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PERCEPTIONS OF QUALITY OF LIFE IN AN INDUSTRIALIZING
COUNTRY: THE CASE OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA *

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ABSTRACT. Research on perceived quality of life to date has been confined to industrialized countries mostly in the West. As a result, very little has been known about the quality of life perceived and desired by the people living in industrializing countries. This study has sought to fill this void by analyzing data collected from a national sample survey conducted recently in Korea. The analysis has produced a number of results which do not accord with those from research undertaken in industrialized countries.

There is a growing recognition among scholars and government officials in industrialized countries that both objective and subjective indicators should be employed in monitoring and planning the quality of citizens' lives (Andrews, 1973; Milbrath, 1979; Strumpel, 1974). Objective indicators provide information about the extent to which citizens have access to the various resources known to be essential to human existence. Subjective indicators, on the other hand, are useful in identifying the goods and services which they prefer for the enrichment of their existence and in determining the priorities of those goods and services. Only by combining the use of both indicators is it widely believed possible to facilitate the maximizing of the quality of citizens' lives especially in a context of dwindling public resources. For this reason, subjective indicators of life quality are being collected and studied in the United States and other industrialized countries (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1973, 1976; UNESCO, 1978).

In industrializing countries, in contrast, very little effort is currently exerted to develop subjective indicators of quality of life and thereby enlighten the making of public policy. For example, the government of the Republic of Korea gathers and reports a variety of indicators in an effort to present a comprehensive picture of life quality in Korea (Republic of Korea, Economic Planning Board, 1980). Nearly all of these statistics, however, describe merely the objective conditions of life that might be assumed to influence life experiences, but they do not directly assess those experiences. As Campbell (1976) and Milbrath and Sahr (1975) suggest, these measures of objective life condi-

tions are *surrogate* measures of the quality of life experienced by the Korean population. Consequently, compilations of objective indicators alone tell very little about 'the quantum of happiness' enjoyed by the Korean people and the means of its future improvement.

The research reported on in this paper represents an initial effort to develop an on-going research program designed to monitor the quality of life among citizens of the Republic of Korea by subjective indicators. Specifically, the present work is intended to examine some of the major findings derived from earlier research in the context of a rapidly industrializing country. Such an examination is urgently needed in order to determine whether research on Western, industrialized countries provides a legitimate basis for inferring the quality of life experienced by the people in non-Western and industrializing countries.

The work which follows is in five parts. The first part reviews briefly the literature which deals with the relationship between the objective conditions of life and the quality of life which accompanies these life conditions. The second part outlines a new scheme for conceptualizing and measuring quality of life by subjective indicators. The techniques employed in the collection of data are briefly discussed in the third part. After presenting survey results in the fourth part, the paper concludes with a summary of major findings and some specific suggestions for future life quality research in developing countries.

I. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

There has been a great deal of research done on the perceived quality of life in recent years. Building on the pioneering works of Gurin *et al.* (1960), Bradburn and Caplovitz (1965), and Cantril (1965), many individual scholars and research institutes in industrialized countries have conducted numerous surveys to broaden our knowledge about the meaning of human existence (Abrams, 1973; Allardt, 1977; Atkinson, 1977, 1979; Campbell *et al.*, 1976; Gallup, 1976; Hankiss, 1978; Inglehart, 1977, 1979; Marans *et al.*, 1976; Mason *et al.*, 1975; Milbrath, 1978; Zehner, 1977). Surprisingly, most of their studies have revealed a lack of correspondence between the various objective conditions of life and the extent of personal well-being or happiness which accompanies these life conditions.

For example, James Davis (1975) and Otis Duncan (1975) have reported

that economic growth did not increase or provide a sense of felicity or even satisfaction with one's standard of living. Nicholas Rescher (1972) has also reported that while the United States' per capita income grew by about 40 percent between 1949 and 1965 the proportion of Americans describing themselves as 'very happy' declined by 20 percent to 30 percent. Similarly, George Katona (1973) has reported that, between the 1940s and the 1960s, the proportions of the Americans saying 'We have most of the things we need' did not change despite large increases in their real income.

Parallel to these findings derived from time-series analyses, there have been numerous cross-sectional analyses of survey data which reveal that there is remarkably little variation in overall satisfaction or happiness from one group of the population to another within a given society. In a four-nation study of well-being in Scandinavia, Allardt (1977) found that within each country the overall satisfaction level was surprisingly constant across categories defined by social characteristics. Similarly, Inglehart (1977) found only modest variations in overall life satisfaction among various socio-economic groups within each of the nine European countries which he surveyed. Various national and local surveys on the American population over the past several years have also demonstrated that the socio-economic resources which people command individually or collectively account for very little of the variance in the perceptions of their life quality (Andrews and Withey, 1976; Campbell *et al.*, 1976; Marans *et al.*, 1976; Shin and Johnson, 1977; Zehner, 1977).

The research on quality of life to date has produced an impressive body of evidence to the effect that (1) economic growth does not necessarily bring improvements in the quality of citizens' lives and (2) the wealthy and the educated do not experience a significantly better quality of life than their poor and uneducated contemporaries. This surprising finding of a low correlation between the objective conditions of life and subjective life experiences poses a new and unprecedented challenge to the assumption widely cherished by decision makers, particularly in the developing countries, that providing jobs and increasing the capability to buy consumer goods will improve the human lot.

Does little difference exist between the quality of life experienced by the wealthy and the poor in industrializing countries? Do the educated and the uneducated in those countries report similar qualities of life as their counterparts in industrialized countries do? Or is it due to poor measurement of

subjective life experiences that the people living in industrialized countries, whether poor or rich, are found to enjoy similar qualities of life? The current literature on quality of life and social indicators does not provide satisfactory answers to these questions. To answer these important questions adequately, systematic efforts should be encouraged to: (1) refine existing measures of life quality and develop new ones for the improvement of their ability to discriminate among the various groups of the populations; (2) test them in countries at different levels of development; and (3) investigate the forces which mediate between the objective circumstances in which people live and their perceptions of well-being. The present study is intended to address the first two of these three important tasks facing research on quality of life.

II. MEASURING QUALITY OF LIFE

There is no consensus on the meaning of the concept of quality of life in the current literature on the subject. Yet, it is evident from the literature that welfare and pleasure are the two important requisites of meaningful human existence (Allardt, 1972; Campbell *et al.*, 1976; Rescher, 1972; Scitovsky, 1976; von Wright, 1972). Following this line of thinking, quality of life is considered in the present inquiry as a multi-dimensional evaluative concept, which refers to the welfare and pleasure experienced by people themselves. Figure 1 below sketches out our strategy for measuring the quality of life among Koreans.

In measuring the hedonic component of life quality, we have taken into account the fact that hedonic life experiences such as happiness and enjoyment are "short-term moods of gaiety and elation" (Allardt, 1976; Bradburn, 1969; Campbell *et al.*, 1976; von Wright, 1972). Unlike other elements of human experiences, it is widely known to be a short-lived *affective* state of mind. In measuring hedonic goodness, therefore, we have relied on a pool of two items asking about the levels of happiness and the frequencies of life enjoyment.¹ Responses to these questions were combined to construct an Index of Hedonic Goodness.² Simultaneous consideration of the intensity and frequency of hedonic experiences makes our measurement effort distinct from other studies which focus solely on levels of avowed happiness or frequencies of affective experiences.

Unlike hedonic goodness, welfare goodness is believed to consist in judgement or *cognitive* experiences. As the satisfaction of needs rather than wants,

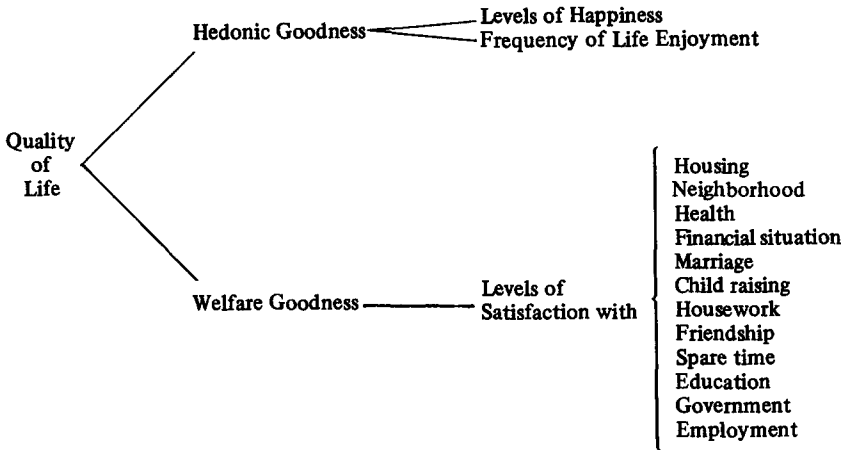


Fig. 1. A strategy for measuring quality of life.

welfare goodness represents a relatively stable subjective attribute. Therefore, we have placed an emphasis on satisfaction in twelve life domains, which are generally known to be important to living in the Korean society. The domains chosen for a national sample survey are: (1) housing; (2) neighborhood; (3) health; (4) financial situations; (5) marriage or romantic relationship; (6) child rearing; (7) employment; (8) housework; (9) friendship; (10) spare time activity; (11) educational attainment; and (12) governmental performance. Each of these twelve domains was first rated on a scale running from zero to 100. Next the domain ratings were collapsed into eleven new categories running from zero to 10. These rescaled ratings were, then, summed up to construct an Index of Welfare Goodness.

Finally, the Index of Quality of Life was calculated on the basis of the following formula:

$$IQL = [10/6(IHG) + IWG],$$

where *IQL* is the Index of Quality of Life; *IHG* is Index of Hedonic Goodness; and *IWG* is the Index of Welfare Goodness. The formula was designed to weight equally the two dimensions of life quality in constructing its overall measure. In principle, the Index of Quality of Life is similar to the Terrible-

Delighted Slade which Andrews and Withey (1976) developed by combining both affective and cognitive evaluations in a single item.

III. DATA COLLECTION

The basic data for the present research came from personal interviews with a national sample of 1500 male and female heads of households with unmarried children within the coterminous Republic of Korea exclusive of those households in military bases. The sample was selected through a multi-stage cluster design with stratification, probability to size, and equal probability of each household in the target population.

On the whole, our sample represented the target population adequately with a few exceptions. Females as compared to males were slightly under-represented. So were the people who were 60 or older and those who lived in rural areas. In the occupational category, farmers were underrepresented as a result of the oversampling of the urban population. Despite these sampling errors, our sample provided acceptable variance on all items.

Interviews were conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences at Seoul National University during the summer of 1980. Fifty two interviewers were retained and given both orientation and individualized training for the project. The interviewers were grouped into 10 teams under the direction of experienced field supervisors. They were required to make two call-backs on the not-at-homes. Substitutions were made randomly selecting another household with the same *ban* or block segment.

IV. SURVEY RESULTS

"In evaluating the appropriateness of various methods for assessing feelings about well-being", Andrews and Withey (1976, p. 206) point out, "one of the considerations is the form of the distribution that method provides". If a large proportion of a population is lumped together in the same category of a scale, the scale is unable to discriminate among people in the category and consequently it generates the type of data which cannot meet various assumptions underlying many statistical techniques. For this reason, serious efforts are being made to refine the existing measures of life quality so that these measures could produce a well-spread and reasonably symmetric distribution (Atkinson, 1977; 15).

TABLE I
Global assessments of quality of life

Happiness	Life enjoyment	Overall life satisfaction
0 Not too happy	29.7%	0 Not at all satisfied
1 Pretty happy	59.3	1
2 Very happy	11.0	2
Total	100.0	3
Mean	0.813	4
Standard Deviation	0.610	5 Half satisfied
% highest category	59.3%	6
% lowest category	11.0%	7
Skewness	0.125	8
Kurtosis	-0.477	9
		10 Completely satisfied
		Total
		Mean
		Standard Deviation
		% highest category
		% lowest category
		Skewness
		Kurtosis
		30.5%
		35.9
		22.3
		11.3
		100.0
		1.143
		0.980
		35.9%
		11.3%
		0.432
		-0.842
		5.9%
		0.5
		1.8
		4.8
		5.0
		44.9
		7.1
		10.8
		9.8
		2.4
		7.0
		100.0
		5.510
		2.282
		44.9%
		0.5%
		-0.243
		0.604

Despite these efforts, the various methods currently available for assessing quality of life reported in previous studies still produce the response distributions which are markedly skewed to the positive end. For example, Campbell *et al.* (1976, p. 46) found nearly two out of three Americans (61.2 percent) selecting the two most positive categories of their seven-point Satisfaction Scale. Similarly, Andrews and Withey (1976, p. 207) reported that an average of 54 percent of the American population located themselves in the top two categories of their seven-point Terrible-Delighted Scale. Even with a longer 11-point scale, Atkinson and his associates showed that the proportion of Canadians in the two most positive categories was 44 times that of those in the two most negative categories (35.2 percent versus 0.8 percent).³

Such concentration at the positive end of a measurement scale was not observed in our pilot study, as Table I indicates. On all three global assessment scales, only from 9 to 11 percent of our respondents placed themselves at the positive end. Moreover, the proportions of Koreans who placed themselves at the negative end are many times greater than the proportions found in industrialized countries. Thus it appears that these measures are more sensitive to differences in quality of life in a rapidly changing society like Korea.

It is clear from the correlation matrix in Table II that the three measures of global life quality are not closely related to one another as found in earlier studies (Andrews and Withey, 1976; Chapter 3, Campbell *et al.*, 1976, p. 34). Since the values of the correlation coefficients reported in the table are much lower than 0.50, it can be said with some confidence that the three items used in this research measured different facets of life quality. Yet, the same matrix reveals that the happiness and life enjoyment scales are much more closely related to one another than with the overall life satisfaction

TABLE II
Correlations among global measures of life quality

	Happy	Enjoy	Overall life satisfaction
Happy	—		
Enjoy	0.42	—	
Overall life satisfaction	0.35	0.28	—

TABLE III
Global assessments of quality of life

	Welfare	Pleasure	Quality of life
0	0	0	0
1	0.1	1	1
2	1.9	2	2
3	4.3	3	3
4	14.4	4	4
5	25.6	5	5
6	24.8	6	6
7	18.2	4.3	7
8	8.9	100.0%	8
9	1.5	2.364	9
10	0	1.601	10
Total	100.0%	26.3	Total
Mean	5.639	4.3	Mean
Standard Deviation	1.436	0.246	Standard deviation
% highest category	25.9%	-0.503	% highest category
% lowest category	0		% lowest category
Skewness	-0.160		Skewness
Kurtosis	-0.242		Kurtosis
			100.0%
			4.802
			1.793
			23.1
			0.1
			0.112
			-0.368

item, tapping the same underlying phenomenon. This finding provides some support to our decision to derive an index of Hedonic Goodness by combining responses to these two items of happiness and life enjoyment.

Table III provides information on the distributions of responses produced by our three composite indices of life quality.⁴ Only small proportions of the Korean population located themselves at the positive ends of the pleasure and welfare indices. The mean rating for the pleasure dimension (2.36) is much lower than the midpoint of the pleasure index (3.0). The same rating for the welfare dimension (5.60) is slightly above midpoint (5.0). Responses related to the welfare dimension are positively skewed, while those concerning the pleasure dimension are negatively skewed. This seems to indicate that welfare and pleasure are two conceptually distinct and empirically identifiable dimensions of life quality.

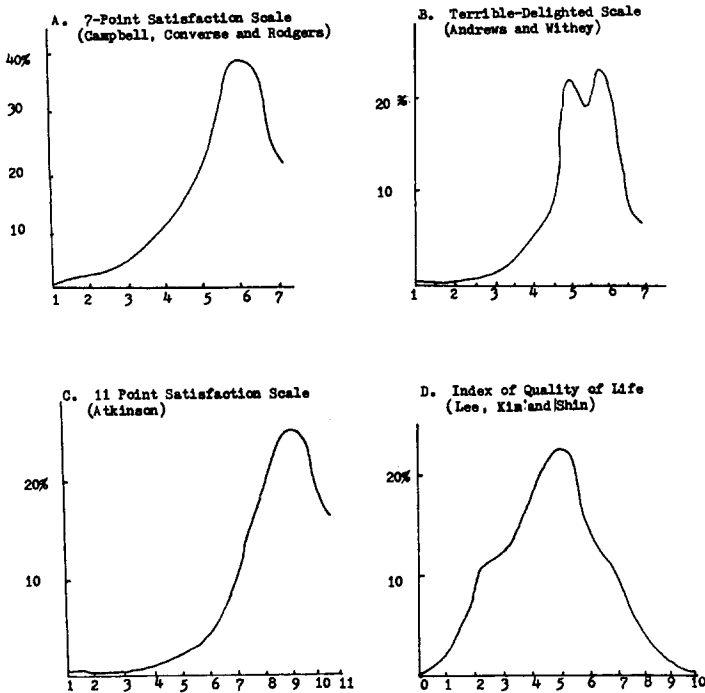


Fig. 2. Distribution forms produced by 4 methods for assessing life quality.

Figure 2 is prepared to demonstrate the appropriateness of our composite Index of Quality of Life as a measure of perceived life quality. It was mentioned earlier that methods which produce distributions that are well-spread and 'bell-shaped' are generally preferred over those which fail to achieve this. It is evident from the figure that our method for measuring quality of life as compared with other methods results in a distribution that is much closer to that ideal. There is no heavy clustering on either end of the index. The proportions of the population under study at each end are almost identical (2.0 percent versus 2.6 percent). More importantly, the proposed measure of quality of life is 'appropriately centered' with respect to the population (the mode was right on the midpoint of the measure).

A. Assessments of Life Domains

An adequate understanding of life quality requires both general evaluations of life-as-a-whole and specific evaluations of particular aspects of life. Overall ratings of life quality provide little assistance in determining which aspects of life are important to human existence and how they contribute to quality of life. Some aspects of life are surely more important to a given individual than other aspects. Some elements of a person's life experiences contribute to the quality of his or her life more positively or negatively than other elements.

In an attempt to identify the life domains which are most important and least important to life in Korea, we first presented to our respondents a list of 12 domains, including (1) health; (2) marriage; (3) friendship; (4) housing; (5) leisure; (6) neighborhood; (7) job; (8) bank account; (9) government; (10) freedom; (11) equality; and (12) religion. They were then asked which three items were personally the most important and the least important in determining the quality of their lives. A single index of domain importance was calculated by subtracting the proportion of people who assigned a given domain to the 'three least important' category from the proportion of people who assigned the same domain to the 'three most important' category. The index takes a value of +100 when there is complete agreement as to the importance of a given domain, and it takes a value of -100 when there is complete agreement as to its unimportance.

Table IV lists the domains in the order of their overall importance ratings. As in the United States and other industrialized countries, health, marriage, government, and friendship were rated as highly important. And religion,

freedom, and a savings account were rated relatively unimportant. The fact that money was rated as relatively unimportant in this developing country indicates that our respondents might have downgraded those domains which were seen as socially undesirable. Regression analysis confirms this suspicion, revealing that this economic variable explains more variance in overall life satisfaction than all other domains combined (18 percent versus 15 percent).

In addition to the importance of specific domains of life, respondents were asked to rate their satisfaction with each domain on the scale ranging from 'not satisfied at all' to 'fully satisfied'. The set of domains used is listed in Table V, along with the overall distribution of responses on each scale as well as the average score values. Among the twelve domains listed in the table, a relatively high level of satisfaction was reported in a group of domains – child rearing, marriage, and health – which characterize private life. This was followed by a group of six domains – health, friendship, neighborhood, housework, housing, and employment – whose average satisfaction scores range from 5.2 to 6.0. Finally four remaining domains followed – financial situation, educational attainment, government, and leisure – whose average satisfaction levels are below the midpoint of the scale employed.

When these domain satisfaction ratings are compared with those found in other countries, it is evident that Koreans enjoy a much lower level of

TABLE IV
Importance ratings of life domains

	Most important A (%)	Neither most important nor least important B (%)	Least important C (%)	Index of domain importance A-C (%)
Health	69.3	29.5	1.1	68.2
Marriage	40.0	55.2	4.8	35.2
Government	38.6	50.7	10.6	28.0
Friendship	11.8	81.4	6.8	5.0
Housing	31.5	37.0	31.5	0
Leisure	20.3	57.3	22.4	- 2.1
Equality	14.2	65.6	20.2	- 6.0
Neighborhood	16.7	56.5	26.8	-10.1
Job	16.2	49.5	34.4	-18.2
Bank Account	17.1	46.6	36.3	-19.2
Freedom	5.7	58.3	36.0	-30.3
Religion	11.1	34.7	54.2	-43.1

TABLE V
Domain satisfaction measures: Means and distributions

Variable	Adjusted Frequency										N		
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	Total
	Not satis- fied at all						Half sat- isfied				Fully satisfied		
Housing	10.3%	1.2%	2.2%	6.0%	2.7%	45.2%	5.1%	5.7%	7.4%	2.1%	12.0%	99.9%	5.3%
Neighborhood	8.9	0.8	1.8	4.6	2.1	38.4	4.4	7.9	10.0	3.5	17.5	99.9	5.9
Health	4.1	0.6	1.3	3.1	3.5	31.8	4.2	8.3	13.1	5.9	24.0	99.9	6.7
Financial situation	11.4	1.8	3.1	7.7	6.6	46.5	6.8	6.4	5.0	1.6	3.1	100.0	4.6
Marriage	3.2	0.6	0.7	2.2	1.2	31.9	3.8	8.8	13.4	7.7	26.5	100.0	7.0
Child rearing	1.0	0.1	0.7	0.7	1.4	19.8	3.9	9.1	17.2	9.1	36.9	99.9	7.8
Employment	11.9	1.3	2.7	5.9	4.9	38.7	5.7	6.6	7.3	3.6	11.3	99.9	5.2
Housework	5.8	1.3	2.5	5.0	2.8	41.7	4.2	7.0	10.0	5.0	14.5	99.8	5.9
Friendship	7.2	1.1	1.5	3.7	2.6	37.2	5.8	8.3	11.2	4.2	17.1	99.9	6.0
Leisure	19.9	2.7	6.0	8.4	3.4	33.7	4.7	6.5	5.7	2.3	6.8	100.1	4.3
Education	16.8	2.4	5.0	7.3	3.6	40.0	4.6	5.2	6.3	2.7	6.0	99.9	4.5
Government	16.5	2.1	3.8	7.3	4.1	42.1	5.6	6.7	4.9	2.2	4.6	99.9	4.4

welfare. The proportions of Americans who expressed unqualified satisfaction with life domains, according to Campbell *et al.* (1976, p. 63), ranged from 19 percent for marriage to 58 percent for savings. In contrast, only 3 to 37 percent of Koreans expressed the same level of satisfaction with specific aspects of life. The finding that small proportions of Koreans expressed full satisfaction with the 12 domains surveyed, however, is consistent with the low ratings of global life quality reported earlier.

B. Demographic and Community Characteristics and Quality of Life

Does little variation exist in the perceptions of life quality across different groups of the Korean population? To answer this question, we calculated the mean for each of the three indices of life quality for the various groups of our respondents. The groups were determined by sex, age, family income, educational attainment, employment status, work status, and community type. In Figures 3, 4, and 5, we summarize the way in which the mean values of the three life quality indices vary by demographic and community characteristics.

Females as compared to males are more likely to experience pleasure, but less likely to experience welfare. Like females, young people appear to experience more pleasure, but less welfare than old people. There is a tendency for those at higher status levels to register higher scores on the two indices than those at lower status levels. The relationship is considerably cleaner when income is used as an indicator of status than when education is used as a status measure. In the latter case, the pleasure of life experienced by those who attended elementary schools appears to be slightly greater than that expressed by the people who attended middle schools. As expected from these differences by income and education, those people in the professional-managerial occupational category are much more likely to express experiencing a better quality of life than those in other occupational categories. Understandably, there is a tendency for non-working people to experience more pleasure, but less welfare than those who are working and thus have relatively little time for fun. Finally, there is a substantial gradient of increasing sense of well-being with life as one moves from the inhabitants of the nation's rural areas to those of the five largest cities. This finding poses a sharp contrast to the inverse relationship which Campbell *et al.*, (1976, pp. 236–238) found between community size and the quality of American life.

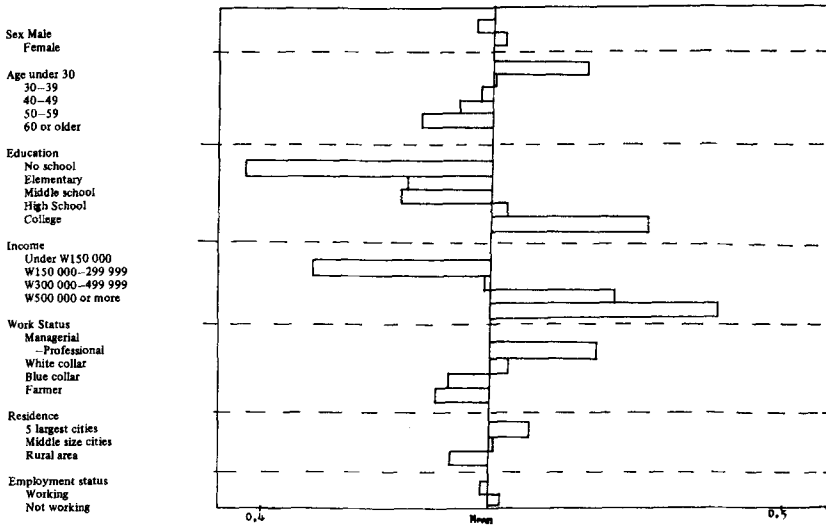
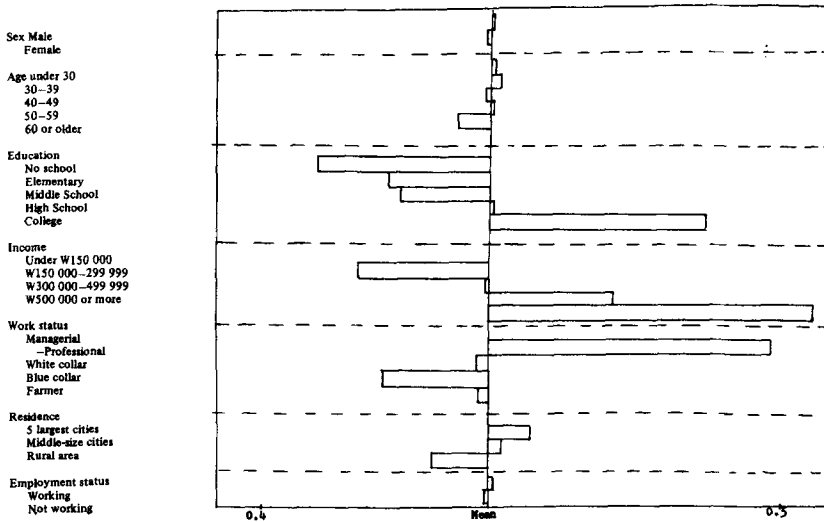
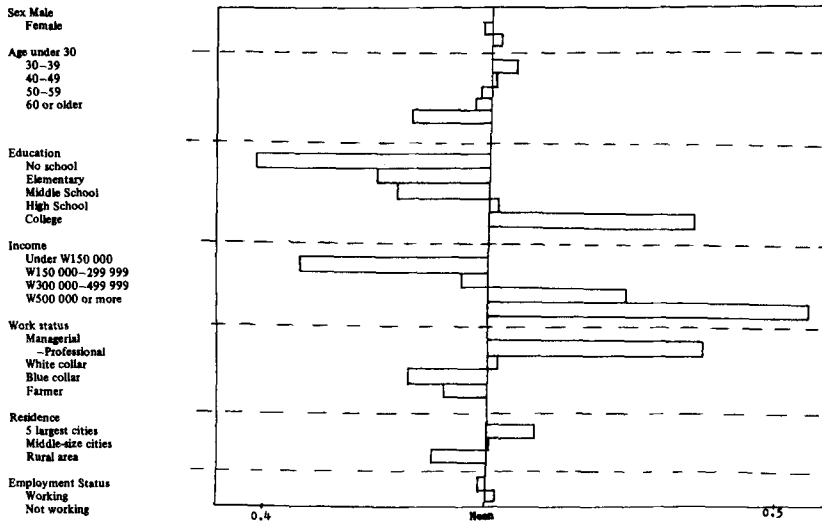


Fig. 3. Average standardized scores on the index of pleasure by demographic categories





These differences found between the various groups of respondents are not equally substantial and statistically significant. For example, differences between the two sexes and between the employed and the unemployed are trivial. Only those differences by income, education, and age are statistically significant ($p = 0.05$ level), and they are large enough to be substantially important. Age-related differences in perceived quality of life, however, disappeared when the two socio-economic status variables were controlled. But differences by income and education, however, remained significant even when the effects of other demographic and community characteristics were adjusted for. Therefore, these two variables were jointly considered in order to determine whether or not levels of quality of life were constant from one group of the Korean population to another.

Index of Socio-Economic Resources was constructed by summing the responses to the items on family income and educational attainment, and its relationship with life quality indices were portrayed in Figure 6. As one moves from the lowest socio-economic resources group to the highest, quality of life does increase progressively. More importantly, the increase is quite dramatic. From those with less than W100 000(\$200) a month and no formal education to those with incomes of W500 000(\$1000) or more and college degrees, ratings of overall quality of life vary by 2.1 points — which is slightly

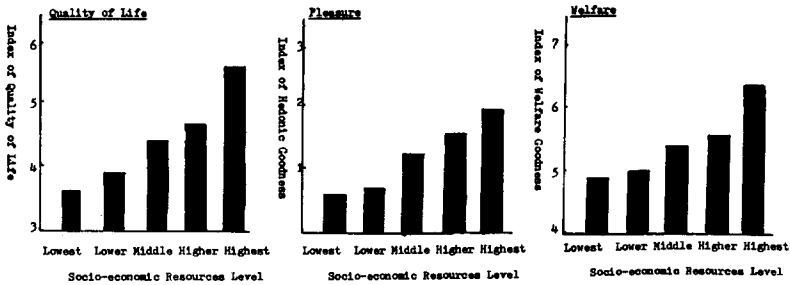


Fig. 6 Socio-economic resources levels and quality of life

more than a standard deviation. The two variables alone were also found to provide an explanation of more than 7 percent of the variance in overall quality of life. It can be said with some confidence then that the amount of resources which a person commands plays a crucial role in shaping one's quality of life in Korea.

V. CONCLUSION

More than ever before, quality of life has become a subject of increasing and widespread concern in both industrialized and industrializing countries. Research on quality of life to date, however, has been confined to industrialized countries mostly in the West. As a result, very little has been known about the quality of life perceived and desired by the people living in industrializing countries. This study has sought to generate some information relevant to this neglected subject by analyzing data collected from a nation-wide sample survey conducted recently in Korea from a comparative perspective.

The analysis produced a number of findings which do not accord with those from research undertaken in industrialized countries. First, the quality of life experienced by Koreans themselves is far from what they seek to find in their own lives. Moreover, it is substantially less positive than the life quality which their contemporaries in wealthier countries experience. Second, while people living in industrialized countries report *similar* qualities, the quality of life perceived by the Korean population *varies* widely across its various socio-economic resources groups. The life quality of Koreans with more incomes and broader knowledge is considerably and significantly

better than that of those with little money and limited knowledge. Third, residents of large metropolitan areas in Korea express a better quality of life than those of other communities in the country. The heavy concentration of economic, cultural and other facilities in these urban centers appear to make it possible for them to offer the best quality of life. This poses a sharp contrast to the pattern discovered in industrialized countries that their middle-size cities are generally viewed as the best place to live in.

Substantively, these findings, when considered together with those from prior research, offer some evidence to believe that there is a positive, but non-linear relationship between the objective conditions of life and the quality of life which accompanies these life conditions. More importantly, the same findings suggest that quality of life is a threshold phenomenon. Certain levels of socio-economic resources appear to be necessary to improve the human lot to a level at which humans can satisfy their 'basic' needs. Once above this threshold, however, improvements in the quality of their lives are no longer a function of the socio-economic resources which they command individually and collectively.

Methodologically, this study argues for the importance of using symbols in conducting survey research on quality of life in developing countries. We have found that symbols as compared with words and numbers are much easier to apply to a large number of 'functionally illiterate' people in those countries when the quality of their lives are measured. We have also found that different forms of symbols are needed for the measurement of different dimensions of quality of life. For example, human faces may be a good symbol for measuring the hedonic dimension of life quality, but various forms of circles may be good for its welfare dimension.

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NOTES

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¹ The happiness item may not be ideal for measuring levels of hedonic goodness because it also serves to make an overall assessment of one's life as-a-whole (see Shin and Johnson, 1976). Better measures of pleasure levels should be developed and used in future research.

² The terms 'hedonic goodness' and 'welfare goodness' were borrowed from the work of von Wright (1972).

³ The figures cited here were drawn from their survey which was conducted during the Summer of 1977 (York University, 1978).

⁴ The relative reliabilities of three composite indices were estimated by Cronbach's (1951) alpha, which is the most commonly adopted formula for assessing the reliability of a measurement scale with multi-point items. Alpha was found to be 0.56 for the Index of Hedonic Goodness, 0.60 for the Index of Welfare Goodness, and 0.65 for the Index of Quality of Life.

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