	.	.	28	2.76	35	2.71	63	2.78
		Continue	43	2.92	36	2.98	29	2.80	30	3.03
		Increase	32	2.72	29	2.91	29	3.01	.	.
	After	Never	.	.	28	3.01	35	3.34	63	3.21
		Continue	43	3.39	36	3.44	29	3.60	30	3.38
		Increase	32	3.33	29	3.52	29	2.95	.	.
Satisfaction with the present condition	Before	Never	.	.	28	3.49	35	3.47	63	3.29
		Continue	43	3.29	36	3.31	29	3.33	30	3.17
		Increase	32	3.09	29	3.28	29	3.07	.	.
	After	Never	.	.	28	3.43	35	3.54	63	3.24
		Continue	43	3.29	36	3.17	29	3.10	30	2.98
		Increase	32	3.04	29	3.11	29	2.87	.	.
Satisfied with myself	Before	Never	.	.	28	3.04	35	3.31	63	3.23
		Continue	43	3.24	36	3.46	29	3.12	30	3.18
		Increase	32	3.20	29	3.12	29	3.09	.	.
	After	Never	.	.	28	2.82	35	3.24	63	3.07
		Continue	43	3.31	36	3.31	29	3.12	30	3.28
		Increase	32	3.19	29	2.95	29	3.00	.	.

Here we encounter a serious small N problem. We can make only nine comparisons where the number of cases (respondents) in each of the relevant cells exceeds 30, and all these comparisons are between people who simply maintained and those who increased their participation in an activity post-retirement. Table 8.6 summarises the findings from these comparisons. It gives the numbers of leisure activities where the

respondents in question had higher mean post-retirement life satisfaction component scores than the comparison group.

Table 8.6 Number of Leisure Activities where the Continuers had higher means in post-retirement Life Satisfaction component scores than Increasers, and vice-versa

Life satisfaction					
Leisure Pattern	Relationship	Participation	Present condition	Myself	Total
Continuers	4	4	4	6	18
Same before and after	.	.	.	1	1
Increasers	5	5	5	2	17
Total	9	9	9	9	36

There is no clear winner in Table 8.6, but we can draw a clear conclusion. We have no evidence that starting a wholly new activity or increasing a former level of participation upon retirement will be more productive of life satisfaction than simply continuing to participate at an existing pre-retirement level. We can add that the types of leisure that people practise during retirement are usually activities in which they were already involved. The policy implications are explored in chapter 9.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

Summary

The previous chapters have reported the findings from a questionnaire survey completed by 120, 52-84 year olds who were contacted in eight different out-of-home locations within Gang-Nam, a district on the outskirts of Seoul. Follow-up interviews were conducted with eight of the questionnaire sample. All the respondents had retired from their main adult occupations though some were continuing to earn money in irregular jobs. In addition to socio-demographic indicators, the respondents provided information about their incomes, health, and involvement in 20 different leisure activities, which were grouped into seven types. They also answered 10 questions assessing their life satisfaction, and factor analysis revealed four components within overall life satisfaction. The self-assessments of levels of leisure activity and life satisfaction were both made for the respondents' lives before and since they had retired.

Men were somewhat more leisure active than women, the younger compared with the older old respondents, and the better compared with the lesser educated. However, all the various groups reported increased levels of leisure activity since they had retired.

Life satisfaction scores were lowest among those who were living alone, and those who suffered from chronic health conditions. However, as with leisure participation, all the various groups reported an overall upward trend in life satisfaction since they had retired. The overall improvement was mainly due to increased satisfaction with social participation.

Analysis of the evidence has strongly and consistently suggested that the increase in leisure activity was responsible for the overall improvement in life satisfaction post-retirement. Reported levels of leisure activity were positively related to reported levels of life satisfaction within both the pre- and post-retirement life stages. This relationship proceeded, but became even stronger after the respondents had retired.

Finally, we have seen that the relatively high levels of post-retirement leisure activity that appeared to be boosting the life satisfaction of those concerned, were mainly the result of individuals continuing or increasing their involvement in types of leisure that they had practised before they retired.

Policy

The main message from this research to policy-makers in Korea must be that leisure matters. It matters on account its ability to contribute to the

well-being, the life satisfaction, of senior citizens. Leisure can yield these benefits at all life stages, but all the relevant evidence suggests that during retirement leisure becomes especially efficacious as people withdraw from other social roles, or have other social roles withdrawn from them. Korea's politicians are aware of leisure's growing importance in the economy. They are alert to the value of incoming tourists, and the need to develop overseas markets for sports spectacles, media content, and so on. However, Korea's seniors need leisure that is time expensive but low cost (to the participants).

Two conditions must be fulfilled for leisure to provide its potential benefits during retirement. First, they need accessible low-cost (to users) leisure facilities. The community and elderly centres in Gang-Nam that are integral parts of the residential developments are physical models for replication. The same applies to public spaces – parks and other quiet, traffic-free areas where people can simply sit, stroll and talk. The drawback in Gang-Nam was that many of the elderly were just sitting all day in a room, maybe watching TV, maybe playing a game of cards, and breaking for a mid-day meal. The centres need leaders (not just carers) who will involve the elderly in daily activities.

The second requirement for leisure to boost life satisfaction is that retirees must be capable and motivated, and this research adds to the evidence that the best time to start to prepare for retirement is much earlier in life, preferably during childhood and youth. People need to be educated in leisure skills, tastes and interests in sports, the arts and crafts. Then they need to preserve and practise these skills and interests throughout adulthood, thereby assisting in the leisure socialisation of their children. Unfortunately Korea fails to lay the foundations. Schools devote little time or effort to anything apart from preparing pupils for university. The sole statutory leisure education requirement is a single sports day per year. Korea is a world leader (alongside Finland) in the attainments of its 15 year olds in reading, maths and science, but its attempts at leisure education is hardly a model for emulation. This research has shown that people are most likely to be leisure active in retirement if they are able simply to continue with activities in which they were involved before they withdrew from employment. Continuity makes a greater contribution to the life satisfaction of the elderly than increasing or starting new activities from scratch, though the evidence also shows that seniors are capable of acquiring wholly new interests and developing new leisure skills.

This research has also exposed a paradox which may explain why leisure will always tend to be under-resourced and why citizens will remain sub-optimally motivated. When the seniors in this research were asked what was most important to their quality of post-retirement life, their main answers were health and income. They rarely mentioned leisure. This paradox seems to occur throughout all the economically developed societies. People under-estimate the value of leisure. 'Grey' voters demand higher pensions and better health services. Growth in gross domestic product may not improve the overall level of well-being throughout a population, but individuals continue to demand 'more'. We can recall that the recreation movements that spread throughout the Western world in the late-19th and early-20th centuries (in the new industrial countries of that era) were not mass, populist movements but movements of 'do-gooders' – a mixture of wealthy philanthropists, enlightened employers, enthusiasts who became leaders of clubs and associations, and (albeit in subsidiary roles) leaders of the organised labour movements of that era.

Reflections

There are several ways in which this research project has been sub-optimal relative to its aims. It would have been better to have questioned a larger sample, in more than one location, ideally representative of the

life stage group throughout Korea, so as to explore differences and similarities between different places. Ideally the aims of the research required a panel enquiry, questioning the same individuals about their leisure and life satisfaction before and after they retired. In practice, the project had to be designed within the time and financial constraints of a PhD.

It would have been better if, in the survey questionnaire, the leisure activities that were most popular among the older age group had been mixed with those that were most popular within the working age group. Using just the former may have exaggerated any tendency for leisure activity to increase following retirement.

In the project the respondents were asked to recall their leisure activities and levels of life satisfaction before they retired, which in some cases was over 20 years previously. The accuracy of their memories, and hence the validity of the data, must be regarded as suspect. However, the questions used, which required respondents to rate their levels of leisure activity and life satisfaction on five-point scales, were probably the best options given the snapshot research design. The questions may not have measured 'levels' accurately, pre- or post-retirement, but they enabled respondents to indicate whether they felt that they were doing more, or less, or about the same in each kind of leisure, and whether they felt their lives had improved, deteriorated or remained much the same.

Given the constraints, it seems sensible to have based the research in one selected location, thereby holding place constant for all members of the sample. Also, the combination of a questionnaire that gathered quantitative evidence alongside in-depth interviews which yielded softer, qualitative information, worked very well.

Avoidable mistakes were made. The questionnaire should really have sought information about household as well as personal income, and data on actual levels of current income should have been gathered. That said, these omissions are unlikely to have affected the overall picture or the conclusions from the study.

Other problems were unavoidable, especially those arising from the need to conduct the research in two languages (Korean and English). There are cultural differences which make some words, including many leisure terms, impossible to translate without some loss of meaning. Examples include *Hwatu*, *Jang gi* (both card games), and *Jjim jil bang* (a type of public baths).

Further research

The obvious sequels will be larger surveys with nationally representative samples, incorporating a panel study but designed to yield rapid cross-sectional evidence. We can note, however, that all such evidence could be obtained most economically if part of general household surveys and household panel studies. Korea's social research needs to catch-up with the country's recent economic growth and the pace of social change. This applies even more so to the availability of the data that has been collected. It remains very difficult for researchers to access any official data in Korea whether from local or national government. Maybe it is a legacy of Japanese occupation and the civil war that virtually all state statistics are treated as state secrets.

It must be said that the pure scientific value of larger and more longitudinal surveys of the elderly, expanded versions of the research reported in this thesis, will be limited. The evidence in this thesis of the links between leisure and life satisfaction among the elderly will have contained few surprises for anyone familiar with the equivalent research that has been conducted in Western countries. There are newer questions, posed by this body of evidence, on which Korean researchers could become pioneers.

First, Korea is a country where it has been and remains common for people to retire from their main occupations while still in their 50s, and it seems unlikely that Korea's economy will grow at a rate and in ways that will engage 70-80% of 16-70 year olds in regular employment. Korea is also a country with one of the world's highest rates of participation in tertiary education. An outcome is compressed prime working life. This may appear unsustainable, creating too high a dependency ratio of young plus old per earner. On the other hand, Korea's implicit contract between the generations may make this dependency ratio sustainable. Korea's social security regime relies on this. Retirement pensions are subsistence, and are payable only to persons with no children, no partners who are earning, or other relatives on whom they can be officially treated as dependent. This will mean Korea's working population continuing to support simultaneously cohorts of children and cohorts of seniors. It could be useful to obtain comparable evidence from other East Asian countries (China, Taiwan, Japan) where Confucian mind-sets have been traditional. Are high dependency ratios sustainable in an East Asian, or more specifically Korean, version of modernity.

Another set of questions concerns the paradox between what the elderly actually 'need' and what they want. They believe and say that the things

that matter most in later life are money and health. The young old stress money. The older old stress health and add family. The 'grey vote' in Korea will pressure politicians to prioritise improved pensions and health services. The evidence from leisure research shows that simple, low cost leisure activities, and the facilities and leaders that make them possible, will contribute more to the well-being of the elderly than increased incomes and medical care. No-one outside the leisure research community seems willing to believe that improving the quality of life for seniors can be accomplished so simply. How might the research itself become more efficacious? This question may be especially pertinent in Korea where the dependency ratio, already high by global standards, is set to rise even higher, but any answers will be of global interest.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW AND OBSERVATION

Interview and observation at Gae-Po elderly welfare centre.

Gae-Po elderly welfare centre is situated at Gang-Nam district, Seoul, Korea. The population is roughly 5.6 million and it is the 3rd most highly populated region in Korea. Gang-Nam district is a very much important area in terms of social, political, cultural and economical aspects. This area is highly populated for it has the most education facilities in Korea and due to that fact, a lot of people with children try to live in this area. Korea is one of the world's most highly investing countries in education and one of the countries which the largest amount of asset moves in between generations within the family for investing in education towards the child, and in later life being supported by their off-springs (Harper, 2009). Due to this fact, the house (apartment) price soars and it is the most expensive area in Korea as well. The people who have enough to dwell in this area bring their children and also their parents to support both sides. However, even though some people who do not have enough income to afford the house price and living cost, still they come and settle down buy renting a property and bringing their parents and children all together for education reasons.

According to Professor Sarah Harper (2009), "Korea has a unique culture in investing in education, probably one of the highest not only in the Asian region but also in the world".

The reason for choosing this particular area for this study is that, it is easy to gain access to people from all sorts of regions around Korea.

The retirement age of Korea is 56.8 years of age. Compared to the UK which is 65 for the male and 60 for female retirees it is a very low figure. In the research, the questionnaires were distributed to the people who were over 55 and retired. The age limit was set to 85 which is the so called 'oldest-old' after this age. In other words, the age bracket was set between 55 and 84 years of age. The people who only fall in this age bracket were to be taken into account for the research. The 'oldest-old' are more likely to experience frailty, illness and dependence in comparison to 'younger-old' people. Accordingly, they are more likely to be 'looked after' rather than being able to participate in a type of leisure activity.

Gae-Po elderly welfare centre consists of two floor plans and it is divided by the gender of the elderly. Since Korea has a strong Confucianism culture, it seemed that the elderly males are not pleased to share the same space with the female elderly. Most of the Female elderly in the first floor were occupying the room by sitting in a big circle around the room and there were about 30 elderly females cared by 2 female supporters. Some of them were chatting and some of them played cards, and the rest were watching television. The two care takers were preparing a meal for the

elderly.

On the other hand, the male elderly room had less people, which were 14 and most of them watched television or read newspapers. The atmosphere was quite laid back and looked comfortable as well. During the 6 hours of observation a day for 3 days, most of the elderly came in around 9 o'clock in the morning and went back to their homes by 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Nothing special happened and normally watching television and playing card games seemed to be the normal everyday routine. Lunch was served around 12 o'clock and some of the elderly came just for the meal and left the centre.

During the research, the researcher found out that building up rapport is one of the most important things to do first. The female elderly were quite open and accepted the researcher rather quickly; however, the male elderly did not open up until a certain amount of time passed. The researcher bought cakes, *Soju* (Korean traditional rice wine), fruit and other eatery in order to get a bit closer. It took 2 to 3 days (normally) with the same procedure, visiting the elderly, talking with them and bringing in some food. After a certain amount of time, they started to talk to the researcher that the elderly people have been waiting and kept on asking to have lunch with them at the centre. After the questionnaires and interviews when the researcher had finished collecting data from the centre and was leaving, some of the elderly did show some tears and

asked to come again. Affection could be felt between the researcher and the elderly and it has been a very moving experience throughout the whole procedure. Because there were a few elderly who experienced the Korean War and could not receive basic education, some were illiterate. Some of the elderly had bad eye sight as well hence, the researcher had to read out the questionnaire and wait for the reply. The plus side was that it could bring out more answers rather than giving the questionnaire itself but the down side was, it was very much time consuming.

During the interview, there was a similarity amongst the female elderly which was that they kept to the traditional value of staying home and doing house work, looking after the children and cooking. Normally the female elderly had a lower level of education as opposed to the male elderly as well.

The 'old-old' had much difficulty with moving and reading, and had a very limited category of leisure activities which they could carry out. Accordingly, the researcher had to limit the age by asking or otherwise visually sort the interviewees which looked able to suit the questionnaire and interview. The interview did not have a particular form which could be more natural to talk however the researcher tried to limit the questions which were related to the questionnaire. Another problem with the elderly was that they seemed to answer the question in a different direction rather

than what the researcher intended to ask. It was another factor that was quite difficult to control.

Gae-Po Elderly Welfare Centre

Jung Mi-ae (71, female)

Q: Could you tell me about yourself a bit please?

A: Yes, I think I am not much different to the other women here. I had a hard life just like the others. We all experienced the Korean War and nothing was plentiful. I grew up in a small town near Busan and we grew rice for a living. In the past rice was like money, and you can go to the market and exchange it for other things which we needed. Things were not plentiful but we were happy. I have 2 sons and the elder one lives here in Seoul. I educated him by selling the cow which is very important for cultivating the crops and it is the same as a tractor nowadays, hahaha. The cow was very expensive back then and if you sell a cow you could pay for the university.

Q: So why are you here now? And do you do anything in Seoul?

A: Haha! What do I have to do? I am very old now and nobody wants an old granny! Haha. I am here because I have nowhere to go! My son has brought me here after my husband died and I am living with my grand children, daughter-in-law, and son. I am a burden to him (*the other elderly women were listening to this conversation and told the*

interviewee not to say harsh things and just say good things, so the researcher moved into a small room to get more privacy and get a better interview data from controlling the outer factors). I educated my son and he is responsible for looking after me. I spent all my money on educating my sons but now he just has enough money to educate his. Haha. He gives me 100,000 KRW (equivalent of 50 pounds) a month to spend but I come here and have food at lunch and chat with the others. Kill all my time and go home at 5 o'clock. At least my daughter-in-law doesn't need to feed me during lunch time and look after me! I don't spend the money and give it to my grand children. I know my son works very hard. He has not enough money, I know that!

Q: So do you do anything during your spare time? Have you done any activities when you were young?

A: I come here and watch dramas on television and chat with the other women. Sometimes we play *hwa-to* (Korean card game) and go home.

Q: Do you go on trips or meetings? Socialising?

A: From the centre, we go on day trips once every 6 months. Maybe that is it. Otherwise I come and go from the centre to home. My legs are not too good and it is hard for me even to come up the steps. If you develop a policy for the old people please make an elevator here first! Haha.

Q: Do you meet your friends at all?

A: I had friends but some of them are still in Busan. Some of them died and now I'm just waiting for my day to go back! (this means to return to

the soil; death).

Q: Do you have any hobbies?

A: Hobbies? I got married and worked all my life. I cannot even read. I used to write *Seo-Yae* (Korean painting, using black ink and a thick brush on thin paper) but now I don't do it.

Q: Do you feel lonely?

A: If I come to the centre, I am ok.

Q: Thank you for your time!

A: Have some food before you go.

Park Soon-ho (66, male)

Q: Hello! Could you tell me about yourself please?

A: Haha, well I used to work for a construction company. I did quit when I was 53 when the company gave me pressure to resign. You know the IMF in 1999, 2000?

Q: Did you have any hobbies or leisure activities that you enjoyed before resigning?

A: Yes, I used to go to the mountain every weekend and drink with my friends or colleagues from my work place. I also went swimming every morning but not when I had a hangover haha. During the weekend I also read books to develop myself because I was close to the owner of the

company and had to talk about something. Every night I went out for a stroll with my wife and also this is only possible when I get back early from work haha.

Q: That is great! So do you still carry on the leisure activities you used to do? I mean after retirement?

A: Well, yes. In fact, I think it has increased because I don't work anymore. I am a *Sam-Shik* Sam-Shik means a person who eats three meals at home. Normally refers to male retirees for the wives have to cook three times a day whereas before retirement they only had to cook 1 or two times because the husband dines outside) haha. I still go swimming in the early morning and during the afternoon go to the mountain. And at night time I go for a stroll with my wife.

Q: That is quite a lot of exercise.

A: Well, yes. But I have to keep healthy otherwise who would like me if I am in hospital? My wife will leave me haha!

Q: haha! So do you mean your leisure activities have increased? So are there any other activities that have increased?

A: I do the regular exercises that I used to do. Even though I want to learn, I am a bit too old. You cannot teach old dog's new tricks haha. But I am planning to take a computer course on the internet. There are so many courses available nowadays.

Q: So are you happy with your life after retirement?

A: Well, yes I think so! Firstly, I do not get any stress except from my

wife haha! And I can do what I want to do. To be honest, when I first came out of my job I felt very down and did not know what I should do. I thought of opening a business myself, a small office or something but I felt a bit scared to compete in such a narrow market. As you know us old people are no match for the young people. They are so good! I just tried to get used to my current situation and I did struggle for 2 years or so. The loss was very big! You will understand later too! Haha! Men doing something for 30-40 years and suddenly losing it! Imagine that!

Q: Oh! I feel sorry for you about that! But know you are happy now? Are you satisfied with your life?

A: I mean, yes! It depends on how you spend your time! If you be constructive and want to develop yourself, it is very good but if you just do nothing and give up, time just flows and you die. How vain would that be? I try to develop myself and learn more and at the same time keep healthy! Because, without a healthy body, you cannot do anything. If you lose your health, it's over! The only thing is you need to be careful with your spending. I used to save a lot! Oh, no my wife did haha and if we have nothing special coming, I think we have enough to spend until we die!

Q: Could you teach me how to save like that please? Haha.

A: Haha it's a secret haha!

Q: Well, thank you so much for your interview!

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Interview and observation at Gang Nam *Do San* park and Gang Nam elderly centre.

Do San Park is a park in the heart of Gang Nam area. It is close to Gang Nam elderly centre as well so; a lot of elderly people use the park. During the day time, the elderly come out to take a stroll and sometimes talk with others. Some of the elderly come with their grandchildren to play with while the parents are at work. The reason for choosing this park is that, firstly, it is easy to get access to a large number of elderly people both male and female, and secondly, it is an open space and easy to approach to others to have a chat. The setting is good for the people from the elderly centre use the park a lot. The park is occupied normally by the elderly who live around the Gang Nam area during the day time and there are seldom younger people for they are in their work place.

Shim Jae-kwang (75, Male)

Q: Hello! So could you tell me about yourself a little bit please?

A: Yes, I am 75 and born in 1935. I worked in a coal mine when I was 30 and quit when I was 50. Twenty years. I came to Seoul in 1982 and worked as a gas security manager and left in late 1996. So since then I am jobless. Haha. 13 years is it? Haha. Well, I worked in a coal mine in a place called *Young Joo, Kyung buk* do you know?

Q: yes I do.

A: Well, I got silicosis and that is the reason I quit. I went to the hospital in 1982 and the hospital said there was no problem but in 1985 I went to Seoul City Hospital and they said it was silicosis. I had a hard time for 3-5 years and took medicine. The hospital said I had to eat well so I ate dogs, boiled goats, and snakes. I think I ate 20-30 snakes. The hospital told me to go to a recuperation centre but if I went, what would my family rely on?

Q: So you mean you were the only bread winner?

A: Of course. It was like that in the past. All the men worked and the women stayed home. Nowadays the women go out and work but before it was like that. So I was heard that one day there is (financial) support from the government if you have silicosis but I could not get it because they said the extent was not to a certain level.

Q: So did you have any leisure you used to do before retirement?

A: What kind of leisure? Like sports?

Q: Any type of leisure. Like watching tv or smoking....etc

A: I think I do what others do. I don't do any sports except walking but I drink and smoke.

Q: So, before and after retirement is there any difference to your leisure?

A: Watching tv and newspapers are the same but I quit smoking and drinking. I used to smoke 2 packets of cigarettes a day till 65 but now I quit. Drinking, I used to drink till 67 but now I just drink very rarely. I

think what I used to do before retirement and after are the same. What could change?

Q: Ok, so your leisure activities are pretty much the same?

A: yes.

Q: So are you satisfied with your lifestyle now? Do you meet friends? Do you have good relationship with your family? Do you go out often?

A: Yes. I am very happy to see my grandchildren. That is why I live these days. They are so cute and adorable. I think I help my son and daughter-in-law a lot. I look after the grandchildren as much as I can. If I die they should remember me! Haha. I meet my friends maybe once or twice a week and play card games. And I have a good relation with my family as well. My daughter-in-law always says that the younger people are very ignorant and she says that I have intelligence and the young ones have to learn. She is a very good daughter-in-law. She bought me this jacket.

Q: that's great! So what do think are the most important thing in life is? Do you want to say anything to me?

A: Young one! Health is very very important! So always keep it. Another thing is, your friends and family is the ones who are always on your side. Do well to them. And finally, do not use your hard earned money easily! No matter how much money you have, if you start throwing it away it will be gone soon. That's it!

Q: Thank you very much!

Kim Jin-chul (78, male)

Q: Hello! Could you tell me about yourself a bit please?

A: I live right there in that apartment with my daughter and grandchildren. Block 101. Are you from the government? Can you give us support? Haha!

Q: haha! Sorry I'm not from the government. I'm just a student! I told you before! Haha! Could you let me know what you used to do and a bit about yourself please?

A: ok ok!. I used to work as a farmer in *buahn Julla* province. I worked as a farmer for 30 years and I was also the head of the village. I was 20 something when the Japanese invaded and took over Korea. I used to look after land at *Shin Han* company (it is a Japanese run company in the early 1900's in Korea to take over the land). After the Japanese left, I worked as a manager there and re-distributed the land to Koreans. I came back to be a farmer ever since.

Q: That is very interesting. Did you do and leisure back then? Do you do any leisure activities now?

A: Back then, I used to drink alcohol. I could get hold of good quality Japanese sake and I drank that. But I do not smoke. I never smoked. After the Japanese left, I studied at *Dongbu* University while I worked as a farmer. I think this is leisure. Studying is very enjoyable. I studied back then about agriculture and now I still study English! '*How are you? How do you do?*' haha. I do a lot of walking to keep my body working and

they say walking is very good for old people so I walk like this.

Q: So how did your leisure change before and after retirement?

A: Because I was a farmer, I was very busy. Younger generations do not know that. Farmers are very busy. However, I studied whenever I had a chance and maybe because of that I was elected as the head of the village! After I quit working, I still read books and watch discovery channel to learn something. Is learning leisure too? I think my leisure is more or less the same. Or it has increased a bit more because I do not have compulsory work.

Q: So are you happy with your leisure life now? Do you have a good relationship with the people around you?

A: I do have enough time and friends to get myself entertained but I do not have the financial support.

Q: Did you use all your money for educating your children as well?

A: It is the same to everyone. I did support my children and they should support me when I get old! I do feel a bit sorry and feel as a burden but there is no other way I can live!

I used to go to a temple but I changed to become a Christian because my daughter-in-law wanted me to go to church. I think it is because I do not have the economical independence.

Well, Yes, I have good relationship and I think it is better than before because I see them more often.

Q: Thank you very much!

.....

***Gang Nam* Cycling Association**

Whilst doing research, the researcher became to know an area where elderly males gather everyday in the daytime and it was in front of the *Gang Nam* cycling association. The area has a lot of benches and since it only had a bicycle road, no cars were allowed to pass by. It also had a small stream so it was quiet and a pleasant atmosphere for the elderly to sit down and chat.

Jang Hong-rim (65, Male)

Q: Hello! Could you tell me about you and what you used to do before retirement?

A: I worked as a teacher at *JamShil* Middle school. It is a private school so I stayed there for 30 years or so.

Q: That is great! So did you do any particular leisure activity whilst you were working?

A: I used to practice *Gum Do* (a type of fencing) and learned Japanese. I am interested in Asian history and language so I go to Japan sometimes.

Q: So were you a history teacher?

A: Yes, exactly!

Q: So what are you doing here sitting on the bench?

A: I actually am a member of the cycle club so I am waiting for others to come.

Q: Oh. That's great! You do a lot of activities!

A: Yes, I try to keep active which is known to grow new cells in your brain and keep you going healthier for longer.

Q: I did not know that! Wow a teacher is different!! Haha!

A: haha. So are you using SPSS for your research?

Q: Yes how did you know?

A: I can see from your questionnaire! Most of the people use that and my daughter is studying in the US doing her Ph.D. in psychology so I have seen her using it on her computer!

Q: I am so surprised to see someone your age know so much! Haha!

A: So what do you want to know from me?

Q: I would like to compare your leisure activities before and after retirement and the life satisfaction before and after. Could you tell me please?

A: Yes, I'll make it simple, Before retirement, I used to practice *Gumdo* 3 times a week 2 hours per session and read Japanese books and watch NHK. Also I finish early at 5 o'clock because I'm a teacher, so I already had a lot of time compared to others who have to work till 9 or 10 at night! My wife is also a teacher at *Daewang* primary school so we both could go for a walk or go shopping. We watched movies quite often

because my wife likes movies and during the weekends we would go to other regions to visit temples or have popular and famous food of other regions of Korea. After retirement, I have a lot of time since the morning so I prepare my wife for school! Haha don't tell! I think I do the chores now and after the morning time goes, I come here and ride the bicycle. I am trying to learn the inline skating and when my wife retires, we will come here together and exercise together!

Q: That is fantastic! Sounds very good!

A: haha.

Q: So did your leisure increase or decrease or is it the same?

A: It seems to be increasing but the things that I do are the same except the house work! Haha. I just try to learn the bicycle and that only adds up, the rest is the same. I think it is possible because we have enough income and both of us earn. Well, I'm retired so I get the private school teachers' pension.

Q: I heard it is quite a lot!

A: Yes, well it is enough! Haha.

Q: So what about your relations with other people and are you happy with your life? Are you satisfied compared to pre-retirement?

A: Yes I am. Sometimes I miss it when I could teach the teenagers lessons when the smoke on the road with their uniforms on. I could walk up and tell them I am a teacher and ask their names. They would be afraid of me, but now I am nothing so that is the only thing. I guess otherwise I am

happy with the pension and all the time I get! The relationship with others is good and I meet my friends who are retired as well to go and play! Haha. One of my friends joined me in the cycle club! The leisure has increased and I think I am always happy! The satisfaction is the same! I was happy to work and now I'm happy to play!

Q: thank you very much!

Ha Sang-yup (59, male)

Q: Hello Could you tell me about yourself a bit please?

A: Yes, my name is H and was born in *Busan*. I have a son and a daughter and both of them are abroad. I live with my wife in *Samik* apartment just across the road. I used to work for a fisheries company and my wife runs a bakery. I retired when I was 51 and ever since I am jobless. I used to be a CEO of 'O' fisheries ltd. However, IMF kicked in and I had no choice but to resign.

Q: I'm sorry about that! I would like to ask you about the leisure life you had before and after retirement and life satisfaction prior to retirement and after.

A: Before retirement I used to go to the gym after work during the week, and in the weekends, I used to go to the mountain or go swimming. Sometimes my family would visit relatives and stay overnight. Since I had a position in the job, I had to be an example to the others so I had to report for work earlier than others, know more than others and always be

clean and neat. To do so, I had to keep maintain my health, not smoke, and even though I drink with others, I came home early for the next day. I had to be strict to myself. Also I had to study English and Russian since we had co-workers in other countries. My life for the last 30 so years that I dedicated to the company was very strict towards myself but without that I would not have been able to get to that position with only a high school degree. Also I would not have been able to educate my children either! But, after retirement, I feel a bit relaxed and since I have felt so much discrimination during those years because I did not have a university degree, I am now in the third year of my bachelor's degree. I am studying management at '*Hankook University of Foreign Studies*'. I am studying and reading a lot. I do the swimming and go to the gym regularly as well as visit my relatives a bit more often than before. The amount of leisure seems to be a bit more or the same.

Q: Then could you tell me about the life satisfaction?

A: Yes, I have a comfortable house, a wife who stills work, and my retirement pension, both of my children study abroad, and friends around me, I think I am a very happy man. I am healthy until now, my wife is healthy and relatives all have no problem! I thinks that's the end of the story! And before and now? I seem the satisfaction has come down just a little bit because I liked the work and kept me feel a belonging but now still the satisfaction is ok, I prefer the times when I could work! Also younger the better! Nobody can change time with money!

Q: So what do you think is the most important thing in life in order to dwell a happy life? And what are the most problematic things?

A: It is a challenging question. The most important thing is money and health and the most problematic things are health and money I think! You have to study and work hard but that is to live a happy healthy life! I know money is not everything but still it is a large something in life. So money and health are the most important!

Q: Thank you very much for your time!

.....

***Songpa* area Elderly welfare centre**

Songpa elderly centre is situated at the eastern part of Gang Nam. It is a 10 story building and it provides leisure programs and facilities. It has quilt, dance, flower arrangement, singing classes and many more. However, since the research has to be limited to a surrounding where the elderly come without a purpose, the researcher chose the ground floor where the elderly simply come and sit for a chat or a rest.

Yang Bok-ja (84, female)

Q: Hello. Could you talk to me about yourself please?

A: Yes. I was born in the north, and during the Korean War I came to the south in sought of refuge. It was a very hard time back then and

everybody was starving. You would not be able to imagine. Even until now I am very sad when I think about that time. I lost all my family and I do not know who is still in the north. Because there were so many people evacuating, we all got mixed up and lost each other. It is such a disaster to lose your loved ones. Imagine one day you suddenly lose contact with everyone you know. It is such a painful memory. (sobs)

Q: Yes it would be very painful. I do not know exactly how it was because I have not experienced such thing but I do think that it might have been a painful time. I am sorry.

A: No, it is ok. The fault is everyone's greed. Because people are greedy, war happens. War should not happen again!

Q: So back then how did you survive on your own? I mean did you work or.....?

A: Yes. I had to live to meet my loved ones so I had a reason to live. I picked up myself and started to search for a job. I studied at university back then which is quite rare and only a privilege to the one's who had enough. I studied at *Yeoun Hee* special college (now Yonsei University) in the mathematics department.

Q: Then you might have been elite?

A: Yes, back then it was the top colleges. I was happy that I was educated because right after independence a lot of middle and high schools looked for teachers and they paid quite a lot to teachers for education after was is quite important. I only finished the second year at university but still they

wanted me to come and teach. So I went to teach in *BangBae Womens'* middle school.

Q: So you have been a teacher ever since? So how old were you when you started?

A: I was 25 I think? And I did teach until 55 right until retirement. I also got married to a teacher and now I have 5 children and 12 grand children. One of my grandchildren got married and had a baby. I also have on great grandchild as well.

Q: Aww...that is so nice.

A: yes, she (great grandchild) is turning 2 next year. I am very happy with her.

Q: Could you tell me about during your work? Was it well paid? Did you have any leisure back then?

A: Yes, I was well paid, my husband was well paid so we could have a nanny in our house to look after the children while we worked. Back then, after the war, since it is very hungry people would come and work if you just give them food and shelter. She did bring up all our children. I am so thankful to her. I don't know where she is gone now.

Q: So, did you do any leisure activities?

A: Men normally would go out to have a drink or smoke but we women had to come back and do the chores and look after the children. I had a hobby though. Do you know *ShipJaSoo* (cross stitching)?

Q: Yes, I do.

A: I liked to do that in a quite surrounding. That was my leisure. I thought of lots of things while I would do that. I would think of my family and brothers and sisters, friends, children.....It is a time for meditation.

Q: So do you still do it?

A: Not any more. I do sew things for my children and they bring it to me to get it sewed. My eyes are tired so I do not do it anymore.

Q: So after 55 did you do other leisure activities?

A: Ah! When I was young! 55 is young haha. I still did the *ShipJaSoo*. I looked after my grandchildren and I started to do exercise because I had diabetes. The war generation were normally very hungry and had to eat as much when they could, so I also ate quite a lot. Sweets, were the ones which I liked the most because it was not plentiful during the war and after that the US military gave us some. So I knew the taste. I just ate a lot and back then nobody thinks about health, well-being...etc. If you have a full stomach that's happiness.

Q: So what kind of exercise did you do? Did the leisure increase after retirement?

A: Definitely. The life quality had gone up quite a lot so I could look after my grandchildren, eat a lot and my son-in-laws would buy me walking machines, bicycles and all sorts so I did a lot of exercise and I am very happy.

Q: Do you mean you came to do a lot more activities than before?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you learn anything else as leisure?

A: No. I had a surgery. I fell on the ice and broke my leg bone here (shows the area). It took a long time for the bone to stick because I had diabetes. I put a steel frame inside. Since that, what can I do? I just walk and walk. That is my only leisure. I am going to die soon. I just want to see my children and their offspring's to success.

Q: No you will live a long happy life.

A: haha. Thank you.

Q: So are you happier now than before retirement?

A: Yes I am! I am much relaxed and mu daughters take me on trips. One of my daughter lives in Los Angeles and one lives in Cananda. I go and visit them once a year. They keep on asking me to come. I go and help them but they take me around a lot. I am very happy.

Q: Well, I hope you are always healthy! Thank you very much for the interview.

A: Thank you!

Choi Joo-myung (57, Male)

Q: Hello! Nice to meet you. Could you tell me about yourself please?

A: I am a retired taxi driver. I am on my way to e-mart to get some food.

Q: Are you going for shopping?

A: Yes I am.

Q: So when did you retire? Do you have another job at the moment?

A: I retired when I was 54 because of my knees. I had a surgery because the gristle of my knee was damaged. Since that I do not work and stay home. But now I don't work and I do not have a job at present.

Q: So is your health better than before?

A: It seems to be because after the surgery I try to look after myself a bit more.

Q: So what is your main income at the moment? And do you have other family members to look after?

A: I rely on my savings and I have an unmarried son. He is currently trying to pass the civil service examination but it his third time. The younger one got married to a person who runs a lighting shop and they live well.

Q: So your daughter is married?

A: Yes. So, I live with my wife and son.

Q: I would like to ask you about the leisure pattern before and after your retirement. Could you tell me about that please?

A: I used to play football in a weekend football club in *Young-Hee primary school* on sunday mornings and join a *Sonata* (brand of the car) car wash and car maintenance club later on.

Q: So before retirement you mainly had two activities?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you drink or travel or watch TV?

A: TV of course, I watch it. I watch it in the car while I drive all the time

and before there was car entertainment I go to the driver restaurant (restaurants for drivers and provide food for a cheap price) and watch TV there. When I get home I watch TV as well.

Q: What about drinking?

A: I do not have a good liver so I did not drink that much because when I was in the army I went to the marines and I ruined myself there after I finished my service. Even now I do not drink.

Q: That is actually good haha.

A: So I do not spend money on alcohol. Haha.

Q: So before retirement and after retirement how did your leisure change in terms of frequency and time?

A: Of course the leisure time has increased. My wife goes to work and I stay home nothing to do. I meet my friends or watch TV, read the newspaper and have a stroll. My life is very simple now. Previously, when I was driving I always wanted to quit because of the young ones getting drunk and acting rude to me was a big source of anger. Now I feel so good not to see that anymore thanks to my knee. Maybe god let me have a brake?! Haha.

Q: So do you do any other sort of leisure ever since?

A: I go to the public bath more often. I use a monthly member's coupon and it only cost 35000 won (equivalent of 17 pounds) per month. I meet lots of people there and sometimes we go out for food and so on. There are lots of retired men like me in the public bath. We wash, read, watch

TV, chat and sometimes have food. It is my new job haha.

Q: That's why you have good skin haha. Are you satisfied with your life now? Could you compare before and after retirement?

A: Before I was happy to earn money to support my family and now I am still happy to treat myself.

Q: Do you think you are doing something important for your family?

A: Yes! Of course haha! A father just being in a family is so important for the whole image of the family itself. Look at the families without fathers, others look down on them!

Q: OK! Well, what about your relationship with friends? And your image to others?

A: Before retirement I did not have enough time to meet my friends because most of them work even though my time is quite flexible but after, I made more friends from the sauna (public bath) and some of my retired friends and I gather quite often! The friends in the *Sonata* club sometimes meet at the sauna as well. There are some retired ones in the club and we do not want to interrupt our wives! Haha. The friends of mine think of me as the same image because we were friends for a long time. A friend is always the same! We are *Bootal Chingu* (Genital friends; it means friends since very young, so that they see each other's naked image since kids). But the friends from my work think differently! To men it's always the same.

Q: Do you mean they are not that close as the *Bootal Chingu*?

A: Yes because people you meet later are for one in common which is a profit towards themselves. No friend can be the same as *Bootal Chingu* haha!

Q: So for the childhood friends, your image is always the same but for the ones you have met later in life has changed?

A: Yes!

Q: So is it positive or negative?

A: It is negative probably! Men not working, who would see it as good? To men work is everything during their mid age isn't it?

Q: haha yes! Do you think you are lonely? And what are the things you think that are important for later life?

A: When I stay home, yes I can get lonely but if I come out, it's ok! And the important things in life? Maybe, health. Health is the most important! If you lose health you lose everything.

Another is money.

Q: Thank you very much for your time!

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE

Developing Leisure Policy for the Elderly

Dear Sir/Madam.

Good afternoon. My name is Joon Ho Cha and I am a research student from the University of Liverpool, sociology department.

First of all, I would like to thank you for taking part in this research. This questionnaire is about examining the differences between the health and income change of pre and post retirement of the Korean elderly and through the outcomes it will be utilised as precious data for my Ph.D. thesis. Furthermore, it could be used as a stepping stone for developing a leisure policy for the elderly of Korea.

The questionnaire consists of 47 simple questions and would take approximately 12 minutes.

I wish you could go carefully through each question and reply. Once again, thank you very much for your participation.

* The researcher is in collection of data so as to complete a doctoral thesis in the University of Liverpool. Each and every response will be utilised as great importance and for research purpose only. Furthermore, the response from this survey will not be used for any other purpose.

The researcher has completed the Researchers' Ethics course from the University of Liverpool and will follow the principles.

(www.liverpool.ac.uk/researchstudents/ethics)

* For any other concerns which could be raised, please contact;
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1. What is your gender?

male

female

2. What is your age?

_____ Years

3. What was your main occupation which you have worked for the longest period? Please select from the examples below.

Examples: agricultural, fishing craftsman teaching junior manager senior manager office worker sales technician, engineer general labour Military, police self employed, commerce Etc (Please Specify: _____)

4. What is your education level?

Elementary school or lower middle school high school

University (including college) post graduate

5. Have you retired from your main occupation?

Yes, specifically, at what age? (_____)

No

* If you are retired please proceed to question number 6. If not, you can stop here.

6. Do you have a part time job or irregular job at the moment?

yes

no

7. What is your retirement type?

Retirement at the age limit early retirement voluntary retirement
or other (Please Specify: _____)

8. Do you have any chronic disease?

yes, type of illness (Please Specify: _____)
 no

9. How often did you have a health check in a year **before** retirement?

_____ times

10. How often did you have a health check in a year **after** retirement?

_____ times

11. How has your health changed compared to pre-retirement?

became very good became good more or less the same
 became worse became very bad

12. What was your income before retirement?

under 1million KRW (under J500) 1million to 1.5 million KRW
(J500 to J750)
 1.6 million to 2 million KRW (J800 to J1000) 2.1 million to 2.5
million KRW (J1050 to J1250) 2.6 million to 3million KRW (J1300 to
J1500) over 3 million KRW (over J1500)

13. How has the income changed after retirement? (in percentage %)

- 30% decline
 50% decline
 70 to 80% decline
 30% increase
 50% increase
 more or less the same

14. What is your main income at present? (Check all)

- savings
 national pension
 civil workers pension
 part time job
 supports from sons and daughters
 retirement allowance
 income support (benefit)
 others

15. Who are you living with at present? (Check all if necessary)

- spouse, partner
 son
 daughter
 alone
 others

*The following is understanding the leisure activities and frequency before and after retirement. Please fill in the appropriate number from 1-5 in the bracket.

Almost never	rarely	sometimes	often	quite often
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5

Personal style of leisure	Before retirement	After retirement
16. watching television (news)	()	()
17. watching television (movies, historical play)	()	()
18. watching videos and DVDs	()	()
19. religious activities	()	()

20. listening to music, singing	()	()
21. tour, journey	()	()
22. reading newspaper	()	()
23. dancing and playing musical instruments	()	()
24. sports, exercise	()	()
25. drinking (alcohol)	()	()
26. using the computer	()	()
27. seeing friends, socialising	()	()
28. game (playing cards, <i>baduk</i> , <i>Janggi</i> , <i>hwatu</i> , incl. computer games)	()	()

Almost never	rarely	sometimes	mostly	almost always
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5

Personal style of leisure	Before retirement	After retirement
29. participating in local events, voluntary work	()	()
30. picnic, day trips	()	()
31. going to the elderly hall, culture hall	()	()

32. indoor hobbies (gardening, sewing etc)	()	()
33. stroll	()	()
34. shopping (supermarket, department stores etc)	()	()
35. public bath, <i>jjimgil</i> <i>bang</i>	()	()

*The following is understanding the elderly life satisfaction before and after retirement. Please fill in the appropriate number from 1-5 in the bracket.

Strongly disagree	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	strongly agree
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5

Life satisfaction	Before retirement	After retirement
36. I believe what I am doing now is important to my life and also has importance upon my family.	()	()
37. Generally, I do have the time and given condition to do what I desire to do.	()	()
38. I am satisfied in socialising,	()	()

participating in other social activities.		
---	--	--

Strongly disagree	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	strongly agree
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5

Life satisfaction	Before retirement	After retirement
39. I have a good relationship with friends and others.	()	()
40. I think I am healthier than the other elders who are the same age as me.	()	()
41. I have a comfortable place to live.	()	()
42. I have reasonable income to maintain a life.	()	()
43. I am considered as a 'good person' to others and my image seems to be good.	()	()
44. I am not lonely or isolated.	()	()
45. I am satisfied with my religious life.	()	()

46. So as to lead a satisfactory life style, what do you think are the **most important** 2 factors amongst the category below?

() ()

1. money 2. Occupation 3. Health 4. Religion 5. Family 6. Friends

47. What are the most problematic factors in later life? Please choose from the examples below.

money occupation health religion relation with the family
 friends social status loneliness

Thank you very much for you participation!

APPENDIX C: CRONBACH'S ALPHA SCORE AND MEAN SCORE AND STANDARD DEVIATION OF 20 LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Reliability of the 20 leisure activities

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
0.846	40

Mean Score and Standard Deviation of 20 leisure activities

variable	Mean	Standard deviation	Variable	mean	Standard deviation
newspre	2.38	0.852	computerpre	1.67	0.938
newsaft	2.93	0.963	computeraft	1.69	0.968
moviepre	2.35	0.866	Friendpre	2.58	0.816
movieaft	2.88	1.034	Friendaft	3.32	0.944
videopre	1.78	0.945	Gamepre	1.86	0.938
videoaft	1.89	1.091	Gameaft	2.23	1.212
religionpre	2.38	1.046	regioneventpre	2.10	1.008
religionaft	2.72	1.238	regioneventaft	2.42	1.074
musicpre	1.99	0.957	Picnicpre	2.24	0.898
musicaft	2.42	1.157	Picnicaft	2.60	1.126
travelpre	2.11	0.906	clubhousepre	1.86	0.929
travelaft	2.68	1.265	clubhouseaft	2.37	1.137
paperpre	2.54	0.907	Hobbypre	1.83	0.958
paperaft	2.71	0.999	Hobbyaft	2.22	1.182
dancepre	1.63	0.831	Strollpre	2.21	0.897
danceaft	1.61	0.901	Strollaft	2.83	1.015
sportspre	2.16	1.053	Shopper	2.45	0.858
sportsaft	2.43	1.346	Shopaft	2.59	1.025
drinkpre	2.78	1.119	Bathpre	2.72	0.936
drinkaft	2.37	1.166	Bathaft	2.90	1.016

APPENDIX D: CRONBACH'S ALPHA SCORE, MEAN SCORE, AND STANDARD DEVIATION OF 10 LIFE SATISFACTION FACTORS

Reliability of the 10 life satisfactions

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
0.834	20

Mean Score and Standard Deviation of 10 life satisfactions

Variable	Mean	Standard deviation
satisfactionpre	3.49	0.810
satisfactionaft	3.21	1.003
wanttodopre	2.63	0.870
wanttodoaft	3.18	1.051
participatepre	2.71	0.803
participateaft	3.18	0.979
relationspre	3.18	0.648
Relationaft	3.49	0.840
healthierpre	3.08	0.890
healthieraft	3.14	0.998
liveplacepre	3.48	0.840
liveplaceaft	3.48	0.987
Incomepre	3.24	0.789
Incomeaft	2.93	0.976
Imagepre	3.13	0.717
Imageaft	3.36	0.776
Lonelypre	3.33	0.801
Lonelyaft	3.23	1.025
religionpre2	2.84	1.092
religionaft2	3.03	1.104

APPENDIX E: LEISURE PARTICIPATION BEFORE AND AFTER RETIREMENT

Home based type leisure and socioeconomic factors

Table. Home Based Type Leisure and Socioeconomic Factors

Socioeconomic factor	retirement	Mean	N	df	T	
Gender	Male	Before	2.2048	83	82	-4.807***
		After	2.4859			
	Female	Before	1.9279	37	36	
		After	2.2658			
Age	Under 70	Before	2.2387	81	80	-5.633***
		After	2.5473			
	70 and over	Before	1.8718	39	38	
		After	2.1496			
Education	Below high school	Before	2.0099	84	83	-4.868***
		After	2.2976			
	Higher education	Before	2.3750	36	35	
		After	2.6991			
Health status	With a chronic disease	Before	1.9712	52	51	-3.675***
		After	2.2756			
	Without a chronic disease	Before	2.2328	68	67	
		After	2.5270			
Income before retirement	£1,000 and under	Before	2.1639	61	60	-3.199**
		After	2.3962			
	Over £1,000	Before	2.0734	59	58	
		After	2.4407			
Cohabitation	Living with someone	Before	2.1410	104	103	-5.019***
		After	2.4038			
	Living alone	Before	1.9792	16	15	
		After	2.5104			
Occupation	Blue collar	Before	1.9433	50	49	-4.004***
		After	2.2833			
	White collar	Before	2.2452	70	69	
		After	2.5143			
Irregular	With an	Before	2.1418	47	46	-2.450**

work	irregular job	After	2.3475	73	72	-6.296***
		Before	2.1050			
Income change	Up to 50% decrease	Before	2.1899	79	78	-4.687***
		After	2.4705			
	Over 50% decrease	Before	2.0000	38	37	-3.928***
		After	2.3421			

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

Sports health type leisure and socioeconomic factors

Table. Sports Health Type Leisure and Socioeconomic Factors

Socioeconomic factor		retirement	Mean	N	df	T
Gender	Male	Before	2.4518	83	82	-2.456*
		After	2.7289			
	Female	Before	2.4054	37	36	-1.055
		After	2.5270			
Age	Under 70	Before	2.4074	81	80	-3.760***
		After	2.7901			
	70 and over	Before	2.5000	39	38	.611
		After	2.4103			
Education	Below high school	Before	2.3869	84	83	-2.111*
		After	2.5893			
	Higher education	Before	2.5556	36	35	-1.623
		After	2.8472			
Health status	With a chronic disease	Before	2.2981	52	51	-.709
		After	2.3750			
	Without a chronic disease	Before	2.5441	68	67	-2.756**
		After	2.8897			
Income before retirement	£1,000 and under	Before	2.3934	61	60	-.734
		After	2.4754			
	Over £1,000	Before	2.4831	59	58	-2.963**
		After	2.8644			
Cohabitation	Living	Before	2.4904	104	103	-2.809**

	with someone	After	2.7500			
	Living alone	Before	2.0938	16	15	-.136
		After	2.1250			
Occupation	Blue collar	Before	2.2200	50	49	-1.325
		After	2.3800			
	White collar	Before	2.5929	70	69	-2.334*
		After	2.8714			
Irregular work	With an irregular job	Before	2.4043	47	46	-3.325**
		After	2.8191			
	Without an irregular job	Before	2.4589	73	72	-.959
		After	2.5685			
Income change	Up to 50% decrease	Before	2.3987	79	78	-3.513***
		After	2.7595			
	Over 50% decrease	Before	2.5395	38	37	.461
		After	2.4737			

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

Outdoor type leisure and socioeconomic factors

Table. Outdoor Type Leisure and Socioeconomic Factors

Socioeconomic factor	retirement	Mean	N	df	T	
Gender	Male	Before	2.1004	83	82	-7.736***
		After	2.7751			
	Female	Before	2.3784	37	36	-1.086
		After	2.5405			
Age	Under 70	Before	2.1358	81	80	-7.625***
		After	2.7819			
	70 and over	Before	2.2906	39	38	-1.558
		After	2.5385			
Education	Below high school	Before	2.2262	84	83	-3.933***
		After	2.6111			
	Higher education	Before	2.0926	36	35	-7.190***
		After	2.9167			
Health	With a	Before	2.2308	52	51	-1.403

status	chronic disease	After	2.3974			
	Without a chronic disease	Before	2.1520			
		After	2.9363	68	67	-8.423***
Income before retirement	£1,000 and under	Before	2.2732			
		After	2.6011	61	60	-3.251**
	Over £1,000	Before	2.0960			
		After	2.8079	59	58	-6.104***
Cohabitation	Living with someone	Before	2.2115			
		After	2.7660	104	103	-6.349***
	Living alone	Before	2.0208			
		After	2.2917	16	15	-1.809
Occupation	Blue collar	Before	2.0933			
		After	2.3933	50	49	-2.407**
	White collar	Before	2.2524			
		After	2.9238	70	69	-6.872***
Irregular work	With an irregular job	Before	2.1418			
		After	2.6809	47	46	-4.653***
	Without an irregular job	Before	2.2146			
		After	2.7169	73	72	-4.735***
Income change	Up to 50% decrease	Before	2.2025			
		After	2.7300	79	78	-6.170***
	Over 50% decrease	Before	2.1667			
		After	2.6316	38	37	-2.775**

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

Artistic type leisure and socioeconomic factors

Table. Artistic Type Leisure and Socioeconomic Factors

Socioeconomic factor	retirement	Mean	N	df	T	
Gender	Male	Before	1.5663			
		After	1.5663	83	82	.000
	Female	Before	1.7568			
		After	1.7027	37	36	.374

Age	Under 70	Before	1.4815	81	80	-2.165*
		After	1.6173			
	70 and over	Before	1.9231	39	38	2.317*
		After	1.5897			
Education	Below high school	Before	1.6905	84	83	1.111
		After	1.5952			
	Higher education	Before	1.4722	36	35	-1.972
		After	1.6389			
Health status	With a chronic disease	Before	1.5962	52	51	2.109*
		After	1.3846			
	Without a chronic disease	Before	1.6471	68	67	-1.584
		After	1.7794			
Income before retirement	£1,000 and under	Before	1.7541	61	60	.159
		After	1.7377			
	Over £1,000	Before	1.4915	59	58	.207
		After	1.4746			
Cohabitation	Living with someone	Before	1.6154	104	103	.132
		After	1.6058			
	Living alone	Before	1.6875	16	15	.436
		After	1.6250			
Occupation	Blue collar	Before	1.5400	50	49	.518
		After	1.4800			
	White collar	Before	1.6857	70	69	-.184
		After	1.7000			
Irregular work	With an irregular job	Before	1.4681	47	46	.227
		After	1.4468			
	Without an irregular job	Before	1.7260	73	72	.151
		After	1.7123			
Income change	Up to 50% decrease	Before	1.6709	79	78	-.155
		After	1.6835			
	Over 50% decrease	Before	1.5263	38	37	.240
		After	1.5000			

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

Hobbies domestic type leisure and socioeconomic factors

Table. Hobbies Domestic Type Leisure and Socioeconomic Factors

Socioeconomic factor	retirement	Mean	N	df	T	
Gender	Male	Before	2.0000	83	82	-4.913***
		After	2.3333			
	Female	Before	2.1441	37	36	
		After	2.3694			
Age	Under 70	Before	1.9465	81	80	-5.969***
		After	2.3457			
	70 and over	Before	2.2479	39	38	
		After	2.3419			
Education	Below high school	Before	2.0873	84	83	-3.718***
		After	2.3611			
	Higher education	Before	1.9444	36	35	
		After	2.3056			
Health status	With a chronic disease	Before	1.9936	52	51	-3.060**
		After	2.2756			
	Without a chronic disease	Before	2.0833	68	67	
		After	2.3971			
Income before retirement	£1,000 and under	Before	2.1530	61	60	-4.017***
		After	2.4973			
	Over £1,000	Before	1.9322	59	58	
		After	2.1864			
Cohabitation	Living with someone	Before	2.0256	104	103	-5.342***
		After	2.3365			
	Living alone	Before	2.1667	16	15	
		After	2.3958			
Occupation	Blue collar	Before	2.0800	50	49	-2.973**
		After	2.3800			
	White collar	Before	2.0190	70	69	
		After	2.3190			
Irregular work	With an irregular job	Before	2.0213	47	46	-3.653***
		After	2.3617			
	Without an	Before	2.0594	73	72	

	irregular job	After	2.3333			
Income change	Up to 50% decrease	Before	2.1055	79	78	-4.524***
		After	2.4051			
	Over 50% decrease	Before	1.9298	38	37	
		After	2.2807			

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

Social recreational type leisure and socioeconomic factors

Table. Social Recreational Type Leisure and Socioeconomic Factors

Socioeconomic factor	retirement	Mean	N	df	T	
Gender	Male	Before	2.8012	83	82	-1.874
		After	2.9819			
	Female	Before	2.3919	37	36	
		After	2.5270			
Age	Under 70	Before	2.6481	81	80	-2.424*
		After	2.8765			
	70 and over	Before	2.7308	39	38	
		After	2.7692			
Education	Below high school	Before	2.6071	84	83	-1.230
		After	2.7262			
	Higher education	Before	2.8333	36	35	
		After	3.1111			
Health status	With a chronic disease	Before	2.6058	52	51	-3.145**
		After	2.9423			
	Without a chronic disease	Before	2.7279	68	67	
		After	2.7647			
Income before retirement	£1,000 and under	Before	2.6066	61	60	-1.634
		After	2.7705			
	Over £1,000	Before	2.7458	59	58	
		After	2.9153			
Cohabitation	Living with someone	Before	2.6346	104	103	-2.498*
		After	2.8317			

	Living alone	Before	2.9375	16	15	.138
		After	2.9063			
Occupation	Blue collar	Before	2.5200	50	49	-1.685
		After	2.7300			
	White collar	Before	2.7857	70	69	-1.465
		After	2.9214			
Irregular work	With an irregular job	Before	2.6170	47	46	-2.180*
		After	2.8511			
	Without an irregular job	Before	2.7123	73	72	-1.212
		After	2.8356			
Income change	Up to 50% decrease	Before	2.6899	79	78	-2.312*
		After	2.8987			
	Over 50% decrease	Before	2.6579	38	37	-.642
		After	2.7500			

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

Group social type leisure and socioeconomic factors

Table. Group Social Type Leisure and Socioeconomic Factors

Socioeconomic factor	retirement	Mean	N	df	T	
Gender	Male	Before	2.0843	83	82	-4.825***
		After	2.3936			
	Female	Before	2.1712	37	36	-4.886***
		After	2.7387			
Age	Under 70	Before	2.0041	81	80	-5.876***
		After	2.4239			
	70 and over	Before	2.3333	39	38	-3.303**
		After	2.6581			
Education	Below high school	Before	2.1468	84	83	-4.590***
		After	2.4405			
	Higher education	Before	2.0278	36	35	-5.331***
		After	2.6389			
Health status	With a chronic disease	Before	2.1859	52	51	-4.299***
		After	2.5897			

	Without a chronic disease	Before	2.0539	68	67	-5.179***
		After	2.4314			
Income before retirement	£1,000 and under	Before	2.3060	61	60	-3.925***
		After	2.6612			
	Over £1,000	Before	1.9096	59	58	-5.922***
		After	2.3333			
Cohabitation	Living with someone	Before	2.1122	104	103	-5.919***
		After	2.4808			
	Living alone	Before	2.1042	16	15	-3.359**
		After	2.6250			
Occupation	Blue collar	Before	2.1467	50	49	-3.484***
		After	2.5000			
	White collar	Before	2.0857	70	69	-6.094***
		After	2.5000			
Irregular work	With an irregular job	Before	2.1418	47	46	-3.981***
		After	2.5603			
	Without an irregular job	Before	2.0913	73	72	-5.510***
		After	2.4612			
Income change	Up to 50% decrease	Before	2.2363	79	78	-5.207***
		After	2.6076			
	Over 50% decrease	Before	1.9035	38	37	-4.137***
		After	2.3421			

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