

**Emerging social stratification in the
Korean welfare regime**

**: focusing on institutionalised differentiation in
the education system and students' attitudes
towards welfare**

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Abstract

Since the financial crisis, the impact of liberalism has had an enduring influence on Koreans. Being familiar to individualism and self-reliance which liberalism promotes, an increasing number of people have been suffering from precarious jobs in the dualised labour market whilst good jobs guaranteeing long-term employment have been decreasing, and the foundation of social solidarity in Korea now seems to be weak. The status competition for security in life begins in the education system among students which has been exacerbated by the government policy promoting privileged high school establishments since 2008.

This study aims at exploring and explaining the impact of high school stratification on students' welfare attitudes. In sequential mixed-methods research design, the research project begins with conducting a quantitative survey followed by qualitative interviews. Firstly, this study investigates whether social stratification is empirically identified in the integration of values and attitudes towards welfare between two groups of first-year university students from general and prestigious high schools. Secondly, it scrutinises how the stratification in terms of high school type influences students' welfare attitudes and subjective future SES from interviews and ladder test sets with selected survey participants from both groups.

In the quantitative stage, the strength of the cognitive link between values and attitudes towards income redistribution is compared between the two groups under the impact of SES. Unsurprisingly, the special group has higher SES showing a stronger and coherent integration than the general group in the cognitive link. Meanwhile, the general group shows an unexpected positive, strong association between the value focusing on self-interest and attitudes of supporting income redistribution, which needs to be identified at the next phase. In the qualitative phase, three types of welfare attitudes are identified among interviewees: liberal, pragmatic liberal, and progressive, which is less liberal than the former two. Interviewees having degrading experiences under unfair circumstances tend to belong to liberal welfare attitude types; the general group is more likely to be in the liberal and pragmatic liberal welfare attitude types, implying that the group could be more exposed to degrading experiences under the discriminatory education system. Other than the participants from the highest SES group, the special group is likely to have higher expectations for future SES than the general group, especially in the lower SES group.

This dissertation contributes to debates on high school stratification and its impact on social policy to broaden the perspective about the interactions between policies. It also provides both quantitative and qualitative data collected recently, which contributes to building references to promote further studies in the research area.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work, and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as Bibliography.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1-1. Research problem

A number of scholars have argued that the fundamental concept of a welfare state is a nation pursuing social equality, which protects citizens from being socially excluded by the logic of the market (Titmuss, 1968; Miller, 1987; Kim, 2016).

Unfortunately, in South Korea (Korea hereafter), the introduction and legislation of welfare policies in the 1960s and the 1970s stemmed from aiming at legitimising the military government and utilising welfare policies as a supporting tool of developing the national economy (Holliday, 2000; Gough, 2001; Chung, 2007; Lee, 2008). In the political context of highlighting anti-communism against North Korea, left-wing politics and labour organisations that could have helped people to have positive attitudes towards welfare policies were effectively suppressed by the government: the government often slandered actions of those political dissents as a reminder of communists which tapped the anti-communist sentiment in Korea. This led to the exclusion of welfare issues from the main political debates and the people's lack of recognition about their welfare rights for decades (Kim and Suh, 2014). The trend of the policies, however, has been gradually changed into a welfare-oriented style (Gough, 2001) under the two democratic centre-left government terms during 1997-2007, being close to the liberal welfare regime type (Cho, 2001b; Choi, 2012). The impact of liberalism on the labour market which was accepted extensively during the terms had an enduring influence on Koreans; the individualistic approach relying on incentives and self-responsibility was directly related not only to people's income and social status but also to their attitudes towards others, recognising them as potential competitors (Kim, 2012).

In 2010, unlike many policy implementation processes mainly led by political strategies, political disputes over expanding the coverage of free school meals unexpectedly triggered the beginning of democratic welfare politics (Kim, Ryu and Lee, 2013; Yeo and Kim, 2015). This argument led to a nationwide debate which made more people recognise that welfare policy concerns them, which was a significant turning point in the political history of Korea. Through the procedure, much more attention started to be given to social welfare, and the welfare policy literacy of people also improved through the support of civic organisations, which strongly insisted on welfare expansion throughout the country (Kim, Ryu and Lee, 2013). A survey study of public welfare attitudes conducted in 2014 captured the change in the trend of supporting tax increase for welfare expansion, showing that the support (38.5%) overwhelmed the opposition (22.3%) after 2010 whilst both were similar in 2008 showing 30.4% of support and 30.3% of opposition

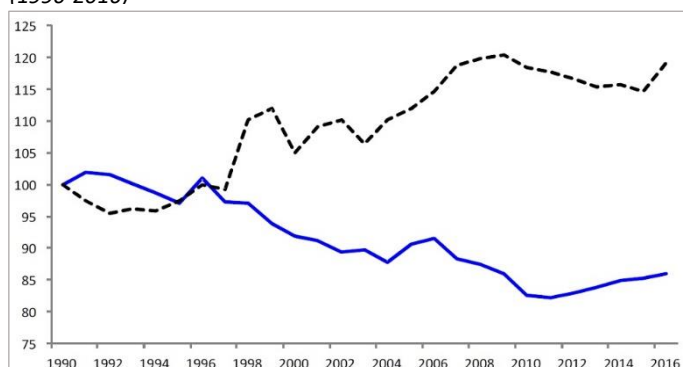
(Kim, Kim and Min, 2014, p.41). In addition, about seven years after the beginning of welfare politics led by the people, Koreans made a significant political transition in 2017 by impeaching a corrupt president in a democratic way, and the new centre-left government stated its commitment to the development of a Korean welfare state and to reducing inequality in the labour market (Lee, 2018b).

The major change of people shown between those two paragraphs above seems feasible to be interpreted as follows: people who once were almost excluded from politics and decision-making process may play a major role now. The political power shift in 2017 made without violence is regarded as an example of realising direct democracy under the system of representative democracy with a general consensus (Jung, 2017) showing political solidarity. Surprisingly, however, solidarity is hardly found in Korea among smaller unit groups, especially between labour unions of regular workers and precarious non-regular workers (Lee, 2014b) who are mostly distinguished by whether they are guaranteed of employment security.

In the era of huge economic growth, private companies in Korea were mostly in charge of welfare provision to their workers, hiring them until retirement age (regular worker) under the then dominant influence of male-breadwinner ideology (Lee, 2014b; Suh and Kim, 2014). Social insurance schemes in Korea were also based on long-term employment (Kang, Kwon, Chi and Doong, 2018). On the other hand, the new logic of hiring non-regular workers adopted mostly after the 1997 financial crisis was focusing on increasing the profit of companies and dealing with potential risks (Lee, 2014b), which could lead to layoffs easily. Unlike regular workers, a non-regular worker has to agree to a fixed-term contract. When the worker wants to work longer, he/she has to ask the employer to renew the contract. The renewal, however, depends on whether the employer would agree, so this situation generally makes non-regular workers vulnerable in employment relationships. Unsurprisingly, it is not easy for the precarious worker to make consistent social insurance contributions and to demand improvements in working conditions and wage. Since the financial crisis provoked producing a huge number of precarious jobs, the proportion of non-regular workers in Korea has risen, reaching 36.4% as of August 2019 (KOSIS, 2019) and the proportion of female (45.0%) outweigh that of male (29.4%) among them. Likewise, the lower class or the socially disadvantaged were more likely to be affected by the aftereffect of the crisis, putting them at risk of in-work poverty (Kim, 2004b). Since the crisis, income polarisation has constantly increased in Korea (see Figure 1).

Of course, there are many other elements which have weakened social solidarity in the country, but it seems hard to deny that the impact of the liberalised labour market has played a major role (Kim, 2012); there has been a huge gap between regular and non-regular workers in income

Figure 1. Trends in the Gini coefficient and labour income share in Korea (1990-2016)



From Ju (2018, p.79) : a baseline year is 1990

*Gini coefficient -----

*Labour income share _____

*The Labour income share refers 'the part of national income allocated to labour compensation' (ILO, IMF, OECD and World Bank, 2015, p.5)

and the level of welfare provided in the workplace which is directly related to one's economic stability, and it also causes different policy preferences between those two groups of workers (Suh and Kim, 2014) making them distant to each other.

With the current contradictory situation about social solidarity described above, this thesis finds a research topic from high school

stratification in Korea aggravated during the last decade. Having had the status of a newly developing country, Korea had enjoyed the fruits of rapid economic growth over decades, and there had been many companies guaranteeing long-term employment which had been nearly the default type of a job to four-year-course university graduates especially from the late 1980s until the late 1990s (Kim, 2020). Those graduates generally had not spent much time to find a good job, although the regime of university rankings had been strong at the time, too (Woo and Park, 2007). Therefore, when the country was smashed by the financial crisis in 1997, people had to go through a very hard time that they had never imagined. Witnessing a huge number of workers laid off and an increasing number of homeless on the street, university graduates including the researcher started to feel that finding a job became an intense competition to survive. Meanwhile, the preference for entering a privileged selective high school was not a nationwide phenomenon until then. From that time on, however, amid continued high unemployment, universities gradually became a place for making a person specification to find a good job (Hyeon, 2004). Even the two centre-left governments during 1998-2007 could not achieve welfare provision enough to protect people from being economically vulnerable and from increased income disparity as much as people had expected whilst they accepted liberalisation of the labour market provoking precarious jobs (Kim, 2004b; Lee, 2014c). Therefore, maybe it was not surprising that people turned their eyes to education to increase (or secure) their (or their children's) opportunity of having a good job. Maybe, the following conservative government captured people's desire, which seemed to lead to an increase in the number of selective privileged high schools. Starting in 2008, the conservative government had promoted the establishment of those privileged high schools emphasising one's freedom of choice in

education, and it remains a serious problem exacerbating intense competition among high school and middle school students. More details of the high school differentiation policy and the impacts are discussed in the literature review. However, to concentrate on the connection between high school type and prestigious universities for finding a good job in the labour market, middle school is excluded from the discussion of this study.

There have been a number of criticisms on the policy: it seems to be a strategy of the middle class to avoid new risks,¹ which causes separation and degradation of students who are excluded (Son, 2010); the high school policy of separating students in terms of socioeconomic status (SES) does not meet the essential aim of formal education (Gahng, 2015); the policy causes increases in the expenditure on private education of middle school students (Shin, 2017a). One common theme underlying those criticisms seems to be that under the dominant regime of university rankings which is crucial for individuals in Korea to place oneself in a good position in the labour market (Phang and Kim, 2002; Son, 2006; Lee, Choi and Choi, 2017), the policy would build up institutionalised differentiation in the education system in terms of a student's SES². Moreover, due to the change of the high school system, students are separated and deprived of chances to know others from different social backgrounds which are actually supposed to be experienced in school (Gahng, 2015).

At this point, there is an interesting study about the insignificant class difference in public welfare attitudes of Korea: it suggests a possibility that what made well-educated higher classes in Korea show support towards welfare policies might be rooted in their experience of democratisation (Kim and Yeo, 2011). The analysis seems to be in line with the argument that the well-educated in some affluent developing democracies are likely to have leftist preferences under the influence of increasing post-material orientations (Dalton, 2010). It is true that a number of studies have identified a positive correlation between education and welfare attitudes in Korea (Kim and Yeo, 2011; Lee, 2013a). However, unless the attitudes are not based on the pursuit of equality, the superficial support for welfare among the well-educated higher class could easily fade out when they think welfare expansion could undermine their (and their children's) privileges (Cho, 2001a). The high support of the well-educated middle class in Korea to the high school diversification policy could be seen as an example of their attitudinal change conflicting

¹ New social risks are defined as the 'socioeconomic transformation of post-industrial labour market and family structures [...] [which] drive new social needs and demands' including 'reconciling work and family life, lone parenthood, long-term unemployment, being among the working poor, and having insufficient social security coverage' (Bonoli, 2005, p.431).

² The annual tuition fees of those selective privileged high schools tend to be quite expensive, much more than the annual tuition fees of universities in some cases. Hence, for students from lower SES families, it is not easy to decide to enter those high schools even though they have good academic performance, not to mention their concern about a different school climate from that of general high schools. For more details about those schools' tuition fees, see Eum and Kim (2014) and Bong and Sun (2015).

social equality which they might outwardly pursue because the attitudinal change seems to be based on their fear of downward mobility (Son, 2010). Their change in attitudes could be influential concerning that there have been policies democratically made to alleviate inequality which might not have been implemented or have been limited by political decisions (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962), or when making a political discourse on certain issues of reducing inequality, the power imbalance among the stakeholders could implicitly affect the direction of the discourse (Lukes, 2005). Under the circumstances, it seems inevitable that the lower class are more likely to be excluded from the policymaking procedure, which could undermine the effectiveness of welfare policies alleviating social disparity.

Going back to high school stratification, in a comparative study about educational stratification in France and Korea, the authors argue that what kind of high school a student enters could show the parents' social, cultural, and economic capital in Korea (Nam and Kim, 2013). When the student succeeds to get an offer from those selective privileged high schools, it means that he/she can get involved in the highly influential relationships which would become the student's social capital (Nam and Kim, 2013). According to Bourdieu (1986, p.248), social capital is 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships [...] which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital'. This seems to be a good description of the function of the newly established selective high schools which are highly likely to affect students, constantly undermining social integration among them.

With this recognition of high school stratification, this study aims at exploring and explaining the impact that high school stratification might have in making a cleavage in welfare attitudes between students from general and selective high schools. To this end, firstly, this study investigates whether social stratification is identified in the integration of values and welfare attitudes between general and selective high school groups by conducting a quantitative survey. The survey measures the participants' objective SES and the strength of the cognitive connection between values and attitudes towards government intervention to income redistribution. Secondly, based on the result of the quantitative phase, this study plans the subsequent qualitative study by carrying out interviews. The second qualitative phase is to identify how high school stratification affects the interviewees' welfare attitudes and subjective SES, and each interviewee's welfare attitude to understand the motivation behind one's support for redistribution.

In relation to the issue of social stratification in Korea, how to mitigate inequality of opportunities has widely been discussed in the context of education (Seong, 2011; Choi, 2014b). Therefore,

giving attention to high school stratification and its impact on social policy is imperative to broaden the perspective about the inequality of opportunities and the impact of education policies on it; it could at least be helpful in slowing down the trend of marketisation in the education system which is supposed to play a role in society to nurture social solidarity among students. Moreover, it is worthwhile because the sustainability of the Korean welfare state depends on the level of solidarity among students who will take over and develop the welfare regime in future.

This study is expected to show the existence of high school stratification, and to explain what students might feel under the stratified education system and their perceptions about social welfare. Through this procedure, this study suggests that education and the system which delivers the contents play a crucial role in one's choice of values such as solidarity which is directly related to forming public welfare attitudes in society.

1-2. Outline of the dissertation

This dissertation is organised into six chapters. This chapter has provided an introduction to the research topic and outlined the research questions, and now details the organisation of the dissertation.

Chapter two provides the preceding literature which drew out research questions of this study. Beginning with the three ideal types of welfare regime suggested by Esping-Andersen (1990), debates over welfare regime classification, the characteristics of East Asian welfare regimes and their classification are discussed. Next, debates over welfare attitudes are provided to understand most discussed elements about how they affect one's attitude. The history of the Korean welfare regime is then detailed, focusing on the period of the two democratic governments after the financial crisis in 1997. Along with the regime change over time, it also provides a brief discussion about public welfare attitudes in Korea and its changes to find out the features of the Korean welfare regime in the middle of globalisation and how they have affected people's welfare attitudes. Finally, debates over high school stratification in Korea during the last decade are provided.

Chapter three starts with a short explanation about the research design of this study and the benefits and drawbacks of the design. As this study uses sequential mixed methods, the data collection and analysis methods of both the quantitative and qualitative phases are provided. A theoretical framework of this study is also provided by suggesting a research strategy through discussing ontological and epistemological assumptions which lead to deciding the research paradigm. As for data collection, a quantitative survey is conducted, followed by in-depth

interviews with short ladder tests. Data analysis methods are outlined as follows: for the quantitative phase, methods analysing occupation, value inclination and objective SES variables are provided along with a discussion about missing data handling methods. For the qualitative phase, a brief discussion about the thematic analysis method is provided.

Chapter four proceeds by presenting and analysing the results of the quantitative phase. Identifying value clusters in the survey data using exploratory factor analysis first, data summary, correlation and ordered logistic regression analyses have proceeded in order to capture differences between two groups of participants in SES and the strength of the integration of values and welfare attitudes. Based on the result of this phase, additional research questions and hypotheses are drawn for the next qualitative phase. Then this chapter moves to the in-depth analysis of the interviews to explore how the current high school system affects interviewees' welfare attitudes. In addition, the result of two short ladder tests conducted within each interview is analysed to see whether to identify any difference found between the two groups of interviewees in the subjective community status and future SES.

Chapter five starts with summarising the key findings of the study, followed by a discussion about those findings. The policy implications and limitations of this study are provided with some comments about future research related to those limitations.

Finally, Chapter six returns to the research questions and summarises the key findings and suggests a conclusion on the basis of earlier discussions, adding implications of this study and broader questions for further research in this area.

Chapter 2. Literature review

T.H. Marshall (1992) contends that the essential idea of a welfare state is social citizenship, which intimates that a state pursuing welfare policies is dedicated to guaranteeing the rights of social citizenship (social or welfare rights, see Dwyer, 2010, p.5). As there is no fixed consensus about the details of welfare policies such as what kind or which levels of policies should be available (Dwyer, 2010), a welfare state should deal with these controversial issues in relation to the market and the family. In this respect, pointing out that a welfare state, a market, and a family are the three actors making a welfare regime, Esping-Andersen (1990, p.80) defines a welfare regime as ‘the institutional arrangements, rules and understandings that guide and shape concurrent social policy decisions, expenditure developments, problem definitions, and even the response-and-demand structure of citizens and welfare consumers’. The definition denotes that the trajectory of a welfare regime would affect welfare attitudes of citizens who have witnessed a national context of politics and the legacy of social policy (Svallfors, 1997).

Starting with Esping-Andersen’s classification of ideal welfare regime types, this chapter will explore theoretical debates about welfare regime types of Western and East Asian countries and welfare attitudes, then move to the trajectory of forming a welfare regime in Korea and its influence on the welfare attitudes of Koreans in relation to the education system as a vehicle of social stratification.

2-1. Debates over welfare regime typology and welfare attitudes

2-1-1. The three ideal types of welfare regime

Arguably, welfare regime debates have been continued on the basis of *The three worlds of welfare capitalism* (*The three worlds*, hereafter), a modern classic work written by Esping-Andersen suggesting a standard in welfare regime typologies from a political economy perspective. With a broad approach to the role of a welfare state in a social context (Titmuss, 1974), there are two crucial criteria of classifying the type of welfare regimes in *The three worlds*: the degree of ‘de-commodification’ is one criterion measured in 18 affluent countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which represents the concept of a degree that people could sustain the general living standard of a community without market participation. Within the power resources mobilisation paradigm (Korpi, 1983), Esping-Andersen finds that the market becomes a prison to workers when they have not enough property to make a living and no welfare state that they could rely on. Under the circumstances, workers are treated as commodities and subordinated to the market’s demand, which leads to the incapability of collective action which is ‘the alpha and omega of the unity and solidarity

required for labour movement development' (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p.37). In this regard, de-commodification ultimately means taking back workers' rights of choice to work from the market that could bring about 'de-proletarianisation'³ (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p.37). The other important criterion used to categorise the type of welfare regimes is a degree of 'social stratification' made by the system of welfare. Under capitalism, a welfare state itself is said to stabilise a class hierarchy with alleviating inequality caused by social class differences (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Marshall and Bottomore, 1992; Kulin and Svallfors, 2013). The stratification degree of a country is measured by variables representing features of Esping-Andersen's three welfare regime types. By showing that the variation of the stratification degree in the 18 affluent countries matched with the three clusters classified by the de-commodification degree, Esping-Andersen confirms his three-fold typology.

In *The three worlds*, the OECD countries are classified into three types; the liberal, conservative, and social-democratic type of welfare regimes. According to the political economy analyses of Esping-Andersen (1990), each welfare regime's characteristics are as follows: the conservative regime originally comes from the intention of the ruling class to distract people from emerging ideologies such as capitalism and socialism, which the ruling class think could undermine social cohesion and provide reasons for the public to oppose the traditional authority that the ruling class wants to maintain. Meanwhile, the outstanding character of the liberal regime is individualism, atomising and commodifying each individual to make people less likely to take collective action, emphasising self-responsibility for one's failure. With a strong commitment to capitalism, libertarian economists tend to regard democracy as a potential threat to the free-market system, which might cause political struggles demanding income redistribution. On the other hand, in the early days of liberal welfare states under the agriculture-centred economy, small property owners make use of democracy to make a political power to reduce their tax burden. Unlike those two welfare regime types, in the social-democratic regime, democracy is adopted to change the working class into a strong political power. Accepting parliamentary democracy, the socialists utilise its decision-making processes as a way of gaining social incomes by legislating social policies under the full political support from the working class. To gain more support to achieve a solid parliamentary majority, the socialist party adopts universalism as the main aspect of its welfare policies to persuade the middle class to support public welfare, preserving the solidarity of a welfare state.

³ According to Esping-Andersen (1990, p.37), de-proletarianisation may refer a status that people can choose to work not because they have to but because they want to. Without market participation, however, people are able to maintain 'a socially acceptable standard of living'.

According to the features and political economy analyses about the three regime types described so far, Esping-Andersen (1990) seems to reach a conclusion that it is hard to say that democracy is one of the preconditions for developing a welfare state. On the contrary, democracy appears to have been employed as one of the political strategies supporting the powerful polity's logic of welfare. This could be explained by the differences between the welfare regimes of the US and Sweden, the two example countries where establishing a welfare regime has been manifested in a different direction although both of them adopted representative democracy (Svallfors, 1997). Additionally, in a comparative study about welfare states in Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe, it is captured that democratisation itself does not seem to have a significant effect in expanding social expenditure without prior political references of welfare commitments (Haggard and Kaufman, 2008).

Instead of making a direct comparison among 'real' welfare regimes, Esping-Andersen invented the idea of formalising 'ideal types', which introduced a new methodology to the comparative research of welfare states, serving as a cornerstone in the area of welfare regime classification research (Aspalter, 2011). Whilst the suggestion of the ideal welfare regime types was widely acclaimed, it was also under criticism mostly on (1) the effectiveness of power resource theory underlying *The three worlds* because the working class became more inclined to individual interests than solidarity (Baldwin, 1996), and (2) misclassification due to the typology's missing details of some of the countries (Castles and Mitchell, 1991; Jones, 1993; Goodman and Peng, 1996; Ferrera, 1996; Bonoli, 1997; Holliday, 2000). Esping-Andersen (1999) seemed to admit that the working-class issues were not politically critical anymore. On the other hand, he responded to those studies arguing misclassification that they tended to focus on the real type of welfare regimes, rather than the ideal type, addressing individual programmes of each regime whilst the Antipodes in the 1960s and 1970s could be classified as a distinctive world even though the world eroded after the liberalisation in the 1980s (Esping-Andersen, 1999).

Along with those criticisms, there have also been looming concerns of a regime convergence to the liberal welfare regime under the extensive impact of neo-liberalism on welfare states (Mau, 2015; Deeming, 2017). However, a number of studies have shown that *The three worlds* could still be useful for showing divergence among welfare regimes (Scruggs and Allan, 2006) even among the liberal welfare regimes (Skinner et al., 2017). As the distinctiveness of welfare regimes was constantly captured, it urged scholars of political economy to study about welfare regime theory. Varieties of Capitalism (VoC hereafter), also called production regime theory, could be a noticeable approach to welfare regime theory from the political economy perspective. The VoC approach focuses on the link between welfare and economy: it claims that the role of employers

and cross-class coalition might have been the centre of the power source in establishing welfare regimes (Ebbinghaus and Manow, 2001). Some other VoC proponent researchers give an explanation to support the approach that when an employer tries to hire a skilled worker, working conditions would vary depending on the types of the worker's investment in upskilling (Estevez-Abe, Iversen and Soskice, 2001). However, Korpi (2006) points out that welfare is for the rights of demanding proper protection to the government regardless of the market capacity. In this vein, the employer-centred approach seems to have a limitation in explaining people outside of the labour market. Even in the labour market, the production regime theory may not be applied to some countries: Gallie (2007) identifies that in some Scandinavian countries which might be a suitable place to explain VoC because of their high proportion of skilled manual workers, the improvement of workers' welfare is mostly led by the state and well-organised labour with high union density, constraining employers' actions. Whilst VoC weakens the role of the state by highlighting the preferences and actions of employers, the state in reality plays a significant role as one of the three actors described in Esping-Andersen's three worlds, which makes *The three worlds* more convincing.

So far, *The three worlds* still seems to work as a heuristic tool for comparing and classifying a large number of countries in the three discrete categories showing similarities in each group as a cumulative form of welfare policies in the long-term perspective (Svallfors, 1997; Aspalter, 2011; Ferragina and Seeleib-Kaiser, 2011; Schröder, 2013). Moreover, Rudra (2007) points out that the divergence of three formulations endows flexibility on itself to expand the discussion of welfare regime types, which intimates that emerging welfare states such as East Asian countries might also be capable of developing systematically distinctive social policies with a similar development level to that of advanced welfare states. For more details of the regime classification of emerging welfare states, debates over East Asian welfare regimes are discussed in the following section.

2-1-2. East Asian welfare regimes: a productivist regime on the move

Catherine Jones (1990) proposes Confucianism⁴ as an iconic feature of East Asian welfare regimes such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Korea and Taiwan, concerning similar cultural determinants in the region drawn from these countries' common background of Chinese tradition. As one of the earliest studies about the welfare regimes in East Asia, Jones' argument has been widely discussed in attempts to find out whether East Asian welfare regimes could also be fitted into the European-centred typology by Esping-Andersen. Pointing out that none of the

⁴ According to Jones (1990, p.450), Confucianism has 'the notion of the family as the key unit of society [...] Filial piety ensures due deference 'upwards'; family honour ensures due care and protection 'downwards'. The ideal family epitomises harmony, solidarity, pride, loyalty as between members of the group'.

East Asian countries may have built a welfare regime based on the commitment to welfare that Titmuss (1968) maintains as one of the qualifications of a welfare state, Jones asserts that those countries are out of *The three worlds*, noting that their development-focused policy legacies would lead them to form a distinctive world of welfare capitalism with characteristics such as 'corporatism without worker participation;... solidarity without equality; laissez-faire without libertarianism' (Jones, 1993, p.214), or 'welfare capitalism that works' (Jones, 1990, p.462). When it comes to the central values that Confucianism pursues, however, such as respecting seniors and traditional social orders, dedicating one's duty rather than rights, and trying to make harmony and to be modest, these are hardly different from values that Western culture pursues, and unless Confucianism is deeply rooted in the society as a religious belief, then the impact does not seem to be sufficient as evidence of confirming a unique welfare regime (Bonoli and Shinkawa, 2005).

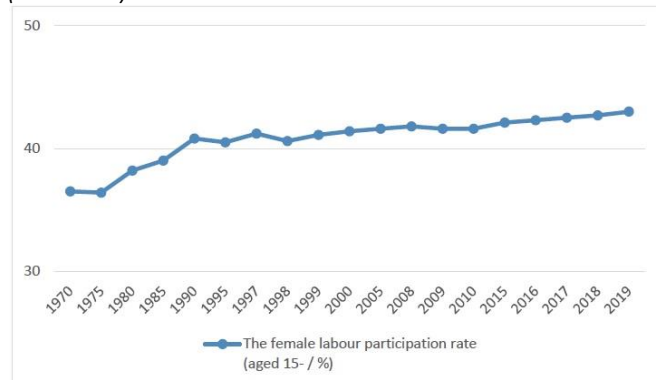
The second most widely discussed point of East Asian welfare regimes is that social policies in those countries are seen to be subordinated to the goal of economic growth (Gough, 2000; Holliday, 2000; Gough, 2001; Aspalter, 2006), such as Gough's summary about of the features of East Asian welfare regimes shown in a 1999 report by the World Bank, 'economic growth itself permanently displaces the need for a coherent social protection system' (Gough, 2000, p.2). Holliday (2000) calls it a productivist welfare regime, which has a similar concept to the developmental welfare state (Kwon, 2005), identifying East Asian welfare regimes in the context of welfare capitalism; the productivist regime thesis insists that unlike Western European countries which had been relatively stable since the end of the Second World War, many East Asian states had been exposed to critical external impacts such as 1997 global financial debacle. Holliday argues the difference might have caused 'minimalist' development in the East Asian trajectory of welfare from the 'maximalist' development in Western welfare regimes (Holliday, 2000, p.720) although East Asian welfare regimes originated in the Western pattern (Goodman and Peng, 1996). Advocating Holliday's argument, Gough (2000) points out the reasons for the regime's distinctiveness: a minimised role of the state in the welfare sphere; a low degree of de-commodification and institutionalised stratification in welfare; a decreasing population in agriculture; and the impact of external factors like financial crisis and globalisation. Later, Gough (2004) extends the debate over the productivist regime in terms of the degree of the welfare state's role in financing and providing welfare benefits to meet people's needs, which concludes the overall concept of East Asian welfare regimes as marginal social rights, social investment and the productive features of welfare policy (Hudson, Kühner and Yang, 2014)

Although Holliday's productivist thesis has been regarded as highly influential in East Asian welfare regime debate (Hwang, 2015), there has been a growing tendency of reassessment about the effectiveness of the productivist regime as well. Noting that more studies about East Asian welfare regimes should be accumulated before doing welfare state modelling, Bonoli and Shinkawa (2005) argue that the productivist thesis is merely focusing on the similarities among East Asian welfare regimes, failing to identify the distinctiveness of the productivist regime to make it a discrete ideal regime type and to add it as a fourth one to the three-fold regime types. Departure from productivist welfare capitalism is also fuelled by the studies about the awakening of democratisation and changes brought by the 1997 financial crisis in East Asian countries. Haggard and Kaufman (2008) scrutinise Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand, which have experienced both democratisation and the economic crisis. In the study, although democratic transition does not seem to have a significant positive effect on social expenditure, a short-term increase is captured on spending in education and health care. In terms of the financial crisis impact, social policy expansion is found to have continued in those three countries, whilst other groups of countries such as Latin America and Eastern Europe countries are found to have conducted significant welfare retrenchment under crises (Haggard and Kaufman, 2008), which does not correlate with the distinctive features of the economic growth-centred productivist regime. One noticeable point here is that in the period of the financial crisis, the Korean centre-left government rejected the reform proposal of liberalising public pensions which were being promoted at the time by the World Bank especially for developing countries, which could have changed the public pension system in a neoliberal way into the Chilean individual account after all (Hwang, 2007; Haggard and Kaufman, 2008). The Korean case implies that the financial crisis could be a turning point in moving out of the productivist welfare regime legacy in practice, and also that the political power shift could be one of the key factors causing welfare regime changes (Kang, Kwon, Chi and Doong, 2018).

In a similar context, an empirical study asserts that the productivist approach seems to lose its explanatory power (Fleckenstein and Lee, 2017); focusing on two key factors, i.e. democratisation and post-industrialisation in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, this study insists that the dominant productivist logic in the welfare sphere has been undermined since democratisation and post-industrialisation, as both the left and right political parties need to compete to gain electorate support by promoting welfare policies. In this respect, the study points out that even the right-wing parties may take a somewhat positive approach to welfare expansion to meet the demands of the electorate, which is supported by suggestions of welfare plans from both

conservative and liberal political parties in Korea made to the public to gain support in the general and presidential elections in 2012 (Cho, 2012b).

Figure 2. Trends in the female labour force participation rate (1970-2019)



From the 'Employed persons by gender/age group' data in the Economically Population Survey (KOSIS, 2019)

*The rate indicates the proportion of female in the total number of employed persons in each year.

Amid ongoing debates over the productivist welfare regime characteristics in East Asian countries, Confucianism once regarded as being out of use-by date (Abrahamson, 2011), now seems to be back in the East Asian welfare regime discourse (Abrahamson, 2017). As for Korea and Taiwan, Abrahamson (2017) concludes that these countries still have Confucian elements such as underdeveloped public services, although Korea is likely to be on the move to the liberal regime in *The three worlds*. His conclusion sounds persuasive because Korea seems to have both Confucian and the liberal regime features in terms of the continuous increase in women's labour market participation (see Figure 2); there is still a general sentiment, though it has become weaker, in Korea that women are mainly in charge of doing housework and caring for a child or other family members who need help, even if they have a job (Kim, 2013a). Nevertheless, how the Korean welfare regime would be changed still remains to be seen, because it changes too fast to see it crystallise (Hudson and Kühner, 2009; Powell and Kim, 2014), along with the unprecedented political power shift to the centre-left party in 2017 caused by the impeachment of the former conservative president due to corruption charges (Do, 2017). As Aspalter (2006, 2011) and Rudra (2007) contend that the three-cluster typology would be able to encompass welfare regimes out of Europe from the ideal-type perspective, maybe some of the productive East Asian regimes have been changed to be comparable to one of *The three worlds*. Before getting involved in the welfare modelling business, however, they might need some more time to build a national context of welfare politics and the legacy of the social policy until each regime has clearer characteristics such as European welfare states, which could affect public welfare attitudes supporting the persistence of the trajectory (Svallfors, 1997).

2-1-3. Debates about public welfare attitudes

Taylor-Gooby (1985) claims that welfare attitudes might not tend to directly lead to political actions in practice, often distorted by main political issues in relation to the platforms of the political parties that each individual supports. Even when sometimes those platforms rather

undermine the interests of some of the supporters, they might not withdraw their support (Frank, 2005). Therefore, when it comes to finding out the relations between welfare attitudes and the results in the political sphere, it seems plausible that welfare attitudes should be understood in the political context of each country (Taylor-Gooby, 1985; Svallfors, 1997).

In this vein, it seems to be easy to understand welfare attitudes from the perspective of class struggle for maintaining and expanding welfare policies. Since Korpi (1983) emphasised the strength of working-class mobilisation in the welfare state and Esping-Andersen (1990) suggested the influential welfare regime typology affected by Korpi's theory, it has been contended that people's welfare attitudes could vary depending on welfare regimes based on social classes that individuals belong to (Svallfors, 1997; Edlund, 1999; Arts and Gelissen, 2001). As most of the welfare attitude issues discussed would actually come from the matters of institutional differences (Svallfors, 1997), a welfare regime which is an aggregated form of institutions with a different political trajectory from that of other regimes, would accumulate its own references (Arts and Gelissen, 2001), providing its people and stimulating them unconsciously to have certain attitudes to welfare. This point of view seems similar to the comparison among the ideal types of welfare regimes which has a deductive approach focusing on the similarities of attitudes among people in a regime (Svallfors, 1997), regarding that public welfare attitudes need to be analysed at the national level because it is a kind of a national phenomenon (Blekesaune and Quadagno, 2003).

From the point of mass support view for welfare policies, the notion that welfare attitudes have a close connection with the types of welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen, 1990) seems less persuasive because even in the liberal regime the opponents to welfare benefits for the worse-off and underprivileged turned out to be not dominant (Bean and Papadakis, 1998). The positive attitudes towards welfare policies for the sick and old, however, might be a way of showing good manners (Blekesaune and Quadagno, 2003) that could sometimes distort the results of surveys about welfare attitudes. Moreover, Svallfors (1997) highlights that even though both social-democratic and conservative regimes show strong support for welfare state intervention in ameliorating income disparity, the similarity does not necessarily mean both have the same motivation: in the international comparisons of legitimate incomes for a number of occupations, social-democratic regimes tend to support for the government intervention for less income difference among occupations based on egalitarianism whilst conservative regimes expect the government to maintain the current income difference which is from inegalitarian ideas. Consequently, it is unclear to explain welfare attitudes only in terms of the degree of public support for welfare policies.

Meanwhile, Pierson (2001) regards welfare attitudes as an aspect of personal choice in relation to one's individual interests. Contending that an issue with strong interests is likely to overwhelm the rest with fewer interests, he argues that most of the electorates who are the welfare proponents may have a strong interest in welfare policies, so they are likely to try not to lose current welfare benefits that they are obtaining already (Pierson, 2001). Therefore, in the case of making new welfare policies or expanding the scope of beneficiaries, those supporters seem to be rather disinclined because new welfare policies or the expansion might cost them more tax payments even though there could be far more potential benefits as well, Pierson argues. However, this does not always happen. In a study about value coherence, it is found that people who have a secure economic and cultural background tend to display more value coherence than those who have not (Achterberg and Houtman, 2009); for instance, when people from higher social classes who support policies for people from lower classes, it could be interpreted that their support does not seem to be rooted in economic self-interest. This argument is supported by the historical fact that high-skilled workers in Sweden accepted solidarity wage policy in the 1950s which compressed the gap between the highest and the lowest wage although they could have earned much more income than others if they refused it (Edin and Holmlund, 1993; Ahn, 2004). Moreover, Kulin and Svallfors (2013) identify in an international comparative study that when a country has low inequality and less poverty in terms of economic and social conditions, class differences tend to be narrowed which means people's attitudes might become less related to self-interests.

Some researchers claim that people with a high level of education are less likely to be supportive of egalitarian ideas (Arts and Gelissen, 2001; Derks, 2005). In a book called *The Credential Society*, Collins (1979) asserts that with the expansion of education, educational credentials have become one of the strong determinants in hiring people in higher positions, which means educational background is likely to have a correlation with the level of income as well (Arts and Gelissen, 2001). Credentialism makes people turn to a meritocracy⁵ based on one's educational attainment. This type of meritocracy seems to undermine the equality of social citizenship suggested by T.H. Marshall because it would make people consider education as a kind of service to buy from the market, rather than as a way of learning social rights and duties (see Jeon, 2018). What Derks (2005)⁶ found was, however, that even though the highly educated may not tend to

⁵ Meritocracy first appeared in a novel entitled *The Rise of the Meritocracy* (1961) written by Michael Young. In a capitalist sense, the true meritocracy may indicate a situation that 'everyone benefits when the talented are induced to hone their abilities to what other people demand in the market place' (Saunders, 2006, p.192).

⁶ Derks (2005) specifies in a conference proceeding three levels of educational attainment for the analysis: low education indicates having less than tertiary education. Medium (average) and high education refer to having tertiary education.

show egalitarian attitudes, they seem to have coherent deliberation on the left-right ideological conflicts with voting for left parties which support welfare universalism and pluralistic society with solidarity. Meanwhile, people with low or average educational levels may be more affected by left-right ideologies, and they show strong support for egalitarianism at the same time which appears to have somewhat particularistic aspects (Derks, 2005); this implies that the egalitarianism supported by the low and averagely educated is more likely to be connected to economic populism (Derks, 2004) because of their vulnerable social status with a negative sentiment such as political distrust or being socially excluded. This argument is supported by Achterberg and Houtman (2009), identifying that economic and cultural insecurity affects one's value coherence. Interestingly, the averagely educated show similar attitudes to that of the low educated and the low and averagely educated might have been less informed about the abstract social norms which require deliberation, compared to the high educated (Derks, 2005). In this regard, Lindenberg and Steg (2007) point out that when people try to decide on their 'appropriate' social behaviour, they should make an intelligent effort to find out what the norms exactly say in a given circumstance. To properly deal with the abstractness of the norms people need information, not moral training for internalisation (Lindenberg and Steg, 2007), and this intimates that to an extent welfare attitudes could be influenced by effective public (civic) education along with expanding welfare provision.

When taking a broad view of political context, it seems persuasive that public attitudes towards welfare policies are related to situational and ideological factors (Blekesaune and Quadagno, 2003). In this respect, welfare attitudes might be a compound of many situational and ideological elements such as one's political consciousness (Bean and Papadakis, 1998) and differences by gender (Svallfors, 1997; Edlund, 1999; Blekesaune and Quadagno, 2003). In a similar context, Arts and Gelissen (2001) insist that the level of social solidarity and justice principles could decide people's welfare attitudes in a normative perspective, citing Esping-Andersen's (1996, 1999) premise that the welfare state itself could be equivalent to pursuing equality because it has kept on regarding social solidarity of the people as a top priority. The notion of solidarity and the principles of justice is likely to be affected by domestic and global changes that happen in a trajectory of a welfare regime in each country, reflecting situations and ideologies in it. One noticeable point in their assertion is that the level of solidarity and people's choice of justice principles are strongly connected to the normative definition of solidarity established in a society (Arts and Gelissen, 2001).

Titmuss (1970) points out that a market-centred system would free people from obligations to others under the pretence of guaranteeing free choice, but in the end, people would be forced

and restrained by the market which is likely to be in fact controlled by a small group of elites. The point of his comment over the free market system is that 'people's value judgement could be affected by the market-centred ideology' (Kim, 2016, p.137), stimulating them to put their own interests as a top priority. Additionally, the market-centred ideology implicitly changes people's recognition about social problems such as mass unemployment caused by external impacts or technological innovation into a matter of individual responsibility (Titmuss, 1968), which possibly undermines social solidarity and justice principles. Regarding the essential purpose of social policies to tackle those characteristics of the market-centred ideology, it seems reasonable to assess the achievement of those policies mainly from the political point of view. In this vein, forming public welfare attitudes in a state might be ultimately a matter of people's choice of social values (Kim, 2016) such as solidarity that supports one's self-respect (Derks, 2005). From the Swedish strategy of expanding welfare provision to the middle class, it is shown that preserving social solidarity could be an effective political approach of improving the sustainability of a welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1990), which could be a good reference for the Korean welfare state where market-centred ideology has been prevalent for more than two decades (Cho, 2012a; Kim, 2012).

2-2. The Korean welfare regime, public welfare attitudes, and the education system

2-2-1. The beginning of the Korean welfare regime and changes over time

As for the productivist welfare regime debate, Powell and Kim (2014) point out that Korean scholars' views written in Korean have been rather neglected in the overall debate about the Korean welfare regime. Despite the criticism, it seems undeniable that the beginning of the Korean welfare regime was made for the purpose of economic development of the nation, as Holliday (2000) describes that the social policy of the productive welfare regime is likely to be subordinated to economic growth. Having gone through a series of tumultuous historical changes such as the independence from Japanese colonisation and the Korean War, the traditional class hierarchy in Korea totally collapsed (Vogel, 1991; Kim, 2003; Kang, 2016a) and the nation's economic and social infrastructure was severely damaged through the war, putting the country into poverty. Hence, it was not surprising that the military government which seized power through a coup in 1961 put economic development as a top priority rather than social welfare (Kang, Kwon, Chi and Doong, 2018). Heavily relying on export growth, the authoritarian

government promoted economic growth mostly led by a handful of family-run conglomerates⁷ with outwardly emphasising market-oriented economy (Lee, 2014c). Interestingly, many social policies were introduced under the military government which was interpreted as a way of legitimising the government's rule and silencing dissent (Holliday, 2000), but they were rarely effective in alleviating poverty. Korea was praised as one of the East Asian countries achieving 'growth with equity' (Stiglitz, 1996, p.167; Feng, 2011, p.2) due to the huge increase of national income along with fast improvement in people's living standards. However, the perception of 'equity' appeared to be applied to only a limited range of people because the benefits of the rapid economic growth were concentrated to workers in the civil service sector and large-sized private companies which played a crucial role in the economic growth (Kang, Kwon, Chi and Doong, 2018). For this reason, the stratification of welfare is often interpreted as a conservative characteristic of the Korean welfare regime (Lee and Ku, 2007) along with its productivist features. However, the argument seems to be rather insufficient for classifying the Korean welfare state to the conservative regime type; Cho (2001b) points out that welfare benefits that those advantaged workers received were related to improvement of their financial capacity, but not greatly to their occupational status, which was different from the situation of typical European conservative welfare states. Except for those who were able to make a living with their wage, the poor were mostly supported by public assistance⁸, which Esping-Andersen (1999) concludes as a good measurement of liberalism in a welfare regime. Although Esping-Andersen (1990) criticises a simple approach of comparing the amount of social expenditure of a country without considering the political economy background of each country in the comparative research about welfare regime types, Cho's analysis is based not only on welfare expenditure, but also on the social and cultural context underlying the expenditure (Park, Bae and Son, 2012), explaining why the Korean welfare state is becoming closer to the liberal regime.

Although the benefits of huge economic growth had a limited impact on redistribution, intergenerational social mobility in Korea was high over the period of industrialisation (Shin, 1994) along with the expansion of public education (Kim, 2003). People in the era were likely to think that anyone could make an (economic) success by making an effort which also contributed to the idea of self-reliance. Having a prolonged political conflict caused by regionalism and anti-communism sentiment favouring conservatism in politics, the liberal polity could not make

⁷ Those conglomerates in Korea (also called Chaebols) have two main features in common: they are under the control of an owner or an owner's family by interlocking ownership, and their status is dominant across industries based on the benefits from the government (Rhee, 2007).

⁸ A basic pension scheme has been implemented for the bottom 70% who are aged 65 or over since 2008 to alleviate old age income poverty, hence the proportion of public assistance in the country's social expenditure still seems to be relatively high. To see the trend of social expenditure in each government from 1997 to 2011 in terms of welfare provision types, see Lee (2014c, p.259), *Table 7-4*.

welfare as one of the central political issues (Kang, Kwon, Chi and Doong, 2018) even after democratisation in the late 1980s. When the period of authoritarian ruling ended and the new government with the first freely-elected civilian president inaugurated in 1993 stated globalisation as a new economic strategy, this could be seen as the end of the government-led productivism from an economic perspective (Ji, 2011). However, despite splendid rhetoric about its welfare plan, the new government did not seem to contribute much to the development and expansion of welfare policies, keeping the conventional degree of welfare provision (Lee, 2014c). It seemed reasonable to see that the significant expansion and progress in welfare policies started in the late 1990s (Hwang, 2007) when the first democratic government took power after being hit by the Asian financial crisis in 1997. The government named the character of its welfare plan as 'productive welfare' (Kuhnle, 2002, p.12; Lee, 2014c, p.242), which sounded similar to welfare productivism. On the one hand, the plan still had productivist features: the government's one aim of the welfare plan was to reduce massive unemployment caused by serial insolvency of domestic companies hit by the financial crisis, so it had 'workfare' characteristics to some extent under the circumstance (Kang, Kwon, Chi and Doong, 2018, p.61). On the other hand, the government included 'productive welfare' as one of its major policy indices along with democracy and market economy, which meant that welfare became one of the central political issues (Lee, 2014c). Moreover, a presidential advisory committee of welfare was organised in 1999 to make the rather abstract welfare plan more systematic, aiming at social integration and achieving adequate standards of living underpinned by the distribution of wealth through a fair transaction in the market, government-led redistribution and social investment such as running self-supporting programmes (Lee, 2014c). The government's decision on promoting welfare was also interpreted as an unavoidable choice because it was driven by the demands of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which required the government to build a social safety net to deal with the side effects of neoliberal policies which the IMF recommended (Shin, 2012). Although the plan of 'productive welfare' did not appear to completely get out of the productivism, it was plausible to see that the plan of the democratic administration was more committed to welfare compared to that of the previous governments; under the circumstances of massive unemployment and low government funding for welfare provoked by the financial crisis, the government seemed to believe that the workfare approach could be a prompt and realistic measure to protect people from living in poverty, as it was not feasible to deal with the situation solely by providing public assistance which had also increased significantly in expenditure (Lee, 2014c). Therefore, 'productive welfare' of the government could not be seen as a way of promoting economic growth. (The results of the strategy of the government is

discussed below.) At least, the vision of the welfare plan reflected its intention of true commitment to welfare, somewhat giving the impression of a social-democratic welfare regime (Kuhnle, 2002). However, the government could not regain political power to push forward the welfare plan, and ended up a lame duck after three years of the relatively successful presidency (Song, 2010).

Having increased expectations of people about welfare progress, the next democratic government also tried to boost the promotion of welfare policies with actively accepting social investment perspectives, which emphasised social service provision, increasing investment to child policies and workfare (Lee, 2014c). Unfortunately, when in power, this centre-left government was caught by persistent political conflict, which provoked suspension of the presidential power by an impeachment resolution.⁹ Although the resolution was dismissed by the Constitutional Court, it could mean that the driving force of the government in promoting its welfare plan was seriously undermined through the procedure along with the government's failure to make an agreement with labour groups and civic organisations on issues of health care privatisation and a huge reduction of the replacement rate in public pension benefits, losing their support for the long-term roadmap for welfare which the government suggested at the end of its term (Lee, 2014c).

Although those two democratic governments tried to achieve 'productive welfare' which was committed to welfare beyond the conventional economic perspective restraining welfare policies, they seemed to push the Korean welfare regime to get close to the liberal welfare regime type, as the two consecutive democratic governments maintained neoliberal approaches to policies over the economy and the labour market; through the intervention of the IMF under the financial crisis, a massive number of workers were laid-off in the process of corporate restructuring followed by labour market liberalisation, resulting in lots of low-paid non-regular workers who could hardly pay contributions constantly for social security insurances (Lee, 2014c; Hwang, 2016). Those governments seemed to anticipate the result because they also planned to cope with the huge increase of low-quality jobs by adequate welfare provision, which was described as taking a dual-track approach to catch up the then trend of globalisation and welfare development at the same time but not fully accomplished (Nam et al., 2013; Lee, 2014c). In this

⁹ Surprisingly, the impeachment resolution was proposed by some politicians who used to be in the same party with Roh Moo-hyun, the president, in an alliance with the opposition conservative parties one year after the president's inauguration. The president was not from the mainstream members of the party. Since his election as a presidential candidate of the party, there had been a conflict raised in the party among the politicians. After the presidential election, an emerging mainstream group of politicians who showed the highest support for the new president decided to defect from the party to make a new one. Although the president did not explicitly support the forming of a new party, he also defected to the new party later. As a result of the conflict, the impeachment resolution was proposed by the former colleagues of the president. For more details, see Song (2010, pp.151–154)

respect, those two democratic governments might have rather underestimated two things: how hard it would be to change the productivist trajectory of the Korean welfare regime that had been accumulating for decades, and how strong the political power should have been to push welfare policies as they planned. Promoting welfare policies would be made to some extent at the expense of self-interests of some people who do not particularly need the support of welfare policies or might prefer the market-centred mechanism. Therefore, it is no surprise to take much time to accomplish the development. If the two governments focused more on regaining political power to push forward their welfare plan, differences could have been made in the liberal characteristics of the Korean welfare regime.

It should not be ignored that those two governments established the 'real'¹⁰ foundation of the Korean welfare state and suggested a long-term roadmap of social welfare along with restructuring government organisations for it, which settled welfare as a crucial issue in Korean politics (Lee, 2014c). However, those governments' liberal approaches on the economy and the labour market policies seemed to have much more influence on the characteristics of the Korean welfare regime enough to be seen as close to the liberal welfare regime type (see Cho, 2001; Choi, 2012; Yu, Chau, and Lee, 2015; Abrahamson, 2017), giving a lesson that the development of welfare can be achieved when accompanied by a strategy to reduce the impact of factors fading the effect of welfare policies (Hwang, 2016).

In addition, it is clearly seen from those two cases of democratic governments that strong political power with a clear blueprint of welfare held by a democratic left-wing party seems to be a prerequisite for promoting welfare policies in a limited period of time. When the blueprint is realised to a certain degree, then maybe the party is more likely to regain power with increased support from the public. In this respect, it was a shame that those two governments failed to regain power as the next conservative government could not regress the degree of welfare development even under the influence of the global financial crisis in 2008, although the conservative administration immediately stopped the progress of welfare policies and tried to enforce neoliberalism¹¹ (Lee, 2014c). It was interesting that in the middle of the global financial crisis in 2008, the conservative Lee government did not take austerity measures on welfare whilst

¹⁰ Considering the productivist/developmental welfare regime characteristics, it seems reasonable to conclude that the foundation of the Korean welfare regime having a commitment to welfare was built by the democratic government which started in 1998.

¹¹ According to Yang (2017), the new conservative government and Lee Myung-bak, the conservative president, actually could not take a neoliberal approach on welfare due to the outbreak of the global financial crisis in 2008: as people were traumatised by the 1997 financial crisis (Kwon and Hong, 2019), the conservative government had to cope with the crisis first using expansionary policies. Instead, the administration promoted tax reform aggressively which mostly benefitted corporates and people with high incomes, reducing 8.4% of the total tax revenues during their term (Yang, 2017).

Latin America and Eastern Europe countries did in crisis (Haggard and Kaufman, 2008). Moreover, Park Gun-hye, the next president, presented herself during the presidential campaign as the most welfare-friendly conservative presidential candidate in Korean politics, although her government ended up rolling back some of its welfare promises or reducing the scale at the stage of policy implementation (Kang, Kwon, Chi and Doong, 2018). These might be the cases showing the persistence of the legacy of welfare.

After two consecutive conservative governments which caused a slowdown in the development of the Korean welfare state, an unprecedented political power shift to the left was made again when the Park government and the president were turned out to be involved in a series of corruption charges and the president was finally impeached in 2017 (Do, 2017) after strong nationwide 'candle lights' protests by the outraged public. Having had lessons from being involved in the former democratic government during 2003-2007, the current president Moon Jae-in and his administration seem to take a somewhat social-democratic stance especially on welfare and labour market policies, which makes differences from its democratic predecessors (Kwon and Hong, 2019). To achieve a structural change of the liberalised labour market into an 'inclusive labour regime' (Lee, 2018b, p.144), the Moon administration puts emphasis on creating quality jobs along with promoting expansionary welfare policies, ultimately aiming at alleviating chronic dualism in the labour market (Kwon and Hong, 2019). Considering that the main change in the Korean welfare regime appears to be made by adopting liberalism on the labour market since the 1997 financial crisis (Shin, 2012), the Korean welfare regime is now expected to have an opportunity to make another big change through taking a different approach to the labour market. Maybe, it depends on whether the Moon government could gain strong political power in politics during its term because the ruling party does not have a majority in the National Assembly as of October 2019, relying on a coalition with other parties and waiting for the general election in 2020. In conclusion, there is huge uncertainty but a great opportunity as well for the Korean welfare state. Which world the Korean welfare regime belongs to among *The three worlds*, therefore, still remains to be seen, and it depends on Koreans' choice of social values which seems closely related to public welfare attitudes (Kim, 2016).

2-2-2. Public welfare attitudes in Korea and changes over time

The history of the Korean welfare state now seems to face the point of significant transition (Huh and Kim, 2016) after decades of enduring productivism and liberalism on welfare through top-down approaches on welfare policy decisions (Lee, 2014c). As for the beginning of democratic welfare politics in Korea, there seems to be a general agreement in Korean academia that it started from a nationwide debate caused by political conflicts over the free school meal project

in 2010¹² (Shin, 2012; Kim, Ryu and Lee, 2013; Kang and Yeum, 2014; Huh and Kim, 2016) because until then, welfare politics in the country had been barely managed by civic organisations relying on the media (Shin, 2012). Through the fierce debates over providing free school meals which were essentially about universalism versus selectivism in welfare provision (Kang and Yeum, 2014), people might have learned what their political participation was able to make and how to make politics work for what they demand in a democratic way. Hence, the change in people's attitudes towards a policy-making process also seemed to make a new trend of welfare policy implementation be more electorate-friendly, changing its conventional pattern of making unilateral policies by a handful of elites mainly based on political interests (Huh and Kim, 2016).

In the literature of public welfare attitudes in Korea based on the data before the changes started in 2010, whether social stratification was likely to have a significant impact on welfare attitude seemed to be a puzzle. On the one hand, some studies argue that social class affected people's welfare attitudes to some extent (Cho, 2001a; Joo and Baek, 2007; Ryu and Choi, 2009). On the other hand, some other studies insist that the influence of social class was not significant (Ryu, 2004; Lee, 2010a; Kim and Yeo, 2011), which seemed to be different from Western welfare states showing the significant social class influence on welfare attitudes.

As for the former group of studies insisting the existence of social stratification in welfare attitudes before 2010, the stratification on welfare attitudes could be identified in some groups of people who had direct self-interest in welfare policy decisions at the time. Cho (2001a) argues that the high pro-welfare attitudes of the capitalist class were to pass their burden of welfare provision to their employees to the government. The argument seemed to be acceptable as private companies used to play a major role in welfare provision through long-term employment in the era of industrialisation in Korea (Lee, 2014b; Suh and Kim, 2014). As most welfare policies were made through top-down approaches to utilise them as a tool of supporting economic development under the cooperation of private companies (Lee, 2014c), the capitalist class appeared to be one of the most accessible to the information of how welfare policies concerned their interests. Additionally, Cho (2001a) also identifies that among public employees welfare attitudes could vary depending on which task one was handling: the administrative group was likely to show far less support for welfare than the social service group. Based on the results

¹² According to Shin (2012), the free school meal project became a critical issue in the regional elections and school superintendent elections in 2010, resulting in six winners of left-wing superintendents. The issue kept affecting Korean politics, and in 2011 when left-wing members who dominated the council of the capital city tried to promote the project, the conservative mayor opposed the project and called for a local referendum. The mayor declared that he would resign if the voter turnout was less than 33.3%, and he had to follow his word as it was only 25.7%. A left-wing mayor was elected in the following by-election and the conflict was ended by his confirming the implementation.

above, Cho (2001a) argues that the class stratification in welfare attitudes in Korea could be captured by removing the influence of the capitalist class which offset class differences in welfare attitudes although the stratification was not significant among the non-capitalist classes such as wage workers. Ryu and Choi (2009) and Joo and Baek (2007) also identify stronger support for welfare in the low-income group of workers such as precarious workers and the unemployed who were likely to have welfare experience although there was not significant stratification captured between the high and the middle-income groups of workers. In other words, some signs of social class stratification in welfare attitudes were captured from the data collected before 2010, but it seemed to be limited to some groups of people which was hard to generalise to the entire population.

Meanwhile, the latter group of studies argue that social class stratification did not seem to be significant in Korean welfare attitudes mostly because of the inconsistency of the public in the connection between one's class interest and policy support (Ryu, 2004; Lee, 2010a; Kim and Yeo, 2011). The phenomenon of weak class impact on welfare attitudes caused by the inconsistency has been largely explained with three reasons. Firstly, Korea's political condition under the influence of anticommunism against North Korea after the war and strong regionalism excluded class struggle out of the main stage of politics in Korea (Kim and Suh, 2014; Huh and Kim, 2016). Secondly, the lack of accumulated welfare experiences under marginal welfare policies made people have a misleading perception that welfare policies should concern only the poor (Lee, 2010a; Kim and Yeo, 2011; Kim, Ryu and Lee, 2013). Apparently, this perception could function as a stigma on the beneficiaries. Thirdly, left-wing politics and labour unions which could have played a role in welfare politics were effectively suppressed as the authoritarian governments denounced their actions on purpose as a reminder of communists which provoked the anti-communist sentiment of Koreans (Kim and Suh, 2014). Hence, people did not have opportunities to learn the concept of welfare and how much it concerned them, being ignorant about social welfare and the policies (Kim, Ryu and Lee, 2013; Huh and Kim, 2016). As having low policy literacy under the influence of the military governments, people were likely to have the perception that welfare was not of their interest as it was only for the poor, strengthening the morality of welfare as a charity (Ryu, 2004). This misperception did not seem to be changed much during the ten years of the democratic administrations due to the dominant liberalism in the labour market, which highlighted self-reliance. Lee (2010a) points out that Koreans seemed to recognize welfare policies from a normative perspective with a lack of information about the policies.

In addition, it should be noted that the perception of social class in Korea was likely to be

different from that in the advanced European welfare states embracing one's cultural and occupational status inherited alongside income level (Kang, 2013). In many European countries, one's social class may imply that the person would be seen to have a certain class identity which is 'the internalised form of class condition and of the conditionings it entails' (Bourdieu, 1984, p.95) having fixed and exclusive characteristics. Concerning the European concept of social class, it seemed hard to say that Korea had a similar degree of exclusiveness and invariability in each class to that of Europe: since the 1950 war, the country had not had time long enough to build and maintain a stable social structure producing exclusive class culture (Chang, 2002; Choi, 2006b). Consequently, even though there were some signs of social class stratification in welfare attitudes captured before the beginning of democratic welfare politics triggered in 2010, it seemed hard to see that Koreans generally had stratified welfare attitudes based on each individual's social class interest at the time.

Among those studies about the insignificant social class difference in welfare attitudes of Korea, there was an interesting analysis suggesting the possibility that the well-educated middle class showed support for welfare policies due to their experience of democratisation, counterbalancing the difference in welfare attitudes (Kim and Yeo, 2011). Dalton's argument (2010) seems to be similar to this assertion as he insists that the well-educated in developing democracies tend to have a leftist stance on the left-right ideological issues as a result of deliberation, an ability facilitated by education (Derks, 2004). It is true that a large body of studies identifies a positive correlation between the level of education and welfare attitudes in Korea (Ryu, 2004; Joo and Baek, 2007; Ryu and Choi, 2009; Kim and Yeo, 2011). However, Cho (2001a) argues that when the well-educated middle class in Korea face a conflict of class interests about welfare at some point, it is not sure whether the counterbalancing effect keeps going on because their attitudes are based on abstract ideas they have learned by reading books, not based on practical welfare experiences. In this respect, the effect of social stratification factors could get bigger on public welfare attitudes in the development of the Korean welfare state.

Unsurprisingly, since the outbreak of democratic welfare politics, a growing number of studies identify clearer signs of social stratification from welfare attitudes (Kim, 2013b; Kim, Ryu and Lee, 2013; Suh and Kim, 2014; Huh and Kim, 2016) admitting its potential persistence. Emerging welfare politics in Korea following two times of economic recession that swept away one's SES stability might have made people aware that welfare concerns not only the poor but also the absolute majority of people in society who could be vulnerable to unexpected difficulties. Moreover, public welfare attitudes seem to be affected by recent changes in politics (Kim, Ryu and Lee, 2013) such as the political power shift to the centre-left government in 2017 after a

decade of conservative governance. This may imply a possibility of contemporary class struggle in the welfare politics of Korea where class struggle has proceeded mostly in the education system (Kim, 2003; Rhee, 2007; Kang, 2016a).

2-2-3. The education system in Korea and the potential influence on welfare attitudes

As the military government contended that the economic growth of the nation would lead to the development in welfare, the role of the government in mitigating poverty was marginal during the period of productivism in Korea (Holliday, 2000; Gough, 2001). On the other hand, the authoritarian administration actively promoted a comprehensive education system. Firstly, as a country was divided after the Korean War, the government might have needed to educate people to make them believe that Korea was a democratic country (Kim, 2003), constructing a national identity against the North (Kim, 2006a). Secondly, there was an increasing demand for education as well who used to be excluded from access to education during Japanese colonisation, because they witnessed some examples of highly educated people joining the ruling class during the period and realised that education mattered in upward mobility (Kim, 2003). Moreover, under the prevalence of anti-communism after the war, collective actions such as a labour movement to achieve upward social mobility were effectively suppressed as it was denounced by the government as a reminder of communist actions (Kim and Suh, 2014). Hence, the status competition was then carried out at the individual level through the education system (Kim, 2003). This competition coincided with the increasing demand for educated workers in industry at the time of economic growth; therefore some people who had good educational credentials could have a chance of upward mobility, making people obsessed with credentialism (Kang, 2016a).

As Collins (1979) expected, the expansion of education in Korea encouraged people to pay for higher education, leading to credential inflation in the job market. As having an undergraduate degree was devalued in Korea due to its considerable increase in numbers, the conservative administration in 2008 promoted increasing the number of special high schools, arguing it was to guarantee high school students' right of school choice (Son, 2010; Gahng, 2015). Under the Korean education system, 'general type academic high schools' including many private schools, are supported by the government or local authorities, and the curriculum and tuition fees of general schools are similar in general. Not all but most general schools have new students who are allocated by lot to one of four schools of each student's choice (Kim and Kim, 2014). On the other hand, 'special type academic high schools' in this study are also a mixture of private schools and schools supported by local authorities, but high schools in this group mostly require very

high tuition fees from its students (see Eum and Kim, 2014). These high schools argue that although they require high tuition fees compared to general high schools, they invest as much as the tuition fees on enhancing the quality of programmes and recruiting highly qualified teachers for their students (see Yoon, 2018). The education policy of promoting special high schools is mostly supported by the middle class, and Son (2010) analyses the meaning underlying their support as follows; under the influence of the 1997 financial crisis, the middle class might have recognised that their social status was not stable any more. The growing instability was shown by the fact that some of them actually experienced downward mobility in the crisis along with the low class who were the most affected: about 31% of white-collar workers and 10-15% of the self-employed were reported to have experienced downward mobility due to the crisis (Yoo, Kim and Park, 2005), and managerial white-collar workers were more likely to be laid-off (Cheon, 2002). Since the frightening experience, the middle class have been more committed to their class interests, especially in education policies to maintain their social status (Koo, 2007; Son, 2010), underpinning what Cho (2001a) argues about the middle class's low consciousness of equality which contradicts their pro-welfare attitude.

Table 1. Annual change in the total number of special-type high schools

	2005	2008	2010	2015	2017	2019
Special purpose (academic)	43	55	58	65	66	65
Autonomous private	6	6	35	49	46	42
(Total)	49	61	93	114	112	107

Modified statistics from the Korean Educational Statistics Service (<https://kess.kedi.re.kr/index>)

Through the procedure of high school diversification,¹³ the high school system in Korea became a system of differentiation explicitly justifying social stratification in the name of guaranteeing high school

students' right of school choice and inculcating those students that the stratification is merely based on one's effort and academic achievement as a result (Gahng, 2015). In the competitive Korean education system, the concept of 'academic achievement' is generally replaced by academic performance high enough to enter a prestigious school (either a high school or a university) which is critical in Korea to have access to social capital¹⁴ through increasing opportunities in the labour market and in the workplace (Koo, 2007). When there were a limited number of special high schools, they were supposed to provide specialised education for a small number of gifted students (Kwon, 2017). However, after the beginning of the high school diversification project in 2008 by the conservative government, an increasing number of special type-high schools, especially autonomous private high schools, were established (see Table 1).

¹³ It was conducted as a project called 'Korean high school diversification 300 project' (Son, 2010, p.169)

¹⁴ Bourdieu's definition of social capital (see the end of Section 1-1. *Research problem*) seems to be a good description of what the middle class in Korea may ultimately want from their huge investment in education for their children to inherit their social status.

Through a government-led recruiting procedure mostly proceeded from 2008 to 2010, some of the high schools which applied for changing its school type were selected to be autonomous private schools (Hwang et al., 2013) and they could have a privilege of selecting students prior to the period of applying for general high schools for allocation (Kim, 2017a) until 2017. As special-type high schools had been known as good for entering prestigious universities, it was not surprising that a lot of intelligent students in middle school started to compete to enter a special type of high school despite expensive tuition fees. On the other hand, students at general high schools who could not go to a special one for any reasons began to feel like they became losers (Oh, 2016)¹⁵. This feeling of differentiation could affect students at both general and special high schools. Son (2010) worries about potential degradation of general high school students, in that they are likely to feel differentiated especially in the admission procedure of universities whilst unconsciously accepting the degraded status of themselves in the hidden hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1984). Garfinkel (1956, p.420) defines 'status degradation ceremony' as a transformation procedure that one's identity in social relations is changed into something lower in the role of a person in the local society. In the procedure, 'the correctness [...] is decided by the participant in accordance with socially valid and institutionally recommended standards of preference' (Garfinkel, 1956, p.420), not with one's values or justice principles in society. In other words, degradation of general high school students in Korea could be understood as a process of recognising and accepting their lower status of the hierarchy hidden in the education system forced by institutionalised differentiation.

As the differentiation in terms of high school type is institutionalised in the education system under the strong support of the middle class (Son, 2010) and seems unlikely to be changed in the near future (Jeon, 2018), students in secondary education would feel pressured to accept the new rules of the game. The argument about potential degradation of students is supported to some extent by interviews of some parents of general high school students who show weak critical attitudes towards the current high school system and blame general high schools for being sluggish in catching up customers' demands (Jeon, 2018). Presumably, students at special high schools are likely to be affected differently by the feeling of differentiation. Son (2010, p.156) also argues that under the influence of school stratification, 'stigmatisation' could be carried out in terms of a group. A sign of this phenomenon was captured in a controversial issue which happened in 2016 in a prestigious university mostly by some students from special high schools: when they placed an order of the university's baseball jackets as a club uniform, they asked to

¹⁵ As this study is limited to academic high schools, the vocational high school type is not mentioned. However, this problem of degradation could be worse for students at vocational high schools because these schools have kept being devalued (see Son, 2010, p.140).

put their high school name on it as well because the club members were from a same prestigious high school (see Seo, 2016; Kang, 2016b). When it was reported by the media, it provoked a fierce debate in society. Some people criticised the idea that it was a form of discrimination among students in the university and furthermore, it was to build an exclusive community in the university based on their high school where many graduates entered a handful of prestigious universities and had highly recognised jobs. On the contrary, others argued that it could be just for enhancing solidarity among the club members, and the criticism might be based on an inferiority complex (Kang, 2016b). The debate showed that there could be an implicit desire of differentiation among special high school students no matter what the intention was, and the differentiation caused by high school diversification policy was likely to give negative impacts to students at both general and special high schools: general high school students were subjected to degradation in comparison to special high school students; students at special high schools also became a victim of the differentiating system because they were deprived of opportunities to meet various types of friends in high school to learn how to get to know different types of people, which would be helpful for them to broaden their perspective.

Admittedly, the regime of university rankings has been persistent over decades in Korea, but the issue above may come as a great shock to the society as it could be a warning sign of expanding discrimination based on one's credentials and strengthening the distorted belief in meritocracy in society. Besides, due to enduring high youth unemployment in the country, high school students also have been under more intense competition than ever before to enter a prestigious university to have good credentials for a full-time job. Without taking measures on the stratified high school system, the situation of discrimination could be aggravated in the competition.

Son (2010) argues that the high school diversification policy could be a way of putting emphasis on efficiency in education and competition for higher academic scores to enter a prestigious university ultimately leading to a recognised job, and the tendency would make high school students focus more on individualistic values rather than social values such as equality, cooperation and solidarity. Overall, high school stratification seems ultimately relevant to the desire for having an advantageous status in the labour market by entering a prestigious university. Also, it seems feasible to think that how high school students perceive the stratification may also affect their welfare attitudes because it could be related to the matter of their survival 'not to fail to find a good job' (Kim, 2015, p.190) in the long-term perspective.

In this respect, the cruel competition of high school students who are separated by school type may remind of the intense competition among job seekers who try to avoid having a precarious job in the dualised labour market. Additionally, those two competitions have been exacerbated

by government policies: high school diversification policy by the conservative administration in 2008; and labour market liberalisation by the centre-left administrations from 1998 to 2007, relatively. There have been an increasing number of studies investigating dualism in the labour market or instability of low-paid non-regular workers in Korea (Kim, 2012; Suh and Kim, 2014; Oh and Cho, 2016; Park, 2019), and its impact on welfare attitudes (Kim and Ahn, 2013; Suh and Kim, 2014). From a similar approach, there are some differences expected in welfare attitudes between the two groups of students from special and general high schools affected by the current discriminatory high school system, which draws the main research question of the thesis: how high school stratification affects students' welfare attitudes? Concerning this research question, this study aims at identifying social stratification in the association between students' value choice and welfare attitudes in terms of high school type and explaining the relationships between the attitudes and the influence of the stratified high school system.

There have been an increasing number of studies which find signs of social stratification in public welfare attitudes in Korea (Kim, 2013b; Kim, Ryu and Lee, 2013; Suh and Kim, 2014; Huh and Kim, 2016). However, most of them are about people of working age or senior citizens who are seen as the influential electorate, and it is hard to find studies about stratification among students and the influence on their welfare attitudes. Since the high school policy came into effect in Korea, it has been under criticism regarding the marketisation¹⁶ of education and its impact on people's perception of education (Son, 2010; Nam and Kim, 2013; Gahng, 2015; Jeon, 2018), but there has not been enough scrutiny of the actual impact on students in high school. Therefore, it seems even harder to find the influence of high school stratification on students' welfare attitudes.

Being more specific about social stratification in welfare attitudes in the literature, a study by Kulin and Svallfors (2013) investigates the impact of social stratification on the cognitive link between values and attitudes towards redistribution, identifying that the strength of the link varies in terms of social class. Regarding human values as one of the motivations forming one's attitude, they choose two from four higher-order value types¹⁷ identified by Schwartz (1992, 1994): self-enhancement (SE hereafter) is one of those higher-order value types embracing achievement, power and partly, hedonism. Schwartz (1992) distinguishes achievement values as representing individual desire of displaying one's success such as wealth whilst power values as

¹⁶ Marketisation is introducing competition into the public sector previously governed by direct public control. In narrower terms, it means changes brought into publicly controlled organisations such as market mechanisms and incentive policies (Gingrich, 2015).

¹⁷ The four higher order value types consist of two contrasting relations: self-transcendence versus self-enhancement and openness to change versus conservatism. For more details about the basic human values, see Figure 4.

referring a desire for dominant status in society which is related to social hierarchy. When pursuing either of two values, hedonism is likely to be accompanied (Kulin and Svallfors, 2013). Meanwhile, as Schwartz (1994) puts it, self-transcendence (ST hereafter) is the other higher-order value type which contrasts with the SE value type, embracing universalism and benevolence. Universalism values indicate acceptance of others based on the idea of equality and benevolence, consideration about the welfare of others, which emphasise the transcendence of self-interests (Kulin and Svallfors, 2013). As the SE and ST value types are related to one's attitude towards material interests (Barnea, 2003), they could also represent a contrast of attitudes towards income redistribution (Kulin and Svallfors, 2013). Next, they make a comparison of the data of 13 European countries, finding that a country with less inequality and a lower level of poverty is less likely to show the social class difference in the strength of association of values and welfare attitudes. The study is valuable for identifying an international pattern that people with economic stability are more likely to have a coherent link between values and concrete welfare policies, which underpins the argument of Acherberg and Houtman (2009) insisting that the lower educated are more likely to be ideologically incoherent due to economic and cultural insecurity. However, the study does not go further to identify whether their support for redistribution means support for selectivism or universalism in welfare provision.

Using the study by Kulin and Svallfors (2013) except for the international comparative part as a main theoretical lens, the first phase of this study aims at identifying social stratification in terms of high school type in the association between students' value choice and attitudes towards government-led redistribution. As social stratification means classifying people into stratified SES layers based on education, income, occupation and so forth (Lumen Learning, n.d.), education is one of the attributes of social stratification. Thus, this study sets a high school type as a representative variable of social stratification in education. To this end, a quantitative survey is conducted to the first-year students in a university from both high school types to solicit responses.

For the first comparative sequence, two research questions are developed as below:

1. Is the SES of the participants stratified in terms of high school type?
2. Does the integration of values and attitudes towards governmental income redistribution among the participants vary in terms of high school types?

And, there are three hypotheses constructed for the first phase:

1) A participant who is inclined to the ST values is positively associated with support for income redistribution led by the government. Conversely, a participant who is inclined to the SE values is negatively associated.

2) The participants from prestigious high schools are likely to have higher SES than the other group of participants from general high schools.

3) The participants from prestigious high schools are likely to show a stronger association of values and attitudes towards income redistribution than the other group of participants from general high schools.

Furthermore, based on the results of the first phase, the subsequent research will be planned later in the second qualitative phase about how high school stratification affects students from both high school types in forming welfare attitudes and their expectations of future SES. This plan will be outlined after finishing the quantitative analysis.

As Parkin (1979) points out, a welfare state transforms class struggle into status competition in society. In Korea, the status competition has been proceeded for decades in education under the dominant regime of university rankings and exacerbated by the government policy promoting privileged selective high school establishments. As those high schools are recognised as a better place to enter a prestigious university, intelligent students in middle school compete to enter those high schools, and most typical general high schools where students who cannot enter a privileged high school by any reason are 'remaining' (Oh, 2016, p.32) appear to be downgraded alongside its students. Son (2010) insists that the horizontal stratification among high schools would make students put efficiency and winning over the competition as a higher priority rather than values such as equality, cooperation and solidarity, which could affect students' welfare attitudes as well. Therefore, differences in welfare attitudes are expected between students from the two different high school types. In this regard, this study is going to explore the potential impact of high school stratification on the welfare attitudes of students in Korea. The next chapter will discuss how the research will be conducted.

Chapter 3. Methods

3-1. Research questions

The aim of this study was identifying social stratification among students from two different high school types in the association between their value choice and welfare attitudes, and explaining the relationship between the attitudes and the influence of the stratified high school system. To this end, the main research question and sub-questions in each research phase were set out as below:

The main research question: **how high school stratification affects students' welfare attitudes?**

<1st quantitative phase>

1. Is the SES of the participants stratified in terms of high school type?
2. Does the integration of values and attitudes towards governmental income redistribution among the participants vary in terms of high school type?

<2nd qualitative phase>

1. How does the current high school system affect the interviewees' attitudes towards welfare policies?
2. Are there any differences found between the interviewees' subjective community status in high school and expected SES in future in terms of high school type?

The sub-questions for the second phase will be suggested again in the analysis chapter as they were developed based on the quantitative analysis results to plan follow-up research. For finding answers to those research questions, a research design based on the researcher's philosophical perspectives, and research methods are going to be suggested in the following sections.

3-2. Mixed-methods research design

This research seeks to explore and explain social stratification emerging in the Korean welfare regime from the perspective of educational stratification. The stratification is often associated with both changing class structures and increasing opportunities for social mobility chances (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The survey questionnaire in this study also has items to measure each participant's SES inherited from their parents comprising economic, social and cultural capital measurements, hence some of the participants could feel them intrusive and choose to misreport or to be nonresponsive which reduces the reliability of the collected data (Tourangeau and Yan, 2007). The decision on an explanatory sequential mixed methods design to use is, therefore, a strategy to narrow the gaps between quantitative answers which at first glance appear not to be related very much to each other and qualitative information because qualitative

data may contain some meanings underlying the initial quantitative results and help explain them in detail (Creswell, 2014).

In addition, a number of studies having an assessment of social class and SES suggest applying subjective measures, given that the traditional objective measurements such as income, occupation, and education levels achieved are criticised for failing to investigate underlying factors developing one's self-defined SES and social class identity (Ostrove and Cole, 2003; Singh-Manoux, Marmot and Adler, 2005; Rubin et al., 2014). In this regard, psychological aspects which were connected to subjective SES were considered in this study. Both objective and subjective measures, in other words, both quantitative and qualitative approaches needed to be combined in this study to be more nuanced and comprehensive.

Firstly, a quantitative survey was conducted to identify whether the strength of the participants' cognitive link between values and attitudes towards redistribution varies in terms of high school type with the impact of SES mainly assessed by objective measures. Before conducting a survey, the questionnaire was piloted. All participants were classified into two groups in terms of their high school type: one group was labelled as a 'general group' and the other, a 'special group'. (More details about the high schools in each group are in the following section.) Secondly, interviews and simple tests were conducted to some of the survey participants from the two groups to explore their attitudes towards redistribution, subjective community status and future SES expectations to identify how the education system affects students' welfare attitudes and self-perceived status.

As this study is based on the explanatory sequential mixed methods design, it requires an interim quantitative analysis to specify interviewees for the second phase based on the result. The design is time-consuming but valuable because analysing data followed by subsequent analysis built on the first phase can give a broad perspective in understanding the research problem (Ivankova, Creswell and Stick, 2006). Furthermore, it is useful in particular when the results of the first phase could turn out to be unexpected (Morse, 1991): the key strength of this research design is that each of the quantitative and qualitative phases should be conducted as if they are two independent mini-studies combined in one overarching research project. When the results of the quantitative study are unexpected, the qualitative study in the next sequence can then be planned carefully as a further study about them, which could synthesise the findings of the first and the second sequences (Morse, 1991; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004) to extend the results of the study.

3-3. Philosophical perspectives

The research design of this study is reflecting the awareness of the researcher as the organiser of the overall research process. The selection of methodologies and methods is led by the research questions (Grix, 2002) based on the ontological and epistemological assumptions described in the following sections.

3-3-1. The ontological perspective

According to the definition of Biesta (2010, p.113), ontology indicates ‘the assumptions and beliefs we hold about reality [...] that is the object of research’. The focus of this research is about the impact of high school stratification on students’ welfare attitudes, inspired by the researcher’s interest in situational factors affecting one’s welfare attitude (Blekesaune and Quadagno, 2003) and welfare attitudes of recent Korean high school students who are likely to follow their parents’ guide until having higher education and further, finding a job (see Kim, 2013c). It is argued that public welfare attitudes are likely to reflect people’s choice of justice principles with the level of solidarity in society (Arts and Gelissen, 2001) namely people’s choice of social values (Kim, 2016). With this perspective, this study seeks to explore the relationship between students’ value choice and welfare attitudes in terms of high school type, and the influence of the education system which is stratified by the high school segregation policy on their welfare attitudes.

There has been a large body of studies in the Korean welfare attitude area of research discussing the influence of social stratification on public welfare attitudes (e.g. Kim, 2013b; Kim, Ryu and Lee, 2013; Suh and Kim, 2014; Huh and Kim, 2016). However, it seems that students’ welfare attitudes and their stratification are not much of interest compared to that of people of working age or senior citizens. In a similar vein, in the education research area, an increasing number of studies have focused on criticising education policies resulting in the system of institutionalised differentiation (e.g. Kim, 2003; Son, 2010; Nam and Kim, 2013; Gahng, 2015), rather than scrutinising the influence on students in secondary education in practice. Therefore, it was hard to find useful quantitative or qualitative data collected from students in the preceding literature which could have been useful to understand the connection between students’ value choice and their welfare attitudes.

It was assumed that understanding students’ welfare attitudes from the value-choice perspective and the differences in terms of high school type should be the fundamental knowledge to go further discussion on policy impact on their welfare attitudes. Hence, to deal with lack of data, the ontology of this study uses depth realist and idealist perspective which

methodological purists would argue that those two are mutually exclusive in drawing out research methods (Rossman and Wilson, 1985, cited in Hanson et al., 2005, p.226). According to the ontological assumption types classified by Blaikie and Priest (2018, p.121), depth realist perspective claims that 'social reality is viewed [...] as social arrangements that are products of material but unobservable structures of relations.' From the assumption, it seems to share an idealist point of view to some extent as the depth realist perspective recognises unobservable structures of relations which might require interpretation. It has been pointed out that merely distinguishing the notion of the quantitative and qualitative category cannot explain the variety in ontological and epistemological assumptions (Denscombe, 2008). Biesta (2010, p.104) also argues in the discussion of the difference between the quantitative (*mechanistic*) and qualitative (*social*) ontology that 'those who make a case for social ontology would not necessarily deny the existence of a world of causes and effects, but would argue that to understand individual and social action as meaningful [...], another set of ontological assumptions need to be introduced.' In this regard, it seems to be a feasible and pragmatic choice to have both of two ontological perspectives in this study to have wider range of knowledge about the research subject.

3-3-2. The epistemological perspective

Blaikie and Priest (2018, p.120) define epistemology as the way 'how knowledge of [social reality] can be obtained.' As holding pragmatism as a research paradigm, this study uses both post-positivism and constructionism in order to examine research questions from different perspectives using different methods (Cook, 1985, cited in Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007, p.116), which leads to using a sequential mixed-methods. From the post-positivist perspective, quantitative data collection and analysis procedures were proceeded to capture not only the results which could be effectively understood by objective measures but also other results which could not be understood in the analysis procedure. For the latter results, subsequent qualitative research was conducted based on the constructionist perspective, which sees a social world 'through the language of the participants' (Blaikie and Priest, 2018, p.122). The choices of the data collection methods were driven by the desire of producing the most recent data for further research in this area. Although the researcher also had experienced the Korean education system dominated by the regime of university rankings, it could not be regarded as similar to the experiences of the participants as the researcher's experience happened more than two decades ago. Thus, the researcher was less likely to have an 'insider view' (Blaikie and Priest, 2018, p.118) implying that data needed to be collected as much as it could be to reflect the characteristics of recent high school students, which led to conducting a quantitative survey in the first phase. Meanwhile, in the follow-up phase, carrying out qualitative

interviews seemed to be appropriate to understand some of the quantitative analysis results, which could not give enough explanation through the analysis procedure. The outsider stance of the researcher appeared to be somewhat helpful in the qualitative data collection procedure. Acknowledging the researcher as an outsider, the interviewees seemed to feel rather comfortable during the interview in expressing their personal views on things that happened in their lives in high school and university, giving much detail. In this way, the interview data helped the researcher to impose an insider view on the study results (Blaikie and Priest, 2018).

In the quantitative data analysis procedure, two analytical methods were selected. As a sequential explanatory mixed-methods design was applied to this study, an additional analysis was needed to choose interviewees among the survey participants for the qualitative data collection. For calculating one's value inclination score, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was chosen because it was known as an effective analysis method in the research area of psychology. For identifying the associations among the objective data variables, ordered-logistic regression analysis method was chosen to be robust and effective because of categorical variables which took up most of the quantitative data. With the qualitative data collection, only one round of interview was conducted due to the matter of time and cost. Therefore, thematic analysis method was chosen to draw out rich interpretation, which could be seen as a similar but brief version of grounded theory analysis method (Braun and Clarke, 2006) reflecting the epistemological assumptions well.

3-4. Participants

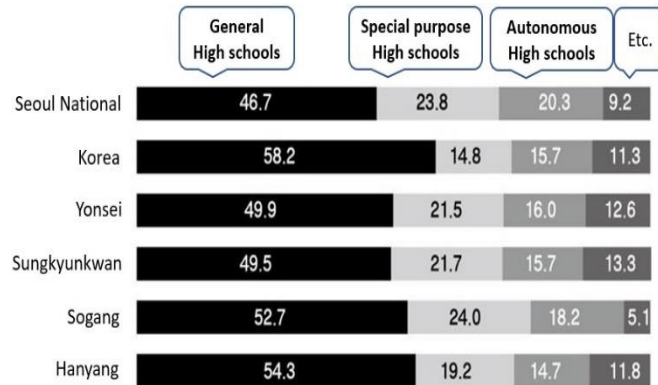
Recruiting participants from a prestigious university¹⁸ in Seoul, the capital city of Korea, was crucial for making a comparison group of students from special high schools. Koreans informally call a group of top three universities in Seoul as 'SKY' which is named after the initial letter of the following three universities (Banyan, 2013): Seoul National University (SNU), Korea University and Yonsei University. Some students from special high schools who could not have an offer from those prestigious universities or medical schools and entered others that were still in the top-ten university group might tend to think of it as a failure¹⁹, having low self-confidence which could affect the result of data analysis. In this respect, choosing one of those three

¹⁸ The name of the university where participants were recruited is undisclosed in the thesis to improve the level of identity protection of the participants because some of them were recruited as interviewees and they talked about some personal issues at times which could possibly identify them.

¹⁹ In an article of a weekly magazine, parents who sent their children to special schools said in the interview that it seemed quite common for most of the students at special high schools to prepare for the next year's national test for university admissions when they failed to enter the SKY universities or medical schools even though they got offers from other prestigious universities which they called 'mid-level' ones (Kang, 2009). This kind of attitudes were also described in a research about differences among undergraduates based on their social class (Kim, 2014).

universities seemed to be appropriate to lessen the influence of any other differences except for school type between the two groups because students at the SKY universities tended to be regarded as highly intelligent students in Korea regardless of their high school type. More details about special high school students' preference for prestigious universities are described below.

Figure 3. Proportions of 2014 matriculates at major universities in terms of high-school type (%)



From Lee (2014a) *The fall of general high schools: less than 50% of the SNU matriculates from general high schools* (Interpreted in English) (<https://www.hankookilbo.com/News/Read/201406261870053013>)
 * Autonomous private high schools take up a part of 'autonomous high schools' above.

It seemed plausible to say that a majority of students at special high schools aimed at receiving an offer from the few prestigious universities such as the SKY universities. This could be inferred from the following circumstances reported by the media: when SNU announced in 1996 that they were not going to adjust the level of academic performance of the applicants from special-purpose high schools²⁰ to the level of academic

performance in general high schools in the admission procedure from 1999, there were massive dropouts from those high schools to avoid being disadvantaged in the admission procedure²¹ (Son, 2009). In the middle of the 2000s, the restrictions on special type-high schools (special purpose and autonomous private schools) were eased, and the popularity of those schools started to increase again. Figure 3 is from a statistical data released in 2014, showing the increasing proportions of matriculates from special type-high schools at top-six prestigious universities. As for the total number of 2014 matriculates at four-year-course universities in Korea, students from special-purpose (4.5%) and autonomous private schools (less than 9.2%) accounted only for less than 13.7% whilst 78% was taken up by general school students (Lee, 2014a). However, Figure 3 shows that matriculates from special-type high schools took up much

²⁰ At the beginning, there were special purpose (academic) high schools only which belong to special-type high schools in this study: high schools for learning natural sciences were classified in 1986 as a special purpose high school followed by foreign language high schools in 1992 (Son, 2009). The scope was extended later in 1998 to international high schools for studying international relations (Maeil Business News Korea). Additionally, the number of special-type high schools has increased much since autonomous private high schools were classified in 2010 (The Ministry of Education, 2010). To see the change in the number, see Table 1.

²¹ Special purpose high schools were very popular (and they still are) to intelligent students, hence achieving a high level of academic performance in those schools was much harder than in general schools, and universities used to consider the difference in the level of academic performance in the admission process. When the level was not compared and adjusted to the level in general high schools in university admissions, some of them could have had less than the average level in general high schools which was applied to some of university applicants without high school academic records such as dropouts (Son, 2009).

bigger proportion at those prestigious universities implying that they were more likely to apply to prestigious universities.

Moreover, according to the interviews in a magazine (Kang, 2009), students at special schools and their parents unanimously said that they had reasons for choosing a special school though it was costly. They thought studying at special schools could be advantageous for them to enter those few prestigious universities. Firstly, they claimed that in a special high school, students could have good study competitors encouraging them to focus more on the study as most students entering those high schools were at the highest level in academic performance in middle school. Secondly, many extracurricular activities or programmes were organised by those schools which could make their students' university applications very appealing in the stage of comprehensive student record screening in the admission procedure of those good universities, which were not easy for students at most general high schools (Son, 2009; Jin, 2016; Shin, 2016; Kwon, 2017). In conclusion, it seemed reasonable to see that most students at special-type high schools wanted to enter a prestigious university.

Matriculates at the three prestigious universities were likely to be in the nation's highest level in academic performance, from the top 2% among university applicants each year in Korea (Banyan, 2013). In addition, university applicants who had a higher level of the academic score in the nationwide exam for university entrance were likely to choose a higher ranked university based on the data from 1994 to 2003, and the tendency was much stronger among the top-scored students applying for only one or two prestigious universities, which was enforced for the latter five years (Kim, 2006b)²². Hence, participants were recruited from across all disciplines except art and physical education departments; those departments generally put more weight on the practical test results of its new students than academic performance score. Therefore, the standards applied to those students were known to be rather different from that of other departments, making their students not suitable for the target population of this study.

Participants were recruited from one of the SKY universities, among first-year undergraduates who graduated from high school in Korea in early 2018 before the first university term started in March. A number of studies about undergraduates' acculturation indicate that the effect size between social class and social integration on the students is likely to be smaller over time, even after the first term of their study at university (Bean, 1985; Milem and Berger, 1997). Though some of the arguments might be disputable as a study identifies that working-class students may tend to be less integrated than middle-class students regardless of the time they spend at

²² For more details of the association for ten years, see Kim (2006b, pp.136–137) Figure 2. *The hierarchy of annual university rankings and the distribution of applicants' national exam scores in each university.*

university (Rubin, 2012), they seemed still applicable to this study because quite a few of the participants from special high schools were expected to be from middle-class families that could afford the expensive tuition fees of the high schools (Bong and Sun, 2015) even after paying tuition fees of private cram schools throughout their children’s middle school to prepare for the admission exam to special high schools (Shin, 2017b). Moreover, a study pointed out that a government committee of education policy reform in 1998 identified that almost 80% of matriculates at prestigious universities in Seoul turned out to be from middle-class families living in a big city (Kim, 2001) showing that even students from general high schools were likely to have a similar family background to special high school graduates.

The high school types of the participants in this study²³ were limited to schools for academic learning: in the ‘general group’, most general high schools which do not run their own entrance exam to select students were included. Some other general high schools which select new students through an entrance exam were also included. The ‘special group’ included special-purpose high schools for learning natural sciences or foreign languages, international high schools²⁴, and autonomous private high schools.

Table 2. Participants in terms of school type & gender

	Gender		(Total)
	Female	Male	
General group	42	28	70
Special group	22	12	34
(Total)	64	40	104

It should be noted about the participants in advance; according to the source provided by the Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation (KICE)²⁵, the number of high school students who take the nationwide annual College Scholastic

Ability Test (CSAT) for a second time or more after high school graduation takes up 21.3% of the total number of the examinees per year on average from 2009 to 2018, to enter their desired university. In a source released by SNU in January 2018, it says 17.8% of its annual matriculates from 2016 to 2018 on average are those who took the test two times or more. In this context, it seems reasonable to assume that not a few of them would also be at the privileged universities. Additionally, it is legally allowed in Korea to send children to a primary school one year earlier than the legal age of entry²⁶. To sum up, when it came to the second time CSAT retakers who went to primary school one year early, it was not possible to distinguish them from the eligible

²³ For more details of the classification, see Section 2-2-3. *The education system in Korea and the potential influence on welfare attitudes.*

²⁴ International high schools are different from schools for internationals as they are aiming at facilitating talented people in international relations in the era of globalisation. For more details about the aim of international high schools, see <https://100.daum.net/encyclopedia/view/31XXXXXX2170> (in Korean).

²⁵ The institute is in charge of setting questions and evaluation of the CSAT.

²⁶ In Korea, it is compulsory to send a child to a primary school at the age of six but applying for school at the age of five is also allowed by the law.

participants only by checking their university ID card when some of them might try to participate. Considering that the number of cases was expected to be very small due to the recruiting advert clearly specifying who was eligible, it seemed to be realistic to keep them in the number of the participants. Moreover, asking how many times they took CSAT could be somewhat intrusive for many students in Korea's overly competitive educational environment no matter whether they were retakers or not, which could affect their answers to the questionnaire.

3-5. Data collection

3-5-1. Quantitative survey

Purpose, procedure, and sample size

The purpose of the quantitative stage is to identify whether the participants show differences in the strength of the cognitive link between values such as SE and ST, and attitudes towards income redistribution in terms of high school type. Also, this phase is to scrutinise the impact of economic, social and cultural capital items on the cognitive link, mainly representing objective SES that the participants have inherited from their family background.

Data collection was begun in May 2018, in the middle of the participants' first term at university. The quantitative data was collected by conducting a paper-based cross-sectional survey (Hall, 2008) using a pilot-tested questionnaire. Maybe, carrying out an online survey could have made respondents feel more comfortable when answering a sensitive question (Tourangeau and Yan, 2007) and it could also have been convenient for the researcher in data collection. However, in this study, an online survey seemed less credible in checking the eligibility of each respondent as it would have been conducted by providing a hyperlink to a survey on the survey advert posted on the university's online community that any student in the university could have access.

Participants were recruited by adverts in the university's online community posted by a senior student²⁷ of the university recruited because it was limited to the university's students to write a post in the community forum. When the participants came to join, each of them was asked to show their student card for an eligibility check. They were then provided with a copy of the consent form, questionnaire, occupation category list, and 5,000 Korean Won in cash (enough for a cup of coffee) in gratitude for the time and efforts to join. As it was noted in the advert that the researcher was going to wait for participants bringing completed questionnaires at a specific place in the university for a certain period of time during weekdays, participants could take the

²⁷ The senior student is a friend of my family.

questionnaire away to complete it without being interrupted by others and could return to submit it whenever they wanted during the survey period.

Including ten participants in the pilot test, 124 participants were involved in total, and the data from 104 of them were used in this research. The ten removed cases were as follows: three participants among them were not applicable to this study as they graduated from a high school abroad, two did not sign the consent form, and five did not agree to one or more clauses in the consent form. As a matter of time and cost, it was not possible to conduct the survey any longer, which led to aiming at a 95% confidence interval with a rather increased 10% margin of error. Each number of 2018 matriculates at the university from general and special-type high schools were 2,466 and 1,466 relatively (Higher Education in Korea, 2018). Therefore, the minimum sample size calculated should be 94, which meant at least 59 from general schools and 35 from special schools. The final sample consisted of 70 participants from general high schools and 34 from special schools. To see if the sample had a similarity to the proportion of gender and the number of students from both school types in the overall target population of the university, proportion tests were conducted. In this test, a variable must be binary (0/1), and the proportion of interest is the proportion of 1 values in the sample. The null hypothesis of the test is that the proportion of 1 values of a variable in the sample equals the proportion value of the overall target population. When the test result shows insignificance to all three alternative hypotheses (the proportion is not equal to or is greater/smaller than the proportion value of the target population), then the null hypothesis is accepted (Social Science Computing Cooperative, 2016). In the proportion test about the number of students from both school types, the null hypothesis was accepted implying that the proportion of each group in the sample was similar to the proportion in the overall population. However, the null hypothesis for gender was rejected implying that female students were more likely to respond than male students,²⁸ which suggested potential bias in data analysis with this sample. For the analysis phase, two dichotomous demographic variables were generated indicating gender and high school types.

Value inclination measures

The survey questionnaire consisted of questions referred from preceding studies about value coherence, social class and SES (Langhout, Rosseli and Feinstein, 2007; Achterberg and Houtman, 2009; Kulin and Svallfors, 2013). All questions were translated into Korean and pilot-tested

²⁸ The total number of matriculates in 2018 except art and physical education departments was 4,363: 51.2%(2,234) of them were female students and 48.8%(2,129), male students (Higher Education in Korea, 2018) whilst in the sample of this study having 104 observations, 61.5% (64) of them were female and 38.5% (40), male. As there was no statistical data showing gender proportion of matriculates of the university in terms of high school type, those numbers about total matriculates included some students from other high school types who are not applicable to this study.

beforehand to make sure the participants could understand what each question was asking in the same context as the original one from the reference studies.

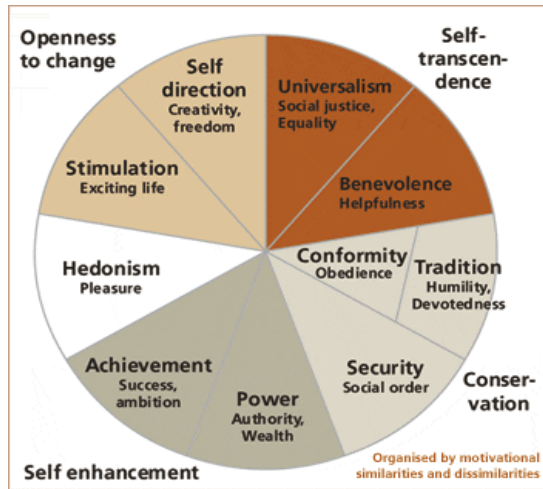


Figure 4. Human values, each value's motivational goals, and value dimensions
<http://essedunet.nsd.uib.no/cms/topics/1/1/2.html>

(2) not like me', '(3) a little like me', '(4) somewhat like me', '(5) like me', '(6) very like me', for an answer to the question (Kulin and Svallfors, 2013, p.167). In this part of the questionnaire, SE and ST values were measured by four and five questions respectively, based on the motivational goals of each human value and value dimensions (see Figure 4). Those questions were reflecting four SE values such as being rich, being respected, being competent, being successful ($\alpha = .8$) and five ST values such as equality, listening to others, conserving nature, helping people, and being loyal to friends ($\alpha = .7$), which led to making nine ordered categorical variables representing each participant's degree of pursuing the two values. If a participant would like to refuse to answer any question in this section, he/she could tick the 'refusal' box on the right side of each question.

Second, to indicate the degree of each participant's support for welfare state intervention in alleviating income disparity, a five-point Likert scale was used to answer the question '*The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels*', and a participant could pick one of the following in the scale: '(1) disagree strongly', '(2) disagree', '(3) neither agree nor disagree', '(4) agree', '(5) agree strongly' (Kulin and Svallfors, 2013), and it led to making one ordered categorical variable. As this was the only question in the questionnaire to measure a participant's attitude towards redistribution, there was no refusal box for this question. All of the items above indicating values and attitudes towards redistribution were originally from the European Social Survey (ESS).

Objective SES measures from economic, social and cultural perspectives

When it came to the measurement of each participant's SES, some of the items tapping economic, social, and cultural capital based on Bourdieu's definition (1986) on social class

(Langhout, Rosseli and Feinstein, 2007) and another item identifying economic insecurity (Achterberg and Houtman, 2009) were adopted, and some of them were modified to fit in Korean culture within the context of the originals: for example, as for an original item asking whether one had received financial aid from the university, this study modified it to asking whether one had received a bursary from any sources of the family such as a company where one of the parents worked. In this section, the participants could tick the 'refusal' box on the right side of each question if they would like to refuse to answer any question. As it was to estimate the participants' SES based on their family background that generally came from their parents, 'parents' or 'a parent' is going to be used hereafter to refer a sponsor although there might be some but not many cases of being sponsored by someone who is not a parent.²⁹

For measuring inherited economic capital, the participants were required to answer 17 questions as follows: as measures of economic capital in relation to student employment and financial competence to pay for tuition fees and living expenses, there were three questions asking whether they should have a part-time job, whether they had educational loans to be expected to repay or were expecting to have more loans, which led to making three dichotomous variables. Additionally, there were two more questions about how many hours they had to work during term-time to make up for tuition fees or living expenses, and how much money they were earning monthly from the part-time job, which led to making a continuous and an ordered categorical variable respectively. As another type of economic capital measurement with regard to family assets, there were questions about whether they won a scholarship enough to pay most of the tuition fees from any sources of the family such as a company that their parents were working for, (if they won) whether they were expecting to keep receiving the scholarship until they graduate, whether they could spend more money by a family credit card, whether they had a car, whether they were living with their parents, (if they were living apart from home) whether they were renting a place not shared by others, whether their parents owned their home, and whether their parents' home was in or near the capital city, which led to making eight dichotomous variables. In addition to them, there were three more questions asking how much money they were receiving monthly from their parents, (if they could spend more money by card) how much money they could spend by a family credit card, and the amount of monthly allowance they could spend as they choose (more discussion about the third question is at the end of this section). All the outcomes of the three questions were standardised. Finally, a

²⁹ For example, in a study assessing self-esteem of undergraduates in Korea, parents (76.2%) seem to be the main source of financial support for most of the students, followed by a part-time job (11.0%), bursary, educational loans, etc. (10.7%), and relatives (2.1%). See Jeong and Shin (2006), *Table 1*. Nevertheless, 'parents/sponsors' was used in the questionnaire just in case.

question asking how well they felt their parents managed the household income was added to identify the degree to which they felt economically stable (Achterberg and Houtman, 2009). This item is not an objective measure as it depends on the participants' perception of their family's financial stability. Asking parents' income is, however, less persuasive because most students are less likely to know their parents' actual income (Rubin et al., 2014). Therefore, this subjective question was adopted instead as a complementing item representing economic capital stability. Those four questions above led to make four ordered categorical variables.

As for the social capital measurements by family background, there was one question asking about parent occupations. In a reference study, the authors asked both parent and grandparent occupations (Langhout, Rosseli and Feinstein, 2007). It seemed, however, less efficient to ask things about grandparents' occupation because the participants were more likely to report inaccurately (Rubin et al., 2014). Hence, the questions about grandparents were not included in this study. To some extent, it was assumed that the participants were likely to know more about their parents' occupations³⁰ rather than that of grandparents. Therefore the item measuring social capital was based on parent occupations given by the information of the participants. When joining the survey, with a questionnaire, each participant was also provided with a list of standard categories of occupations to answer the question above. The list was a modified version of the latest edition of the Korean Standard Classification of Occupations (KSCO) released in July 2017 which was based on the International Standard Classification of Occupation (ISCO)³¹ by the International Labour Organization (ILO). With the list, the participants could choose and write a number of a category in the questionnaire that fit the occupations of their parents, with an additional box to indicate self-employment. These answers were measured in terms of the scale scores suggested by Ganzeboom and Treiman (1996) generated from ISCO-88. It was a combination of three scale scores of an occupational status: the class categories by Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero (EGP) (Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero, 1979), the Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale (SIOPS) by Treiman (1977), and the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) of occupational status by Ganzeboom, De Graaf and Treiman (1992). Among the three scales, this study adopted the EGP class scheme as a nominal social class indicator reflecting the information of one's occupation and employment status (Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996), and SIOPS scores to indicate each individual's occupational status in the frame (Breen, Mood and Jonsson, 2016). Besides, SIOPS came from ISCO, which is in common

³⁰ When it comes to students from wealthy backgrounds, research has shown that parents with a higher social status in Korea are more likely to make their children aware of job prestige whilst growing up (Kim, 2013c). Consequently, it is feasible to infer that the students might also know their parents' occupations at least.

³¹ Since the ILO developed ISCO for the first time in 1958 (ISCO-58), it has been revised in 1968 (ISCO-68), in 1988 (ISCO-88) and in 2008 (ISCO-08).

with KSCO. In measuring each occupation's prestige score with the SIOPS, when an occupation made no precise match with a unit group of the scale, a score was borrowed from a similar unit group for the occupation. In this section, three ordered categorical variables and a continuous variable were made representing their parents' EGP class, the family's dominant EGP class and SIOPS scores, plus one dichotomous variable to indicate whether the family's dominant occupation was a self-employed job.

When measuring cultural capital, three questions were used from one of the reference studies (Langhout, Rosseli and Feinstein, 2007), asking whether they attended either wealthy private primary/middle school or schools abroad, parents' education level, and the participants' perception about the highest level of education that their parents were expecting them to achieve. Those questions led to making one dichotomous, and three ordered categorical variables.

In the reference study, there was one more question measuring cultural capital based on the participants' allowance, and it was actually to identify each participant's consumption patterns (Langhout, Rosseli and Feinstein, 2007) based on the notion that 'class distinctions are shaped by consumption practices and lifestyle patterns' (Felski, 2000, p.34). At this point, however, it should be considered that historically Korea once experienced a collapse of traditional social hierarchy after the end of Japanese colonisation in 1945 and ever since the collapse, particularly during the era of industrialisation, social mobility in Korea used to be relatively high until the 1980s with enthusiasm for higher education which was the only way to move to higher social class mainly by having a good job (Choi, 2006b). Concerning that forming class culture would need a long history of accumulating exclusive culture with a stable social structure, it would be safe to say that high culture in Korea has not been clearly identified yet because unlike many European countries, social status structure in Korea has not had enough time for class culture be accumulated and inherited (Chang, 2002; Choi, 2006b). In this regard, Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital could not be applied directly to Korean society because his theory is based on French society which has 300 years of history having a rigid social structure and high culture (Chang, 2002; Choi, 2006b). As Bourdieu (1986) argues that there are two types of cultural capital such as inherited properties from family and acquired ones gained from formal education, it seems reasonable in this study to limit the scope of cultural capital to education which has affected the participants to some extent in inheriting cultural capital (Kim and Kwon, 2015). Therefore, the question about allowance was altered to ask the amount of monthly allowance that the participants could spend freely and used as one of the economic capital measures indicating financial support from home.

3-5-2. Qualitative interviews with ladder tests

Purpose and sampling frame

The goal of the qualitative phase was to explore the participants' attitudes towards income redistribution and overall welfare policy, and their subjective assessment about the community status in high school and social status in future that they expected, through semi-structured in-depth interviews and ladder tests. These would be helpful to identify how the education system affects the interviewees' welfare attitudes and self-perceived status, which could give more details about the results of the survey.

In the previous phase, the participants had been classified into the general and special groups. Each group was also classified again in terms of the factor scores given by the interim analysis of the survey data showing whether he/she seemed quantitatively more inclined to either SE or ST values. Four potential interviewees showing a high degree of value inclination in factor scores were selected from each of the pro-SE value and pro-ST value groups in each of the general and special groups, and they were distributed to overall SES in each group to compare ladder-test answers of the interviewees in a similar SES. A total of 16 potential interviewees were contacted, and 13³² of them agreed to an interview.

Table 3. List of interviewees

	High school type	ID	Gender	Value inclination	Support for redistribution (from the survey)
1	General	A	F	SE	strongly agree
2		B	M	SE	agree
3		C	M	SE	agree
4		D	M	SE	agree
5		E	F	ST	strongly agree
6		F	F	ST	strongly agree
7		G	M	ST	agree
8	Special	H	F	SE	agree
9		I	F	SE	strongly agree
10		J	F	SE	agree
11		K	F	ST	strongly agree
12		L	F	ST	agree
13		M	F	ST	strongly agree

Interview procedure combined with ladder tests

Once they had replied that they were happy to be interviewed, each participant received an information sheet with a consent form for the interview via the email address they had provided either on the survey questionnaire in advance or by text. The information sheets and consent

³² Seven interviewees were recruited from the general group (SE: 4/ ST: 3) and six from the special group (SE: 3/ ST: 3).

forms were to help the potential interviewees to recognise the risks and the benefits of participating in the research, and to make a final decision on whether to join. When a participant agreed to join, the date and time for an interview were arranged between the interviewee and the interviewer.

Interviews were carried out on Skype for about one hour each per interview. Although face-to-face offline interviews were originally planned, the plan was changed later to having a distance interview due to a matter of time and cost. Telephone interview seemed, however, less effective in catching non-verbal reactions and also could make interviewees rather distracted during the interview as they cannot see the interviewer. Instead, a distance interview via Skype appeared to be a good alternative to the offline interview plan as long as each interviewee agrees to show their face. Luckily, all interviewees agreed to show them during the interview.

All interviewees were asked to send the picture of the signed consent form on the interview day via email or social media before the interview. At the beginning and the end of each interview, interviewees were given some time to ask any questions or to express their desire to withdraw if they wanted. An interview consisted of seven phases: (1) administration – (2) values that I have been thinking of – (3) high school life – (4) university life and my future – (5) social welfare and redistribution – (6) closing – (7) administration. All the phases except (1) and (7) were audio-recorded under their prior consent. At each end of the third and fourth phases, interviewees were asked to do a ladder test marking where they think they would be on the ladder (Adler and Stewart, 2007). The first test was to identify an interviewee's subjective community status in their high school, and the second one to identify an interviewee's subjective SES in future that one was expecting to be. Each test sheet file was sent via email or Skype at the time of asking during the interview so they could read it and give a verbal answer instantly to the interviewer. The interviewer then wrote down the answer on the test sheet, and their verbal answers were also recorded as a part of the interview.

Although in-depth interviews were conducted by semi-structured questions, interviewees could talk for a while about something not included within the questions when it seemed to be important to remind them of what occurred in their high school and in the university which could affect the ladder test results. The second, third, and fourth phases were closely related to each other in changing subjects smoothly and amplifying what they might have felt in each period they were talking about: for instance, in the third phase, interviewees were asked about jobs they were dreaming of and 'the old school tie' of the university that might affect them in future, leading to the second ladder test to mark where they thought they would stand on the ladder in the future which meant the social position they were expecting in society. The issue in the next

phase went on then to what they were thinking about social welfare and redistribution, so their answer in this phase could be driven by the subjects they talked about in the previous phase. For more details about the basic interview questions, see *A-1. List of basic interview questions* in Appendices. After finishing each interview, the gratuity for an interview³³ was transferred in less than 30 minutes to each interviewee's bank account, and the account information was deleted immediately.

3-6. Ethical considerations

3-6-1. Quantitative survey

When posting an advert to recruit survey participants on the online community of the university, the subject and the aim of this study were given with an incentive and the researcher's contact details. On the cover page of the survey questionnaire, there was a list of information noting that all the information provided by each participant will be completely anonymised and securely stored in the system of the University of York and that it could also be used for further research purposes. A consent form was attached to each copy of the questionnaire increasing awareness of the potential risks of participating in this research, rights of withdrawal from the survey, not to mention preserving anonymity again. At the end of the form, each participant's personal contacts were requested for recruiting interviewees for the next phase. Many participants provided their contacts on the consent form, and they were told that it would be destroyed before each document was scanned. There was no requirement in the questionnaire to write down each participant's name, but most of the participants wrote their name at the bottom of the consent form instead of writing their signature. Therefore, to preserve the anonymity of the participants, each of the participants' first name has been masked before being scanned.

3-6-2. Qualitative interview

Before conducting an interview, an information sheet and a consent form about the interview was sent to each potential interviewee who expressed an interest to join, which asked them to give final confirmation on whether to join after reading those documents. In the information sheet, with a brief explanation about the interview contents, it was highlighted that participation was completely voluntary, participants have rights of withdrawal from the interview at any time with no reason, and they can refuse to respond questions that they do not want to answer. There

³³ A gratuity of 50,000 Korean Won was provided in cash to each interviewee who spent an hour for an interview on average. The amount of money was calculated based on news articles about the gratuity paid to an applicant on average for applying for a job interview (30,000 Korean Won) and the average time spent to have a job interview with an applicant (about 28 minutes).

was also given information about the benefits and potential risks of participation, and interview data usage and privacy, with the researcher's contact details at the end. In the consent form for an interview, most of the contents were similar to that of the survey consent form except for one item asking participants' consent to audio recording of the interview. Each of the interviewees' first name written on it has also been masked.

As interviews were conducted face-to-face on Skype, it was important to become sensitive to each participant's reaction to each question or subject to catch if they felt distressed by it. During the interviews, they were told that they could take their time thinking about answers, and they did not have to respond if they did not want to. At the beginning and end of the interview, participants were asked if they had anything more to say or anything to correct among their answers. Although each interviewee was numbered instead of their names in the collected data, those interview IDs were changed again into alphabet letters in the thesis to increase the level of anonymity.

3-7. Data analysis methods

3-7-1. Quantitative data analysis

In doing data management and quantitative analyses for this study, Stata 15 was used because of its intuitive command-based functions with an easy-to-find built-in manual which is good and convenient for inexperienced researchers, and a huge amount of online resources about using many functions of Stata that were very helpful.

Occupational status analysis

As for the social capital assessment in this study, the occupation data given by the participants were measured with the scale scores suggested by Ganzeboom and Treiman (1996) because it is designed to assess the status of occupations in terms of the EGP class categories, SIOPS scores and ISEI scores at the same time. As the EGP class scheme has been widely accepted to indicate differences in employment relationships (Rose, 2005), this was adopted as a nominal big frame in this study to show the social status structure of the participants in the university (Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996; Breen, Mood and Jonsson, 2016). In this research, ten categories of the EGP class schema were adopted which are not identical to the original classes³⁴ (Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996, pp.213–214). As a continuous SES scale from a detailed social capital perspective, SIOPS seemed worth consideration. According to Treiman (1977), the hierarchy of occupational

³⁴ In this version, the authors collapsed two original categories of *Routine non-manual employees (higher and lower grade)* into one and moved *Farmers and smallholders* to the end of the scale. They also shortened the name of each category. For more details about the original classes, see Erikson and Goldthorpe (1993), *Table 2.1. The class schema*.

prestige tends to be similar not only among countries from a different level of economic development but also among people from different generations, which means the standard of assessing occupations may not have changed much over time. His assertion also seems to be applicable to Korea: a number of empirical studies about trends in occupational prestige scores in Korea identify that SIOPS may still be useful to indicate Korea's hierarchical structure of occupations over decades (Kim and Yoo, 2013; Kye and Hwang, 2017). Considering that a suitable occupational status measure to be generalised to the whole population may not have been developed yet in Korea (Yoo and Kim, 2014) and that the ISEI scores are fundamentally based on the occupational information of full-time male adults (Rose, 2005), SIOPS was adopted as a continuous scale of each individual's social capital measurement in this study.

Each parent's occupation given by the participants was assessed by the EGP class scheme and SIOPS scores. A higher EGP class of one parent than of the other was regarded as the family's dominant EGP class, and the SIOPS score was also calculated in relation to the dominant EGP class (Breen, Mood and Jonsson, 2016). When parents had the same EGP class but different SIOPS scores, the dominant EGP class was decided, and the higher SIOPS score was chosen to become the dominant SIOPS score of the family. To see the overall distribution of the participants' inherited SES, the dominant SIOPS score of each family became the main standard in this study.

Identifying value inclination of each participant

To identify one's value pursuing tendency, exploratory factor analysis was conducted to the SE and ST value indicators of the survey data collected. EFA is known as a powerful analysis method in the field of human psychology studies that has complexity in data and where it is usually uncertain which variables are going to be decisive (Kline, 1994). To this end, identifying one's degree of value inclination to SE or ST values could be seen as a way of exploring psychological factors that might affect one's political choices (see Caprara et al., 2006). Moreover, though the questions in the survey questionnaire were adopted from a previous study (Kulin and Svallfors, 2013) which confirmed its reliability to European participants in measuring one's value pursuing tendency, whether the measurement was still applicable to the participants in this study needed to be reconfirmed as this study changed and limited the scope of participants to first-year undergraduate students in Korea and it could lead to some unexpected results. In this regard, EFA could be seen as a suitable method for this study to see the construct of the survey items indicating SE and ST values and additionally to figure out each participant's factor scores representing one's tendency of pursuing those two values to select interviewees for the qualitative phase. Moreover, it is an efficient method of simplifying variables of value indicators

that could be represented by a smaller number of factors than the number of variables (Kline, 1994).

Choosing economic, social and cultural capital items for scale reliability

For economic capital indicators, 17 variables were originally generated by the same number of questions in the questionnaire. Among them, firstly, two variables indicating daily part-time working hours during term-time and the amount of monthly income from work were dropped; when checking completed questionnaires, it was found among the participants who gave answers to those two questions that not all of them seemed to have a part-time job to maintain livelihoods. A number of studies about Korean undergraduates describe that students who have to work to prepare for upcoming living costs and tuition fees for the next term seem to be mainly suffering from 'time poverty' (Kim, 2019, p.152) due to the endless to-do list of work and study every day (Kim, 2014). On the contrary, daily working hours of the participants in this study were maximum two hours or less on average, and it was unclear if it was for a living or just to earn some more allowance. As some of them answered that their parents seemed to be easily (or very easily) managing the household on the household income, having a part-time job could be interpreted somewhat as their parents' method of child discipline; maybe their parents believed that earning some money through moderate work would be a good way of encouraging a child to be self-reliant, which could be seen as 'value rational' suggested by Max Weber (1968, p.25)³⁵. Consequently, these two variables did not seem to be clear in measuring the economic capital of each participant. In addition, there was an economic capital variable which captured the possibility of having more educational loans during the academic years, and this variable was also dropped because the participants had to guess whether they would actually need additional loans in future, which was too uncertain to use as a measurement. The variable was, therefore, also not suitable for use as an economic capital measurement.

Secondly, with the remaining 14 variables representing economic capital, scale reliability assessment was carried out by calculating Cronbach's alpha. After removing variables that undermined the reliability, nine variables were left, giving the highest $\alpha = .7$ which was acceptable (Bryman, 2015). Still, there were two variables among them showing a very high correlation (.9). Two questions represented by those two variables were about whether they can

³⁵ According to Ritzer and Stepnisky (2013, pp.126–127), Weber differentiated two basic types of rational action: 'means-ends rationality' refers an action 'determined by expectations...used as 'conditions' or 'means' for the attainment of the actor's own rationally pursued and calculated ends' (Weber, 1968, p.24) whilst 'value rationality' implies an action 'determined by a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other form of behaviour, independently of its prospects for success' (Weber, 1968, pp.24–25). Originally, there are two more types of rational action such as 'affectual' and 'traditional' types that are often on the indefinite borderline of those two basic types (Weber, 1968, p.25).

spend more money using a family credit card and how much they can spend using the card per month, which meant the first question was to distinguish who was eligible for answering the second question. Hence the variable made by the first question was dropped from the list of economic capital variables, and it was still keeping $\alpha = .7$ of acceptable reliability for the eight economic capital variables.

For the five social capital variables, two variables indicating the parents' EGP class were dropped as they were replaced by a composite variable indicating a family's dominant EGP class³⁶. By doing Cronbach's alpha test, one variable indicating whether the dominant job was self-employed was dropped due to undermining reliability and the two variables left were showing $\alpha = .8$ of reliability which was employed as a rule of thumb (Bryman, 2015).

Scale reliability of the four cultural capital variables was also assessed in the same way, and two variables were dropped due to reducing reliability, which were indicating whether each participant ever attended wealthy private primary/middle school or school abroad³⁷, and their perception about the highest education level that their parents were expecting them to achieve. The remaining two variables were showing $\alpha = .7$ of acceptable reliability (Bryman, 2015).

In total, 12 variables were selected to handle missing values of the data, but some of these variables may not be used in the regression analysis after imputation. Final selection of variables for analysis will be described after dealing with the issue of missing value imputation.

Handling missing values of SES variables

Unlike SE, ST value-indicators and the item measuring one's attitudes towards redistribution to which all participants responded, the economic, social and cultural-capital measuring item variables had missing values. To deal with the missing values of the 12 variables, missing mechanisms of the data should be identified to choose an appropriate imputation method (Schafer and Graham, 2002; Saunders et al., 2006), as imputation methods assume certain missing data patterns among missing completely at random (MCAR), missing at random (MAR) or missing not at random (MNAR) (Saunders et al., 2006) under Little and Rubin's framework (Little and Rubin, 1987). MCAR means that the cause of missing values is related to something not related to the research, whilst MAR implies that some other variables in the data may explain why they are missing (White, Royston and Wood, 2011). Finally, MNAR implies that the probability of missingness is based on a systematic pattern or is caused by unobserved data or

³⁶ For more details, see *Occupational status analysis* in Section 3-7-1.

³⁷ Although participants were limited to 'graduated from high school in Korea in early 2018 before the first university term started in March' (see Section 3-4. *Participants*), some of them might have been overseas, then came back and graduated from one of high schools in Korea. In those cases, the experience could be regarded as cultural capital of the family.

Table 4. The number of missing observations

Type of capital	Variable meaning (name)	Missing (obs)
Economic	no need to have a part-time job (<i>n_enoughm</i>)	1
	commuting from home (<i>n_cmut</i>)	1
	my family owns a house/flat (<i>n_fhmctyp</i>)	1
	my family lives in/near the capital city (<i>n_fhmrgn</i>)	1
	monthly money supported from home (<i>sn_fsprthm</i>)	5
	additional monthly expenditure using a family credit card (<i>sn_pcrdexp</i>)	7
	the monthly allowance I can use freely (<i>sn_alwnc</i>)	6
	how easy my parents seem to manage the household on the household income (<i>n_ffinsit</i>)	8
Social	a family's dominant EGP occupation category (<i>n_domnocp</i>)	22
	a family's dominant occupation prestige scores (<i>n_siops</i>)	22
Cultural	the education level of my father (<i>n_dadedlv</i>)	6
	the education level of my mother (<i>n_mumedlv</i>)	8

conditionally by some observed data (Saunders et al., 2006; White, Royston and Wood, 2011). It is not feasible to clearly distinguish MAR from MNAR only with the observed data. Therefore, when the data does not seem to be MCAR, making MAR assumption seems more likely to be practical for data analysis by adding some other variables in the data as explanatory variables in the analysis (White, Royston and Wood, 2011). In a test to identify the MCAR mechanism of missing values with an insignificant result proposed by Little (1988), the social capital variables that showed the biggest proportion of missing values (21.2%) turned out not to be MCAR³⁸ whilst the remaining ten variables showed insignificance in the test that seemed more likely to be MCAR.

As for handling missing data, multiple imputation by chained equations (MICE) was conducted which has become a popular method to predict far more less-biased missing values than other modern missing data imputation techniques such as regression imputation that is likely to deflate standard error (Allison, 2002; Saunders et al., 2006), not to mention classic imputation methods such as listwise deletion (i.e. complete case analysis), mean substitution and hot decking that are known to be more suitable for a large sample with a small amount of missing data relying on the MCAR assumption (Streiner, 2002; Saunders et al., 2006). Although standard multiple imputation (MI) implementation assumes MAR with multivariate normality (Azur et al., 2011), MI, especially MICE, also works well with non-normal data (Van Buuren et al., 2006; Azur et al., 2011; Royston and White, 2011) and seems applicable to data with any of those three missing mechanisms (Morris, White and Royston, 2014). Regarding that the missing pattern of the data in this study seemed to be a mix of MAR and MCAR, and that the types of variables

³⁸ The result of Little's test was yielded by creating dummy variables for whether a variable is missing and doing chi-square test between each dummy and other variables. When the test result is significant, it indicates that the data is less likely to be MCAR. In this case, this study is holding an MAR assumption. For the two occupation variables included in the analysis model, the test results were significant at the .05 level, whilst the remaining variables were non-significant.

having missing values were continuous, binary and ordered categorical which meant the data was less likely to be holding a joint normal distribution, MICE seemed to have the flexibility to deal with those different types of missing values.

MICE is one of the most widely used imputation methods based on a practical approach to produce a number of imputed datasets by using a univariate regression model conditional on the other variables in the imputation model, to consider the uncertainty in those datasets and attain less-biased standard errors (White, Royston and Wood, 2011; Azur et al., 2011; Lee and Carlin, 2017). How many imputed datasets are needed is one of the issues that arise from using MICE. According to guides in the literature, there have been three suggestions: (1) the standard recommendation says three to five imputed datasets are sufficient (White, Royston and Wood, 2011; Johnson and Young, 2011), but it seems proper for a large sample size rather than a small one (Johnson and Young, 2011); (2) 25 or more datasets are needed particularly for a smaller sample size having a large number of missing values (Johnson and Young, 2011); (3) the number of imputed datasets should be at least equal to the percentage of cases having missing values (White, Royston and Wood, 2011).

Based on the list of suggestions above, a comparison was made among three imputation estimates having 5, 30 and 40 imputed datasets: firstly, setting 30 as a medium number of imputed datasets was decided by suggestion (2) and Stata's recommendation to set M (the number of datasets) $\geq 100 \times$ fraction of missing information (FMI) (StataCorp., 2017, p.48). Secondly, the number of cases with missing values in the 12 variables was 39 out of 104 cases which meant the percentage of cases with missing value was 37.5%, and this led to setting 40 as a maximum number of imputed dataset considering the suggestion (3). Finally, a minimum number was set as five following the standard recommendation (1).

Table 5. Multiple imputation estimates of the dataset with imputations

Multiple-imputation estimates (ordered logistic regression)			
The number of imputed datasets	5	30	40
Average RVI	0.1476	0.0768	0.0751
Largest FMI	0.5896	0.2573	0.2518
Degrees of freedom (average)	919.77	8,182.77	9,936.57
Prob > F	0.3485	0.2433	0.2356

In Table 5, the average relative variance information (RVI) refers to the degree of an effect caused by missing data, and the largest FMI is about

coefficient estimates due to missing values of the data (StataCorp., 2017). Clearly, the data with 30 and 40 imputed datasets show far smaller RVI and FMI, which is better than that of the data with five imputed datasets. Between the estimates of the data having 30 and 40 imputed datasets, they show differences, but these are marginal.

Table 6. Comparison of regression model fit between two imputed datasets

Regression model fit (ordered logistic regression)		
The number of imputed datasets	30	40
The number of observations	1,235	1,625
AIC	2236.63	2915.45
BIC	2333.88	3017.92

With the results of multiple imputation estimate comparison above, the regression model fit was compared between the models with 30 and 40 imputations by calculating Akaike's information criterion (AIC) and

Bayesian information criterion (BIC). The only difference in the data between the two models was the number of imputed datasets, which led to an increase in the number of observations. In this regard, the model having 30 imputed datasets in Table 6 showed a better model fit than the other having 40 imputed datasets in terms of lower AIC and BIC. Therefore, it seemed that 30 imputed datasets were sufficient: it was more than 25 imputed datasets (Johnson and Young, 2011) and also exceeded the required number of imputations calculated by the largest FMI (StataCorp., 2017, p.48).

When specifying each imputation model in terms of variable types, logistic regression was chosen for four binary variables, ordered logistic regression for seven ordered categorical variables. For a continuous variable which was not normally distributed, predictive mean matching (PMM) was chosen as an alternative to ordinary least squares (OLS) regression method using ten observations (Morris, White and Royston, 2014; Lee and Carlin, 2017) that are also called 'nearest neighbours' because PMM generates imputed datasets from the observed values. The three variables indicating attitudes towards redistribution, SE and ST value factor scores were set as independent variables in the imputation model. Demographic variables such as gender and school type having no missing values were also set as regular variables in the model to give some more information in generating imputed datasets.

After imputing missing values, to see if the imputed datasets resemble the original dataset, each of the 30 imputed datasets was compared to the observed data and the rest of them, using different methods in terms of variable types; a frequency table of each dataset was compared for dichotomous and ordered-categorical variables. For a continuous variable, comparing means and standard deviations were carried out, followed by checking a kernel density graph of each dataset to look at the overall distribution (Social Science Computing Cooperative, 2012).

Final selection of SES variables for quantitative data analysis

When handling missing values, a proper imputation model should be created with all the variables in the analysis model at least. It also needs other variables which could provide information about the true values of the missing data or the probability of their missingness (Social Science Computing Cooperative, 2015). In this regard, when building an imputation

model, variables indicating one's SES were merely selected based on the scale reliability and nothing else to maximise the number of variables in the model. As a result, 12 of them were included in the imputation model. In doing analysis, however, there still seemed to be some redundant variables among them. Firstly, in the social capital measuring items, two variables measuring a family's dominant occupation status were included. Both were from the scale scores by Ganzeboom and Treiman (1996), and each of them was simply a result of the same occupation measured by a different method. The EGP category item showed less variance than the SIOPS score one, and the regression model fit also did not seem to be affected much by removing the variable in terms of changes in AIC and BIC. Therefore, the dominant EGP category variable (*n_domnocc*) was dropped. Secondly, among the economic capital measuring items, there were two dichotomous variables generated from the questions: whether one commutes from home to the university and whether one's family is living in or near the capital city. Considering the fact that the university is in the capital city and those questions were to represent housing price as a type of economic capital, the first question may make a clearer boundary of the region where house prices are higher than in other regions. In the second question, the 'near the capital city' part could make the scope of the boundary be expanded to regions where commuting from home is actually not possible, and house prices not as high as the region where the participants can commute to the university. Hence, the variable generated from the second question (*n_fhmrgn*) was abandoned. When comparing the regression model fit, removing this variable showed a better fit than removing the other variable in terms of the values of likelihood ratio chi-square and Pseudo R square. As a result, ten SES variables were selected for doing quantitative data analysis, and the meaning of each variable was rewritten in a simpler form (for details, see A-2. *Matching variables due to changes in the name for analysis*).

Analysing the integration of values and attitudes towards redistribution with the SES impact

Firstly, correlation coefficients were calculated to see the association between selected variables in terms of high school type. Most of the collected data except variables representing attitudes towards income redistribution and gender turned out to be non-normal in the Shapiro-Wilk test for checking data normality. Hence, Spearman's and Kendall's correlation seemed to be possible options that are widely used for non-parametric data and resistant to outliers compared to Pearson's (Croux and Dehon, 2010). In this research, Kendall's correlation was chosen: although it is said that in most cases values yielded by those two metrics tend to be very similar leading to the same conclusion (Crichton, 2001), Kendall's is regarded as more robust than Spearman's (Crichton, 2001; Croux and Dehon, 2010) particularly for tied data based on decision making (Peng, 2012).

Secondly, to see the relationships between values and attitudes towards redistribution under the SES impact in terms of school type, regression analysis was conducted. The outcome of the dependant variable representing attitudes towards income redistribution was ordered categorical, and the independent variables consisted of binary and ordered categorical ones plus a continuous one which were non-parametric and non-linear in large part. In this regard, ordered logistic regression analysis seemed the most appropriate method for analysing the data.

3-7-2. Qualitative data analysis

In this phase, interviews and ladder tests were conducted yielding interview scripts and test sheet images of one's subjective status in the high school community and SES in future. All the interviews were transcribed verbatim with some non-verbal expressions such as clearing throat. Interview transcripts were analysed using NVivo12 software for data storage, coding and theme development.

Regarding that there have been not many studies in Korea concerning welfare attitudes of students (Lee and Kim, 2012), maybe grounded theory analysis, one of the well-known theory-bound methods, could have been useful to construct a theory in the research area. However, carrying out grounded theory analysis was not feasible in this study due to some practical problems such as time and cost because it should genuinely do enough to build a theory by doing multiple times of data collection and conceptualisation (Bryman, 2015).

Meanwhile, Braun and Clarke (2006, p.81) point out in a study demarcating thematic analysis method that the analysis seems increasingly to be used in a 'lite' way of grounded theory analysis for coding qualitative data which still has richness drawn from the data. The authors present the advantages of thematic analysis, and some of them were seen that the analysis method could be suitable for this study (for more details of the advantages, see Braun and Clarke (2006, p.97), *Table 3*). Moreover, as the qualitative phase of this study was aiming at identifying themes and patterns sequentially from the result of the previous phase consuming a great deal of time, thematic analysis might have been the most efficient method to deal with lack of time without losing the richness and nuances of the data.

Therefore, a thematic analysis method was chosen to analyse interview transcripts in this study. Although it has not been perceived as one of the qualitative analysis methods with recognised inheritance such as grounded theory and qualitative content analysis (Bryman, 2015), thematic analysis could be a heuristic tool for researchers to learn core skills of qualitative analysis (Holloway and Todres, 2003; Braun and Clarke, 2006) with the benefits of its flexibility that makes it possible to be used across a range of different theoretical contexts (Braun and Clarke, 2006;

Bryman, 2015). Consequently, thematic analysis was thought to be the best choice in this study to draw out rich and nuanced analysis results from the interview data by an efficient but pure qualitative approach (Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas, 2013).

The analysis process followed the outline guide that Braun and Clarke (2006, p.87) offered, having six phases: familiarising oneself with the data; generating initial codes; searching for themes; reviewing themes; defining and naming themes; producing the report. Validation of the data included triangulating data from different sources, rich and thick descriptions to convey the findings, clarifying the researcher's influence that could cause bias to the study, and elucidating information running counter to the themes (Creswell, 2014).

3-8. Conclusion

In this chapter, the research questions and research design have been outlined and are followed by philosophical perspectives revealing the assumptions which lead to the choices in the methodological approaches made in this research. Under the research paradigm of pragmatism, this thesis is based on the ontological position of depth realist and idealist and epistemological position of post-positivism and constructionism to have more knowledge about the research subject to extend the study results. The combination of different philosophical perspectives results in using a sequential mixed-methods.

In the first phase, a survey was conducted to collect the quantitative data having 104 participants who were first-year students in a prestigious university in the capital city of Korea. Among those survey participants, 13 interviewees were recruited in terms of high school type and the degree of value inclination for the second phase. The qualitative data obtained from face-to-face online video interviews which generally took an hour per each.

For the quantitative data analysis, there were two analytical methods in use. Firstly, EFA was carried out, which enabled the researcher to calculate factor scores, indicating the degree of one's value inclination between the SE and ST values. Secondly, ordered logistic regression was conducted to identify the strength of the associations among the objective data variables. In addition, as the quantitative data collected had missing values, an additional data management skill was needed to handle them. MICE, a popular modern imputation method, has been suggested as having the flexibility to deal with different types of variables and missing mechanisms in the data of this study. For the qualitative data analysis, thematic analysis method has been outlined as having efficiency enough to be conducted in the limited period of time, although it still has richness in the analysis results. The following chapter will present firstly the

findings from the quantitative data, secondly the follow-up research plan and research questions, and finally, the findings from the interview data.

Chapter 4. Analysis

4-1. Introduction

This chapter is going to provide analyses from two different points of view. Firstly, it will provide an analysis of the objective stratification in terms of the two high school types classified in this study. The stratification between the two groups of participants is measured in two dimensions: the SES dimension concerning economic, social and cultural capital and the cognitive dimension concerning the strength of the association between value choice and the degree of support for income redistribution. Secondly, it will provide an analysis of how the stratified high school system contributes to one's welfare attitude on which the motivation behind the support for redistribution is reflected, alongside one's subjective expectation of the SES in future.

As mentioned in chapter two, this part of the research areas of education and welfare attitudes has been studied mostly from a policy perspective, less likely to collect data from students. Hence, the lack of data necessitates both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis to extend the study results in favour of the primary philosophy of pragmatism. The quantitative phase will focus on a comparative analysis of the objective data variables between the two high school types. Meanwhile, the following qualitative phase will present the interviewees' experiences in high school and university chronologically, and their opinions or perceptions of social welfare and the way of promoting welfare policy focusing on the emerging themes out of the data.

This chapter is divided into two large parts. Beginning with the interim analysis to identify one's value inclination, the quantitative phase represents the empirical stratification between the two high school types in the summary of the objective data and the findings of a regression analysis. Based on those findings, a subsequent research plan is outlined at the beginning of the qualitative phase. The follow-up phase represents a thematic analysis of the interviewees' prevalent perception of educational credentials, feelings of unfairness in high school and university, identification of one's welfare attitude and the result of subjective status measurement in high school and society.

4-2. Quantitative phase

4-2-1. Interim analysis to measure individual value inclination

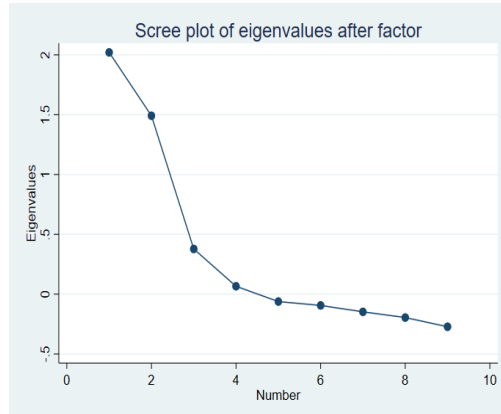
As an interim analysis to select potential interviewees having either SE or ST specific value inclination from the two school types for the qualitative phase, EFA was conducted to identify the structure of nine value-inclination measuring items of the survey questionnaire and to

reduce the number of variables by making composite variables indicating values as latent variables which could not be measured directly. Principal component analysis (PCA) is also known as a similar analytic technique to EFA for identifying clusters of variables (Field, 2013). However, there is a distinction that should be understood between the two methods; in EFA factors are regarded as dimensions reflecting constructs of correlation among variables that cannot be directly measured so what the constructs represent needs to be interpreted, whilst PCA aggregates the actual data about the constructs on the correlation matrix into a set of linear components (factors in EFA) which means it only counts measured variables (Field, 2013; Tabachnick and Linda, 2013). Although Harman (1976) shows that with a large set of data PCA is almost identical to EFA (Kline, 1994), the size of the dataset in this study is small, and underlying processes should not be ignored in measuring one's tendency of value pursuit. Hence, EFA seems to be a proper analysis method for this study.

Prior to EFA, the factorability of nine variables indicating SE or ST values was tested; the result of Bartlett's sphericity test showed significance ($\chi^2(36) = 234.3, p = .0$) implying they were suitable for structure detection. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy was .7, which was 'acceptable' although not 'meritorious' (Field, 2013, p.685). The diagonals of the anti-image covariance matrix were all but one over the threshold .5 which seemed still acceptable overall. There were two problems found that some of the communalities were lower than the conventional criterion .5 and the correlation coefficients lower than .3. It happened to most of the ST value indicating variables, and some adjustments seemed to be needed, such as removing variables showing low communality and correlation. However, even if there was only one ST variable left representing helping people, which met the recommendations above, there was no substantial improvement found in the correlation coefficients and communalities of the ST value indicators. One noticeable point here was that without removing any variable, the results of the EFA showed a factor structure and all factor loadings were over .4 which Stevens (2002) suggests as the minimum level for interpreting factor loadings. Regarding that the sample size was small (N=104) having only nine variables to be factor analysed, it seemed feasible to assume that any low communality differences could occur (Stevens, 2002) in this study though it might cause weakness in the empirical basis.

Factor analysis was conducted to identify latent variables (factors) which were reflected by nine observed value variables. When doing EFA, the number of factors to be extracted could be seen using Cattell's Scree test (see Figure 5) showing that each dot refers to each factor. The test is known as the best solution saying that the cut-off point is where the graph dramatically changes its slope (Kline, 1994). In Figure 5, the cut-off point was the third dot from the left. Additionally,

Figure 5. A scree plot in factor analysis



considering Kaiser's criterion that the eigenvalue of each factor should be over 1, two factors were finally to be retained from the result. Although four factors were showing a positive eigenvalue, the values of factor 3 and 4 were so low that they could hardly be seen as representing a certain value. With factor loading matrix of value indicating variables, factor 3 had merely two factor loadings slightly less than .4 representing a desire to be rich and a concern about the environment. As for factor 4, all factor loadings were less than .2. On the other hand, factor 1 and 2 showed factor loadings that were mostly over .4 and structured in terms of certain values: factor 1 correlated with all the variables representing SE values and factor 2 with all but one ST value indicating variables. For factor 2, one variable representing equality was slightly less than the threshold .4 (Stevens, 2002) applied to the value of factor loadings, which seemed not clear to have enough variance explaining factor 2. At this point, they needed to be rotated to increase the interpretability of factors, and the variable's factor loading was going to be checked again.

Two kinds of rotations are widely used in factor analysis: orthogonal and oblique rotations. According to Kline (1994), orthogonal rotations have an assumption that factors would not be correlated which is unlikely in most social sciences, but its factor structure is the same with the factor pattern which affects factor scores, and it is easy to interpret. On the other hand, oblique rotations assume that factors are correlated with each other, which is logical but makes the result complicated to interpret. In analysing one's value inclination, it seemed hardly reasonable to assume that the factors were not correlated. Therefore, both orthogonal and oblique rotations were conducted choosing Varimax and Promax rotations respectively, and the results were compared. Kline (1994, p.68) points out in his book that in many cases, those two rotations tend to yield 'virtually identical' results. The similarity was also found when comparing the rotation results; hence Varimax rotation was chosen to have a simpler and interpretable factor structure. As factor scores generated by factor analysis could provide empirical information about one's placement on the factors found (DiStefano, Zhu and Mîndrilă, 2009), factor scores were obtained from the result of the EFA above in the form of two composite variables (*vf1*, *vf2*) representing one's degree of SE and ST value inclination. The mean value of SE and ST factor scores was zero as they were standardised, and each factor score could be either positive or negative depending on one's answer to the survey questions related to the two values. The degree of showing how

much a person was inclined to which value was calculated by identifying which of one's SE or ST factor scores was bigger than the other and by measuring the distance between the two to see how much higher the score of the inclined value was than that of the other. The calculated degree scores were also used for the qualitative follow-up phase as well to select potential interviewees.

4-2-2. Summary of the data

The descriptive statistics for the participants' support for the government intervention to income redistribution as well as SE/ST value inclination and the three types of capital measures are presented below in Table 7.

Table 7. Descriptive statistics (N=104)

VARIABLE	General group (N = 70)						Special group (N = 34)					
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Missing	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Missing
Dependant variable												
Support for redistribution	70	4.21	0.72	2	5	-	34	4.12	0.64	3	5	-
Demographic variable												
Gender (female)	70	0.60	0.49	0	1	-	34	0.65	0.49	0	1	-
Value inclination variables												
SE value	70	0.08	0.88	-1.77	1.48	-	34	-0.17	0.90	-2.26	1.45	-
ST value	70	0.01	0.76	-2.22	1.38	-	34	-0.01	0.99	-1.91	1.48	-
Economic capital variables												
Living in/near the capital city	69	0.38	0.49	0	1	1.4%	34	0.68	0.48	0	1	-
My family owns a house	69	0.75	0.43	0	1	1.4%	34	0.68	0.48	0	1	-
Enough financial support	69	0.77	0.43	0	1	1.4%	34	0.88	0.33	0	1	-
Monthly money from home	68	-0.03	1.00	-1.44	2.51	2.9%	31	0.06	1.02	-1.44	2.51	8.8%
Monthly card expenditure	65	0.04	1.10	-0.76	3.27	7.1%	32	-0.09	0.76	-0.76	1.92	5.9%
Monthly allowance	67	0.09	0.98	-1.78	2.72	4.3%	31	-0.19	1.03	-1.78	1.82	8.8%
Feeling financial stability	65	3.88	1.08	1	6	7.1%	31	4.00	0.97	2	6	8.8%
Social capital variable												
Dominant SIOPS score	54	57.44	11.20	26	78	22.9%	28	61.86	10.88	42	78	17.6%
Cultural capital variables												
Father's education level	67	6.03	1.06	2	8	4.3%	31	6.19	1.11	4	8	8.8%
Mother's education level	65	5.62	1.06	4	8	7.1%	31	5.77	1.23	4	8	8.8%

The dependant variable indicating one's support for income redistribution by the government has a mean of 4.21 with a standard deviation of 0.72 from the general group and also has a mean of 4.12 with a standard deviation of 0.64 from the special group, which shows marginal differences in their attitudes towards redistribution. It was measured by a five-point Likert scale, and five was the maximum value meaning one 'strongly agreed' to redistribution. Therefore, the participants' attitudes towards government intervention in alleviating income disparity seem to be positive overall.

For the independent variables showing the inclination of an individual in pursuing SE and ST values, there is a little difference between the two groups. The special group has negative mean values for both value indicators, whilst the other group has positive ones. The difference in the

mean value seems to be small, but this implies that the participants from the special group would have been rather conservative and cautious in placing themselves on the two value factors.

When it comes to the SES variables, the number of observations decreases because observations with missing values were dropped, especially from the social capital variable, which had the largest proportion of observations with missing values. For economic capital variables, they are representing three issues: owning a family home (matrimonial in general) in or near the capital city; having enough financial support; feeling economic stability in the family. Firstly, in relation to the issue of owning a family home, the mean value and standard deviation of both groups are similar with 0.07 higher in the mean value of the general group. What makes a difference is whether participants' home is located in/near the capital city where house prices tend to be fairly higher than other regions in the country (Son, 2017). For this question, the general group has a 0.38 mean whilst the special group has a 0.68 mean value, with a very similar standard deviation to that of the former group. From these values, it is inferred that the participants living in or in the outskirts of the capital city could be more likely to enter special high schools, which seems somewhat reasonable based on a statistical data released in October 2018 by the Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI). The data shows that the number of special-purpose high schools in the capital city is 21, and there are 20 more in the regions around the city, whilst the number drops to half or lower than half on average in other regions (Korea Educational Statistics Service, 2018). In this respect, it also makes sense that the general group has a little higher mean value than the other group for the variable about possessing a family home: the proportion of participants in the general group whose family home is not in or close to the capital city is bigger than in the special group, and their family seems more likely to possess a house or flat due to relatively lighted burden of housing costs than people living in the expensive regions. Secondly, for the issue of having enough financial support from home, the proportion of participants who answered they do not really need a part-time job is bigger in the special group having a mean value of 0.88 with a standard deviation of 0.33 than the other group having a mean value of 0.77 with a standard deviation of 0.43. As for the monthly money supported by parents, the total amount of monthly money from home on average seems a little larger in the special group, having 0.09 more than the other group in the mean value. On the other hand, the group has fewer mean values than the general group for the amount of additional spending by a family credit card and monthly allowance. When comparing summary stats of the participants from the two groups who do not live in/near the capital city, the special group has a 4.4 mean for the total amount of monthly money from home, and a 3.09 mean for monthly allowance whilst the general group has 3.62, and 3.31 mean values respectively. This could mean that

presumably, the participants in the special group who are from out of the metropolitan area may tend to spend more money on living costs. Finally, for the degree of feeling a family's financial stability, the special group has a 0.12 higher mean value with a 0.11 smaller standard deviation than the general group showing not a big difference. In general, both groups tend to show relatively similar results in economic capital measurement except the location of the family home, which suggests that the participants from both groups might have general similarity in the economic status of the family.

Conversely, the difference in social capital measurement between the two groups is outstanding compared to other capital variables. The dominant SIOPS score in the general group has a mean value of 57.44 and in the special group, a mean value of 61.86. The range of the score seems larger in the general group from 26 to 78 than in the other group ranging from 42 to 78, but the difference in the standard deviation is 0.32, which seems marginal. The special group has 4.42 more points than the general group in the SIOPS score, and a study about occupational attainment and career progression in Germany (Manzoni, Härkönen and Mayer, 2014) clearly shows how big the difference is: a male worker from the 1970 cohort in the study gains about 5 points in the SIOPS score during the first 15 years of work. Unsurprisingly, a female worker gains fewer points during the same period. Maybe, it is not reasonable to apply this directly to the Korean labour market as potential differences among countries should be considered. According to an OECD report about social mobility (OECD, 2018), intergeneration occupational upward mobility in Korea has turned out to be lower than in Germany. In conclusion, it seems reasonable to say that the general group may need at least 15 years or more to fill the gap of 4.42 points in occupational prestige which mainly represents one's social status in Korea (Chang, 2007a) and inevitably shows the difference between the two groups in inherited social status from parents. Cultural capital is measured by parents' education level, which shows a little difference between the two groups. The special group has a 6.19 mean for the father's education level, and 5.77 mean for the mother's which are 0.16 and 0.15 respectively higher than the mean values of the general group, with slightly higher standard deviations as well. Overall, it seems hard to find a noticeable difference in cultural capital between the two groups.

In conclusion, the special group is generally thought to have a higher social status than the other group mainly by the difference found in the occupation prestige score variable with having a little more economic and cultural capital than that of the general group, and this is consistent with the second hypothesis of this study. Therefore, in this study, it seemed reasonable to see that parents' occupations had a major role in identifying social class structure, influencing higher or lower class (or SES) among the participants, which supported the decision of using each

family's dominant SIOPS score as the main standard of each participant's inherited SES³⁹. In addition, the special group is more likely to live in the metropolitan area. The proportion of female participants seems relatively similar in both groups, which is higher than the male participants' proportion.

4-2-3. The strength of the values-attitudes integration in terms of school type

To see the strength of the link between values and attitudes towards income redistribution and how that varied in terms of high school type, Kendall's correlation and ordered logistic regression analysis were conducted. As there were missing values in the data, correlation analysis was carried out after handling those missing values. The missing values were handled with multiple imputations having 30 imputed datasets resulting in 1,236 observations.⁴⁰ As for using imputed data for correlation analysis, it was a concern that those imputed datasets could inflate false positives depending on the number of missing values in the data (Taylor et al., 2017). However, for many refined multiple imputation methods such as MICE adopted in this study, they were tested in a recent study by simulating data with missing values and comparing it to the original data after doing imputation in many ways showing that MICE performed well in various settings (Do et al., 2018).

Firstly, Kendall's correlation analysis was conducted in terms of school type. The general group's results are outlined in Table 8. According to the correlation results, the SE value variable positively correlates to support for redistribution whilst the ST value variable negatively correlates. The gender (female) variable also shows a negative correlation to support for redistribution, which seems rather different from the result of European social studies arguing that women are likely to support for welfare policies (Svallfors, 1997; Edlund, 1999) or tend to be more committed to equality than men (Arts and Gelissen, 2001). On the other hand, it has a negative correlation with the SE value variable and a positive correlation with the ST value variable. When separating the general group in terms of gender and running the analysis, both males and females show the same direction with that of the result above in relationship between values and support for redistribution. The association seems rather weak (females have 0.017 with SE and -0.003 with ST/ males have 0.134 with SE and -0.032 with ST), and this might be a sign of potential weakness in the link between one's values and political thinking. For the dominant SIOPS score, it tends to show weak correlations to other variables except for parents'

³⁹ See *Occupational status analysis* in Section 3-7-1.

⁴⁰ At first, there were 39 observations (obs) that had any missing value and 65 obs were complete in the data. After imputation, 30 datasets were imputed to each obs having missing values yielding that 1,235 obs in total. In the final variable selection, two variables were dropped and one of them had a missing value case which increased the number of complete obs into 66 resulting in 1,236 obs as the total number of observation.

Table 8. Correlation among variables (general group)

General school (obs=796)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Support for redistribution (1)	1													
SE value (2)	0.1523**	1												
ST value (3)	-0.0640*		1											
Female (4)	-0.2194**	-0.2759**	0.0826**	1										
Enough financial support (5)	-0.0694*				1									
Living in/near the capital city (6)	0.2387**		0.1647**	0.0870*	0.0934**	1								
My family owns a house (7)					-0.1811*		1							
Monthly money from home (8)	-0.2439**		-0.1099**	0.1039**	0.5361*	-0.2713*	-0.2296**	1						
Monthly card expenditure (9)	-0.0811**	0.1073**	0.0841**	-0.0834*	0.1344*		0.0826*	0.0943**	1					
Monthly allowance (10)	-0.1287**		-0.1936**	0.0804*	0.1823*	-0.2113*		0.4722**	0.3335**	1				
Feeling financial stability (11)	-0.1475**	0.1192**	0.1929**	0.1734**		0.2434*	0.2806**		0.2783**	0.1361**	1			
Dominant SIOPS score (12)	-0.1111**	-0.1835**	0.1288**	0.1889**	0.1820*			0.0684*	0.1777**	0.1029**	0.1472**	1		
Father's education level (13)		-0.2056**	0.1204**	0.1776**	0.2173*	0.2087*	0.2115**		-0.1166**	-0.0867**	0.1263**	0.3682**	1	
Mother's education level (14)		-0.2054**	-0.1181**	0.0872*	0.4309*		-0.0766*	0.1335**	0.0685*	0.1113**		0.4150**	0.4033**	1

By Kendall's correlation method (tau-b): significant at the .05 level * / .01 level **/ Insignificant results removed

education level which has a strong positive association. Parents' education level in this group has an inverse relation to the SE value variable though the mother's education level also shows a negative association with the ST value variable. Those parents' education level variables also have a strong positive correlation to each other that might imply the growing tendency of assortative marriage which is thought to be the well-known strategy of maintaining social status (Lee, 2010b).

Table 9 at the next page shows the result of the correlation analysis of the special group. Contrary to the general group, the SE value variable shows a negative association with support for redistribution while the ST value variable shows a positive association, which meets the first hypothesis that people who are more inclined towards the ST values are likely to be positive towards government intervention in mitigating income polarisation. In addition, the gender (female) variable also seems to reflect the conventional perception of women to be more supportive towards welfare than men (Svallfors, 1997; Edlund, 1999; Arts and Gelissen, 2001). In the special group, people who own their family home or live in the expensive region tend to show a relatively strong negative correlation to redistribution and the ST value variable. To identify who makes the direction of association related to those variables in each group, each group is classified

Table 9. Correlation among variables (special group)

Special school (obs=440)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Support for redistribution (1)	1													
SE value (2)	-0.1142**	1												
ST value (3)	0.4293**	-0.1199**	1											
Female (4)	0.2968**	-0.4252**	0.2980**	1										
Enough financial support (5)		0.3742**		-0.2026**	1									
Living in/near the capital city (6)	-0.3356**		-0.3628**		-0.2436**	1								
My family owns a house (7)	-0.5094**	0.0798*	-0.2159**	-0.3652**	0.1095*	0.1675**	1							
Monthly money from home (8)		0.1307**		-0.2459**	0.3398**	-0.5007**	0.1385**	1						
Monthly card expenditure (9)	0.1123**	0.2321**	-0.2147**	-0.0936*	-0.1551**	0.2179**	0.0976*	-0.1505**	1					
Monthly allowance (10)	-0.1077*	0.2277**	-0.1661**	-0.3042**	0.2129**		0.1923**	0.4754**		1				
Feeling financial stability (11)	-0.0983*	0.2439**		-0.1914**	-0.2019**	0.3790**	0.4567**	-0.1315**	0.2699**	0.2578**	1			
Dominant SIOPS score (12)	0.2216**		0.1434**			0.1242**	0.1721**			0.1754**	0.4247**	1		
Father's education level (13)	-0.1392**	0.1490**	-0.1708**		0.2193**	0.5278**	0.3394**	-0.0998*	0.1684**	0.1696**	0.3878**	0.3761**	1	
Mother's education level (14)	-0.2193**		-0.3505**		0.2490**	0.4684**	0.1920**	0.0966*		0.4967**	0.1237**	0.2123**	0.5204**	1

By Kendall's correlation method (tau-b): significant at the .05 level * / .01 level **/ Insignificant results removed

into four smaller groups producing all combinations of following four conditions: whether they own family home or not, and whether their family home is in/near the capital city or not. In those groups, participants owning a family home show lower support for the government redistribution than participants who do not own a family home. When making a comparison between the two groups, the special group homeowners show lower support than the general group homeowners regardless of living in the metropolitan area, which might indicate that the homeowners in the special group are likely to live in the more affluent districts than the homeowners in the general group. A study analysing the perception of the middle class in Korea could give an explanation about this phenomenon that people owning a house or a flat in the most expensive regions in the metropolitan area tend to show strong negative attitudes towards redistributive policies such as increasing the amount of tax imposed on the rich or on a luxurious house (Chang, 2007).

With the occupational prestige score, it has a strong positive correlation to one's feeling of family's financial stability (0.43) to which the general group has weaker relation (0.15), and the score variable also shows a significant positive correlation to parents' education level, which is similar in the general group.

Unsurprisingly, those variables representing the feeling of financial stability and parents' education level show stronger positive correlation than in the general group to variables indicating living in the metropolitan area and owning a family home in the metropolitan area. Parents' education level in the special school group has a weak positive relation to the SE value variable and a negative relation to the ST value one, which is somewhat different from that in the other group, and those education level variables also have a strong positive correlation to each other which is the same in the general group.

Consequently, with the fact that the special group has much more points in the dominant SIOPS score than the general group and also has relatively higher mean values in most capital variables based on the descriptive statistics, it could be reasonably interpreted that the families of participants in the special group would have higher SES on average than the families of the general group from the perspective of economic, social and cultural capital. As for the strength of the link between one's values and attitudes towards income redistribution, the special group seems to have more strength in the link between the ST value variable and support for redistribution whilst the general group is likely to have more strength between the SE value variable and support for redistribution.

Secondly, ordered logistic regression analysis was conducted. As this analysis method has an underlying assumption that the relationship among all pairs of outcome groups is the same (UCLA: Statistical Consulting Group, n.d.) which is also called proportional odds assumption, whether the model met the assumption was examined by the Wald test (Williams, 2016) in terms of school type and the chi-square scores were included with its statistically significant *p*-values in the analysis result. Additionally, to check the multicollinearity of the regression model, the variance inflation factor (VIF) value was calculated for all predictor variables. Field (2013) summarised generally accepted guidelines⁴¹ about VIF, and the overall predictor variables in the regression model meet the standards.

According to the result comparing the general and special groups displayed in Table 10, it is identified again that the two groups show opposite directions in the association between the SE value variable and support for redistribution which is highly significant: in the general group, for a one-unit increase in the SE value variable, a 0.61 increase is expected in the log-odds of being in a higher level of support for redistribution which is interesting whilst in the special group a 1.76 decrease is expected, given all other variables in the model are held constant. For the ST

⁴¹ The guidelines are as follows: if the largest VIF is greater than 10, it has a cause for concern; if the mean VIF is substantially greater than 1, the regression may be biased; tolerance below 0.1 indicates a serious problem and below 0.2 indicates a potential problem (Field, 2013, p.325). When assessing VIFs of the data by using a `collin` command in Stata, each predictor variable's VIF value is less than 3, the mean VIF is 1.83 which does not seem to be substantially greater than the threshold, and each tolerance value is more than 0.3.

Table 10. Support for income redistribution and values with the SES impact

VARIABLES	General		Special	
	Coeff	Odds ratio	Coeff	Odds ratio
Support for redistribution				
SE value	0.611*** (0.103)	1.843*** (0.19)	-1.755*** (0.274)	0.173*** (0.047)
ST value	-0.068 (0.142)	0.935 (0.133)	0.997*** (0.241)	2.711*** (0.653)
Female	-0.462** (0.182)	0.630** (0.115)	-0.326 (0.487)	0.722 (0.351)
Enough financial support	-0.3 (0.273)	0.741 (0.203)	3.454*** (0.745)	31.62*** (23.57)
Living in/near the capital city	1.736*** (0.207)	5.677*** (1.176)	-0.556 (0.727)	0.574 (0.417)
My family owns a home	1.177*** (0.252)	3.246*** (0.819)	-6.688*** (0.629)	0.001*** (0.001)
Monthly money from home	-0.355** (0.159)	0.701** (0.111)	0.785*** (0.3)	2.192*** (0.658)
Monthly card expenditure	-0.005 (0.085)	0.995 (0.085)	2.567*** (0.278)	13.03*** (3.619)
Monthly allowance	0.037 (0.132)	1.038 (0.137)	0.011 (0.299)	1.011 (0.302)
Feeling financial stability	-0.707*** (0.103)	0.493*** (0.051)	0.923*** (0.325)	2.517*** (0.817)
Dominant SIOPS score	0.026** (0.010)	1.026** (0.010)	0.174*** (0.023)	1.190*** (0.028)
Father's education level	-0.248** (0.113)	0.781** (0.089)	-0.794*** (0.267)	0.452*** (0.121)
Mother's education level	0.155 (0.106)	1.167 (0.124)	-0.226 (0.193)	0.798 (0.154)
/cut1	-8.104*** (1.24)	0.000*** (0.000)	2.011 (1.497)	7.474 (11.19)
/cut2	-2.805*** (0.726)	0.061*** (0.044)	8.852*** (1.621)	6,985*** (11,321)
/cut3	0.434 (0.721)	1.543 (1.112)		
Observations	796		440	
Wald's chi2 (df)	178.94 (13)		179.88 (13)	
p > chi2	0.000		0.000	
Pseudo R squared	0.138		0.587	

1) Standard errors in parentheses

2) Statistical significant level: **p < .01, ***p < .001

value variable, the special group has a positive association with the redistribution variable, which is also significant and stronger than the other group. Conversely, the general group has a negative and weak association which is insignificant. Hence, the link between values and attitudes towards income redistribution is likely to be stronger in the special group with both values having statistical significance than in the general group, and this is consistent with the third hypothesis of this study. In both groups, the gender variable has negative coefficients though the proportion of females is higher than males in the population. For the economic capital items, the special group generally has positive coefficients except for one item representing owning a family home that shows a highly negative coefficient (-6.69) substantially reducing the support for redistribution. This may underpin the argument of the study to some extent insisting that people possessing a house or flat in the expensive area in or near the capital city in Korea tend to be quite negative on redistributive policies (Chang, 2007) because families who own a family home in the special group are more likely to live in the area based on the summary statistics. On the

other hand, for the issue of having a family home or living in the metropolitan area, the general group has positive coefficients which show higher support for redistribution than the special group. Considering that people in this group are less likely to live in the metropolitan area, it may indicate that the general group is less likely to be sensitive than the special group to the changes in house prices which tend to account for the most part of one's asset in Korea (Kim, Min and Choi, 2017). The changes in house prices could potentially be the main source of any tax increase that they would bear because they are more likely to have a family home out of the expensive area based on the summary statistics. In this vein, it is interesting that some of them living in the metropolitan area having their own family home seem still less likely to be negative than the special group; when comparing mean values of support for redistribution of those people in terms of school type based on the summary statistics, the general group shows higher support (4.21) in the mean value than the special group (4.07), although the mean value is slightly less than that of people (4.25 in both groups) who also live in the area without owning a family home. As for other economic capital variables related to financial capacity and stability, they have a weak and negative impact on support for redistribution in the general group, which largely have an opposite tendency in the special group. Monthly allowance has no significance in both groups. For social and cultural capital variables, their impact on support for redistribution is statistically significant but does not seem to be very strong, and the mother's education level has no significance with the weak association. Hence the SIOPS score and the father's education level are of interest in the analysis. Each variable shows the same direction in both groups in the association. For the SIOPS score variable, the special group has 6.7 times more positive impact in the log-odds of being in a higher level of support for redistribution than the general group. On the other hand, the father's education level variable works to give negative impact three times more on the special group than on the general group.

In conclusion, it seems feasible to say that the integration of values and attitudes towards income redistribution among the participants varies in terms of their high school types; the special group is likely to have more strength than the general group. Additionally, with the result of summary statistics, the special group seem to have higher SES than the other group supporting what Kulin and Svallfors (2013) show that the association between values and attitudes towards redistribution is generally stronger among people in higher classes. The degree of the SES impact on the attitude also varies in terms of school type; the special group seems to have a significantly positive impact from most economic capital variables except for the item related to homeownership whilst the general group tends to have the opposite tendency. However, the

two groups have a similarity in social and cultural capital mainly represented by occupational prestige score of a parent and the father's education level relatively.

In the analysis results, the positive integration of the SE value variable and support for income redistribution is found in the general group, which needs further explanation. This result runs counter to the first hypothesis of this study which applies only to the special group. It may indicate there could be some other underlying factors out of the current predictors affecting the general group participants in the link between values and attitudes towards income redistribution. For example, the positive association between the SE value variable and support for redistribution in the general group might reflect that the recognition of redistribution in the general group could be different from that in the special group. This also means that each group might have different motivation behind the support for redistribution. At this point, it seems worth considering a recent study identifying that the young generation in Korea is likely to prefer liberal welfare policies; Yoo and Cho (2016) investigate welfare attitudes among young Koreans in the 19-39 age range, and 56.3% of the participants are turned out to be supportive of residual welfare. In addition, it is interesting that more than half of the proponents of residual welfare prefer residual welfare with a high level of welfare provision, which seems to give a hint about the unanticipated association shown in the general group.

As Svallfors (1997) pointed out, there could be a potential misinterpretation of welfare attitudes when they are simply interpreted based on the amount of people's support for welfare policies; people in both social-democratic and conservative type of countries tend to show strong support for government-led welfare policies. However, in the social-democratic countries, people tend to show support based on egalitarianism in the redistribution of wealth whilst people in the conservative countries tend to show support expecting the government to maintain social hierarchy in income redistribution. Starting from hints given above, it seems worth identifying the actual meaning of the participants' support for redistribution based on the notion of Esping-Andersen's welfare regime classification (1990), and how the current high school system affects their attitudes towards welfare policies and self-perceived status by doing further research using qualitative methods.

4-3. Qualitative phase

This qualitative phase builds on the result of the previous quantitative study detailed in Section 4-2 about the association between values and attitudes towards income redistribution and its variation in terms of high school type which may also represent one's inherited SES from parents to some degree. From the quantitative phase, there seem to be some unidentified underlying

factors making differences in the associations in terms of high school type. Hence, the aim of this second phase is exploring and explaining the relationships between the interviewees' welfare attitudes and the influence of the stratified high school system by capturing those underlying factors affecting one's welfare attitudes. To this end, qualitative interviews with simple ladder tests are conducted to some of the survey participants to understand the impact the stratified education system might have on high school students' welfare attitudes.

For this second qualitative sequence, two research questions are developed as follows:

1. How does the current high school system affect the interviewees' attitudes towards welfare policies?
2. Are there any differences found between the interviewees' subjective community status in high school and expected SES in future in terms of high school type?

In relation to these research questions, two hypotheses are constructed:

- 1) The interviewees in the general group are more likely to have liberal welfare attitudes than the interviewees in the special group.
- 2) The interviewees in the special group are more likely to put themselves on the higher status in the SES ladder test than in the community ladder one.

Thirteen interviews were collected in this phase. All of the interview scripts are coded three times. Transcripts are coded to identify the participants' thoughts about their advantageous status, biographies in high school and university, their perception about unfairness at the community or at the social level, and personal thoughts about expanding welfare provision alongside the perception of social welfare and redistribution. With no prior codes set, anything that seems to be important in each participant's responses is coded in the first coding to catch most items from the interviews, producing more than 50 codes. Then those codes are merged and categorised to set up a list of prior codes for the second coding. During the second coding, new codes are added to the prior ones when they are thought to be providing additional information in relation to the prior codes. Then again, they go under the process of merging and categorisation for the next coding. Each coding process is conducted by reading and coding the interview transcripts all over again with a new set of codes as described above. After the coding process, except for the part about one's thoughts about welfare, two large themes are identified: credentialism and emphasis on the personal effort which leads to the pursuit of meritocracy; and perceiving unfairness at the community or at the social level. In the next two sections, those themes are analysed.

4-3-1. Recognising the basis for one's status: credentialism and meritocracy

The prevalence of endogenous credentialism spreading in the education system

Living in a 'credential society' (Collins, 1979) such as Korea means people would arguably be affected by it in many parts of life, so they are more likely to judge each other based on one's academic credentials without awareness which seems to become endogenous (Lee, 2005). Lee (2005) argues that the most difficult knot to untie in this problem in Korea is the dominant regime of university rankings which tend to be decided mostly by the CSAT score of matriculates of each university and their academic performance in high school rather than each university's quality in facilities for better learning or in research achievements by its researchers. It was undeniable that the interviewees in this study were one of them under the influence.

A: *Umm...to be honest, [the reason why I applied for the university] was definitely because of its privileged status [embarrassed smile].*

F: *[Firstly, I was really interested in the _____ department of this university, and also] I thought about my potentiality to have an offer from universities and this university was the most high-ranked one among the list of universities that I could probably have an offer.*

J: *Umm...the reason [of applying for this university]? [embarrassed smile] There was not any particular reason [of applying for this university] ...I just applied for the SKY universities⁴² only.*

K: *Uh...well, firstly, that the university is thought to be one of the best universities in Korea was one of the reasons [I applied].*

Among the 13 interviewees, twelve of them expressed their recognition about the prestigious status of the university. There were nine interviewees who clearly mentioned the status of the university or university rankings, and some of them also talked about their intention of applying for the handful of prestigious universities. Either they were from the general high school type or the special one, all the interviewees were matriculates at a prestigious university, one of the SKY universities. From the interviews, they seemed to be aware of the admiration of people around them and potential privileges they would receive compared to other students at lower-ranked universities. With the interviewees' feeling of their being ahead of others, those answers above corresponded with Lee's (2005) claim that the ranking system dominated students' perception

⁴² To remind the readers of the SKY universities again at this point, they are regarded as the top three which have an iconic status of a prestigious university in Korea. For more details, see Section 3-4. *Participants*.

of a good university. There were some interviewees such as F who talked first about the department (or the major) she was interested in, but generally, it seemed that university rankings were of the first and the biggest interest to many of them and a major was the second which also had its ranking in each university.

J: [Since my high school] I had been aiming at having an offer from the ___ department at ___ university...uh...but I went out of the matriculates in the interview round, so I entered this university, having the same major. However, it was not satisfying to me, so I dropped out and started preparing for the next national exam to enter ___ university and again, I failed. Therefore, I entered this university again, having a different major. [...] It was so scary to me to return the same department after failing the second try [to enter ___ university] and also, I did not want to be in a department which was ranked lower than the previous department, so I applied for the higher ranked one [and had an offer from them].

E: Actually, this department was of my interest, not this university. [...] My friend told me she applied for the ___ department at ___ university. I asked her why and she said she really wanted to have the name of the university [on her educational background] and the department has the lowest cut-off point for the entrance than other departments in the university.

J took the national exam for university admissions two times⁴³, which was identified during the interview. Nevertheless, her responses reflect dominant credentialism, meritocracy and pressure that one could feel as a daughter or a son from a relatively affluent family background very well, so her interview was included in this study.

Those narratives may be a good example of showing what many Korean high school students' priorities are in applying for universities: J dropped out to do the second try to enter another university which had a higher ranking than her university. Even among the top three universities, the SKY ones, it is not surprising that there are rankings. J could have other reasons for the second try that she did not say, but to some extent, it seemed that J wanted to enter the 'real' top university based on her interview. For J's case, going back to the same department at the same university where she dropped out before as a fresher again could mean that she had no

⁴³ As mentioned in the methods chapter, some students tried to take the national exam for university admissions more than once to enter their desired university. In addition, it is legally allowed in Korea to send a child to a primary school one year earlier than the legal age of entering. Therefore, when checking each participant's eligibility for joining the survey, it was not possible to distinguish those second time retakers such as J. Except for her, there was no other retaker identified. For more details, see Section 3-4. *Participants*.

gain at the expense of her time, money and efforts that she could have saved if she had not dropped out, and that might be one of the reasons why she felt scared of being back. In conclusion, she decided to change her major at least to be in a higher-ranked department than the previous one even though she had been interested in the major. E's friend seemed to have a similar attitude to J's. In the context of E's interview, her friend did not seem to show any interest in the major of the department before, and that seemed to be the reason why E questioned her about the decision of application. Consequently, it seemed feasible to interpret those choices of J and E's friend as a struggle to have a better position than other students.

Amid the ongoing struggle to enter a 'better' (which actually means higher ranked) university, the influence of the regime of university rankings may begin to spread its scope in the education system even to the high school level. A study pointed that since the financial crisis in 1997, there had been increasing fear of downward mobility in SES, especially among the middle class, and this was thought to be a reason that the middle class showed support for the education policies brought in by the conservative governments which established prestigious high schools (Son, 2010) that were mostly private and expensive. Those high schools asserted at first that they would provide an improved and quality education, but most of them turned out to be committed to sending their students to a handful of prestigious universities (Kwon, 2017). A number of studies, therefore, argue that this could be interpreted as one of the strategies of the middle class to restrict lower-class students' access to the prestigious universities to bequeath their SES successfully to their children as the number of university graduates has been increasing, which leads to the relative decrease in the power of the degree (Kim, 2003; Son, 2010). When a high school has a large number of graduates entering prestigious universities, many students in middle school want to enter the high school which means the number of the graduates who entered prestigious universities could also make the high school prestigious, yielding credentialism in the high school level. The influence caused by the change was captured from one of the interviewees.

H: Umm...I think the name of the high school itself rather than what I did in the school seems to affect me to some extent [embarrassed smile]. In other words, the fact itself that I graduated from a foreign language high school. It seems... [clearing throat] I think the credential seems to affect me a lot. [...] Yeah, I think I am under the huge influence of those facts such as I graduated from a foreign language high school and entered ___ university, and it seems to make me have a sort of self-confidence [embarrassed smile]. [...] You know, having good educational credentials is important in this country anyway. [...] Therefore, I

want to be in a high position [when I get a job], and I feel like I could make it, maybe [embarrassed smile].

H graduated from a special purpose high school that specialised in learning foreign languages, which was classified in the special group in this study. She seemed to think that her educational background would have an influence on her future. H's answer could be interpreted as a sign of the potential influence of the regime of rankings on the high school level. In the debate over a controversial issue about ordering club uniforms with students' high school name on it in a prestigious university (Kang, 2016b), the influence could be captured from both sides of the debate.⁴⁴

However, unlike H, there were some interviewees from the special group who answered that they were not sure about the influence of the high school on their future.

I: As I told you, I did presentations and essay writings many times in the high school, so those experiences might make me feel familiar to doing similar things in the university, and that is somewhat helpful, but on my future...well, I don't think [the fact that I graduated from the special high school] would have much influence [on my future].

J: Uh...I...did not think much...about what I should do...before entering high school. I feel...that the high school's study environment, and the students...made me very positive and competitive [towards what I could achieve]. I think that is the influence [of the high school] on my life. [...] I feel like I am still in rivalry with those students, so I need to keep making progress at least to catch up with them.

M: Umm...I don't think [the fact that I graduated from the special high school] would have much influence on my future except for the friends I met there. When getting along with students at the university, I don't think there are many differences in making friendships among students from various types of high schools. Well...there are some differences depending on each student's characteristics, but it does not seem to affect that much on my life. [...] [As for the relations with friends] I think there...could be some differences when being with friends who are engaged very much in learning or who are not.

Those responses showed that they did not seem to have much expectation about the potential influence of the difference in high school types on their life. This might mean the stratification

⁴⁴ For more details of what happened and the debate, see Section 2-2-3. *The education system in Korea and the potential influence on welfare attitudes.*

among high schools were not as firm as the rankings among universities yet. There was, however, one tendency captured from some of those answers; J seemed to think that the students she met in high school to be her competitors even in society. At first, M said she could not find many differences in terms of high school type among her university peers but ended up with saying that there could be some differences depending on each student's attitude towards learning, which was her first reason for choosing a special high school according to her interview. From those answers, it was felt that they might still be under the influence of a rather limited view mostly focusing on one's attitude towards learning even when making friendships with other students in the university, as they did when choosing a high school. After all, it seemed reasonable to say that not a few students from both high school types in the university have a feeling of differentiation among them in terms of high school type, and the implicit feeling among them might have triggered the debate over the baseball jacket issue in 2016, bringing the feeling into the light. The feeling of differentiation will be discussed further in Section 4-3-2.

Belief in meritocracy

When tracing back to the beginning of the dominant credentialism in Korea, a number of studies insist that it was rooted in a strong belief in meritocracy built after the end of Japanese colonisation and the Korean War that destroyed the conventional social hierarchy (Vogel, 1991; Kim, 2003; Kang, 2016a). Under the atmosphere of anti-communism after the war, having good credentials was almost the only way to prove one's qualification for a recognised job, and it had worked for decades especially in the period of high economic growth (Kim, 2003), increasing upward mobility in the society for a while. Therefore, meritocracy in the country became almost equal to credentialism.

Since the financial crisis in 1997 when many people were laid-off, the competition for good credentials has become more intense despite the enormous expense they entail, because it has become a matter of survival of their children (Jeon, 2018), pushing those children to bear studying all day in the high school to enter a good university. In this respect, maybe it is not surprising that some interviewees think they deserve potential advantages based on their credentials in the labour market because they spent more money and time on education than others to enter one of those prestigious universities, which was interpreted in a study as having an 'effort justification effect' (Kang, 2016a, p.338).

D: When it comes to applying for a job or a law school, some people say that students from a specific university might be preferred, but I think the result is based on each individual's ability, which is impartial. When there are many students at ____ university who get an

offer from, let's say, a company or a prestigious graduate school, I think it is just because there are many intelligent students at the university, and they work hard. [...] Well...yeah, there could be minor advantages or disadvantages depending on the circumstances, but I think [the successful results in my life] would mostly depend on my ability or how much effort I make.

G: [Once there was a discussion in a class about the advantages in terms of the university rankings in the job market] *I think, of course, it is not appropriate to discriminate people too much based on from which university one graduated, but there should be some advantages based on the university rankings because the amount of effort that each individual makes in the high school varies, that is what I said in the discussion. [...]* [When I heard about the issue of a conflict in a university over the integration of the original campus and the satellite one⁴⁵] *Well...the amount of effort...if those students [in the satellite campus] who probably made less effort in the high school were able to have the same recognition [with the students in the original campus] by the change, I would feel it is not fair. I don't mean blatant discrimination. [...]* [The university rankings] *should be regarded as one of the measurements of one's ability? I think so.*

Those two interviewees from the general group put an emphasis on one's effort to enter a good university. During the interview, they said they studied hard in high school, and they did it themselves, without going to private cram schools whilst many high school students tend to go to one or more cram schools to prepare for university entrance exams (Jin, 2016), of which they seemed to be proud.

D and G's pride does not seem to be groundless: Han and Park (2013) scrutinised the market of private education for primary school students by making a comparison between a group of talented students (161 participants) and their parents (147 participants), and the other group of general students (156 participants) and their parents (166 participants). The study showed that among those 317 students living in the capital city and the metropolitan area, 95.9% of gifted students and 94.6% of general students were receiving private education. Attending a private cram school was the most preferable as a way of receiving private education, and English and mathematics class were the most popular to the students in both groups. The biggest reason for participating private education identified from the students' responses was to improve learning ability and to have good marks at school in both groups, which was the same in the group of

⁴⁵ In Korea, students in a satellite campus tend to have lower CSAT score on average than that of the students in the original campus.

parents of the general students. Meanwhile, parents of the gifted student group gave a rather different answer from other respondents: along with improving learning skills, they responded that preparing an entrance exam of a good middle/high school/university was another important reason for providing private education to their children. The researchers pointed out that some of those 'gifted' students seemed to be 'made' by a load of private education, and some private cram schools were actually advertising that they could help a student to become like the really talented ones. Therefore, as the idea that being a 'gifted' student was a shortcut to enter a prestigious high school and university prevailed among parents, they were likely to be stimulated by that kind of adverts to make their children have a good credential (Han and Park, 2013). In addition, especially for high school students, those private cram schools provide detailed information about the admission procedure of each university that their customer students want to enter (Jin, 2016): some of them are even specialised in building a strategy for university admissions which they call 'consulting services' at a huge amount of cost. In conclusion, private cram schools (or maybe private education as a whole) in Korea may play a role not only in improving academic performance at school but also in choosing a high school type and further, a university which arguably affects one's status in the job market (Phang and Kim, 2002; Son, 2006; Lee, Choi and Choi, 2017). Considering this huge influence of private education on students and parents in Korea, it could be a big achievement for D and G to enter a prestigious university without the help of private education.

D was a little sceptical of claims criticising potential advantages that prestigious university graduates might enjoy in the labour market or in applying for graduate schools. D thought that in those good universities, there were more students who were intelligent and hardworking than in other universities, and that would be the reason they could have more chances. In other words, they had high intelligence and made a lot of effort, which Michael Young sarcastically mentioned in *The rise of the meritocracy* (1961) as two factors making up merit. Corak (2013) points out that people such as D tend to say they support policy measures to let everyone have equal opportunity in finding jobs or education, but when planning policy in practice, they hardly make a consensus about how to control hereditary advantages in, say, cognitive abilities. This attitude may lead to the arguments made by some parents of the students at special high schools in a qualitative study that those students at the type of high schools were mostly bright and talented in studying, well-motivated and self-directed. When the researcher pointed out that they were trained by receiving extra private education, they insisted the fact that those students could bear all the arduous work from the school and private cram schools could be the evidence that they were talented (Jeon, 2018).

Chung Sejin: *As for writing a research paper, [students at special type schools] have got used to it, whilst students at general high schools do not even try it. [...] They already got the potential when they entered the high schools.*

Lim Seoyeon: *I think a child's strong desire makes [entering a special high school] possible. There are many parents who make their children prepare for the entrance to the special purpose high schools, but if those children are not ambitious to make it, they cannot make it. [...] Some people suspect that universities tend to prefer students from special-purpose high schools in learning foreign languages, but that's not true, I think. Those at the high schools are talented students, and that is why [they could enter prestigious universities].*

* All names above are pseudonyms used in the source quoted (Jeon, 2018, p.240)

These narratives argue that those students have got the potential, talent, or a desire to achieve, which suggests that success depends on one's genetic inheritance. By denying the potential influence of private education and family background, those parents may want to say that their children (although they kept saying 'students' in those schools) are talented enough to deserve a place at a prestigious university.

It needs to be identified whether students also agree with their parents' opinion about special high schools. In the study mentioned above (Jeon, 2018), those parents who sent their children to special high schools said their children were enjoying the school curriculum and very satisfied with the high school. However, some interviewees from general high schools in this study mentioned about what they heard from their friends from special high schools, and they felt the overly competitive atmosphere of those schools had made their peers selfish or like a 'studying robot' (from the interviews with E and G). Additionally, some other interviewees from special high schools also said that there were some tasks in high school that they had to do in order to enter a good university, but the reason why they had to be done was not clear (from the interviews with H and I).

It should be noted at this point that unlike those parents, students from both types of high school seem to put more weight on how much effort they made, rather than one's talent or ambition. From G's response, he seemed to think that he could enter the prestigious university mostly due to 'the amount of effort' that he had made in the high school, which could also be interpreted as the amount of time he had sacrificed for the sake of entering a good university. G's answer could be explained in detail by a student's answer below to a researcher's question that why he thinks it is fair to judge one's ability based on the person's CSAT score and university ranking.

I think, to some extent, the CSAT exam gives an objective and certified result to assess the achievement in one's twelve years of formal education. [...] It's evident that I gave up many things that other students enjoyed in high school to get a good score for the exam, though the result was not very good. I used to study more than ten hours daily to enter a university in Seoul. [...] When some students had a date at times, I did not even try it until after the CSAT exam because it could distract me from my study. However, those students who did not make an effort and enjoyed dating, all of them ended up with entering a university out of the capital city or a vocational college.

(Oh, 2013, pp.122–123)

In this context, it would be fair for G to have some advantages over other students at universities with lower rankings who might have made less effort than him, which seem to be a sort of reward for his sacrifice of pleasure and enjoyment in the high school life.

After all, meritocracy based on one's educational background is justified by both parents and students in this way: at the high school level, parents insist that some students (including their children) have the potential and a strong desire to enter a good university that others may not have. At the university level, students at higher-ranked universities insist that they might have made more effort than others at lower-ranked universities. Even though one successfully enters a prestigious university, however, the differentiation still exists among the students in the university in terms of the high school type. Ironically, 'the amount of effort' which they emphasise to differentiate them from others at lower-ranked universities, now seems to be the main factor that draws a line between the students from general and special high schools in the prestigious university; compared to the students from general schools, the students from special schools are likely to spend more time in high school on studying and additional activities that their schools promote, therefore they tend to recognise that they might have made more effort than the students from general high schools (from the interview with A). This situation makes both groups of students in the same university think it is unfair to them based on each group's stance.

4-3-2. Recognising unfairness at the community or at the social level

Perceived unfairness at the community level – degradation in high school

In general, most students in Korea start to get influenced by the pressure of the university entrance exam in high school. Under the current education system focusing on the university entrance exam, a student is mostly judged by academic performance in the high school (Kang,

2016a). To alleviate problems caused by competitiveness, the Student Human Rights Ordinance⁴⁶ has been in operation in some cities and provinces since the first announcement in 2010 by the local government of Gyeonggi Province near the capital city (Song, 2011; Choi, 2014a; Kwon, 2015). However, the ordinance has not been considered as effective in decreasing the tension and conflicts among the high school community, but merely changed the ways of controlling students (Kwon, 2015). Under the different form of control, students still witness or experience differentiation; in other words, discrimination in high school.

C: The motivation for being interested in studying law was, well...In high school, I saw some of my friends having difficulties with the teachers. [To me, what those teachers insisted at the moment did not make sense], and that made me have a doubt about things going on around me. [...] For instance, there was a school accommodation for students, having not many rooms. [...] When a student wanted to stay in the school accommodation, the student had to get a high score in an exam enough to be, say, in the top 40 among the 300 peers. Moreover, the competition continued in every semester; according to the result of the final exam in each semester, some students should be out of the accommodation for the newcomers. [However, when dealing with those things in the school] I think a student who has to commute a long distance should be considered [first to get the chance].

B: The ways of treating students in high school were...I could not agree with many parts of that at the beginning. Well, actually, I was the one who benefited from the system, so I did not say any complaint at the moment. [...] There were huge benefits for students with high academic performance in high school. For instance, a special class was opened for those students, but the slots were limited, and the cut-off for the class was based on each student's exam ranking. Unsurprisingly, the competition to get into the class was fierce among the intelligent students, and at times, some of them were very distressed by their friends due to the competition. In addition, when a student wants to enter a competition held by the high school [such as a discussion competition or an essay contest], the student should gain a certain level of academic performance at least at the moment of application. I felt that was...one's academic performance...can not be used [in measuring one's whole ability] [...] I thought that was a severe form of discrimination.

As mentioned before, differentiations in high school in Korea are mostly based on the academic performance of each student, and it often has a form of discrimination. C and B were witnesses

⁴⁶ The essential aim of this ordinance is to extend human rights protection to students and the youth in the country (Kwon, 2015).

of the discrimination in high school that happened to their friends or other students. Nevertheless, although they could avoid being targeted by the discrimination, those experiences seemed to affect them to some extent because they could see that the competition never ended even after getting in the group of intelligent students with the highest academic scores in the school. Thus, it seemed feasible to see that they could have a fear of being degraded in high school. From B's answer saying, 'at the beginning', this phrase might imply that after all, he decided to accept the system though he did not get it. As for C, the experience became one of the reasons for him to be interested in law which C described in the interview as 'a guideline to achieve maximum justice at the government level'. Whether both of them actually just accepted the conventional system of school management was not clear, but presumably, it was not easy for them to make changes in the high school system related to those discriminatory practices that they witnessed. Under the authoritarian high school management, students have become the target for control, and it should be conducted by teachers who are also assessed and controlled by authoritarianism (Davies, 1994). This is a contradiction for the teachers; they teach students about being an autonomous citizen in society whilst also insisting students follow the school rules, which makes students dependent on their decision (Smyth, 1991). Students are also able to see the contradiction and the teachers who cannot resist the system in most cases. That could be another example to the students, forcing them to accept the authoritarian system whatever happens in it to 'survive' in high school society, which seems to be in line with the implicit perception in the society that has long been prevalent since the financial crisis in 1997: 'when one could not help but doing something wrong to survive, the behaviour could be exempted from being under moral judgement at least' (Choi, 2010, p.407; Kim, 2015). Under the potential influence of the distorted perception dominating most members in society, some teachers tend to make blunt remarks or behaviours to some students about their academic performance and university application, which could hurt students.

H: In the second year of high school, I consulted my teacher about applying for universities. I found a booklet about universities for application on the teacher's desk. On the first page of the booklet, [I knew] the SKY university information was there, and the information list of other universities based on university rankings started from the next page. When I had a seat, my teacher just flipped the first page saying, 'this page is not for you'. [embarrassed chuckle] Therefore, I was...At the moment...I was a bit shocked [by the remark].

To H, apparently, it was a moment of degradation merely based on academic performance. She graduated from a special high school, which meant she could be one of the intelligent students

achieving high scores in middle school. From her interview, she was less likely to get used to the school's system that she described as 'rather forceful', and that resulted in damage to her academic performance during the first and second years in high school. The teacher's remark was shocking and annoying, she said, but she did not seem to think it was unfair maybe because it was due to a decline in her academic performance. Thus, she felt in the third year that she needed to recover the damage in her academic performance, but again she chose to do it in her way rather than to follow teachers' recommendations. After all, she could enter a prestigious university. Having the experience, she might become more confident in herself. In regard to her attitude towards her academic credentials⁴⁷, however, the experience seemed to make her aware of the importance of having good credentials in Korea, and to realise what she had got was decent, no matter what she had felt about the system of the high school.

At this point, it should be remembered that H's parents used to tell her that entering a special high school would be advantageous to her for going to a prestigious university. During the interview, H was asked whether she was thinking that going to a special high school turned out to be a good choice although she had not agreed with her parents at first, and she nodded in agreement. Among the interviewees, five of them including H answered that going to a special high school seemed to be favourable for having an offer from good universities, and some of them seemed to have a rather strong belief on it.

G: *If I went to [a special type] high school, and did exactly the same with what I had done, maybe I would have been able to enter a more high-ranked university [...] Because universities prefer some high schools? That would make a different result in applying for a university. [...] During my high school, I kept being told [that universities tend to prefer some specific high schools] and I thought that made sense. [...] Suppose that there are students at general high schools, and they apply for, say, A university. In high school, students who have a fifth level of academic performance can enter the university. On the other hand, students at some other schools having a third level cannot. There were many other cases like this which made me think it was not just a rumour. Some universities held an essay writing test as a type of entrance exam, you know. Let's say there was a university among them where not a few of the students at my high school entered for years. Before making an essay writing exam paper, the university sent a trial exam paper to my high school for mock test use.*

⁴⁷ For H's response reflecting credentialism, see *The prevalence of endogenous credentialism spreading in the education system* in Section 4-3-1.

D: [When thinking about the influence of high school types] *Well, I do not think it actually changes one's whole life, but it is likely to be relatively influential on applying for universities. [...] As for my high school, it was said that _____ and _____ universities do not tend to be favourable to us, and actually, during the early admission procedure, it seemed harder for us to receive an offer from them than students at some other high schools. On the contrary...yeah, there were also other universities which seemed to prefer students in my high school. [...] When one has a slightly lower CSAT score than other competitors which is an objective result, whether the student is at a special high school seems to make some advantages in applying for universities, I think. [...] It is not verified, [...] but based on my experiences, yes, it does.*

G and D were from the general group. Those examples that G mentioned had many details which could not be seen as fair. Based on what he said, even among general high schools, there seemed to be the implicit preference of universities for some of them, and those cases made G think that the degree of preference would be much more for special high schools. D also seemed to experience or hear about those suspicious cases. Unfortunately, their suspicion may not be groundless. In 2004, six universities were subjected to an investigation by the education ministry mainly provoked by the comment of a prestigious university's chancellor saying that '*we now should admit that the achievement gap in academic performance exists among high schools. In this regard, the universities which considered the gap [by implicitly making and applying high school rankings] in the assessment procedure for university admissions seemed to make a reasonable approach.*' (Shim, 2004) According to the report by the ministry, three of them had actually applied a sort of high school ranking score to their applicants (The Presidential Advisory Committee on Policy Planning, 2008, p.29). Furthermore, in 2009, some students and their parents filed a lawsuit against a university claiming that the university gave special high school students an advantage over general school students in its early admission procedure, and had a partial win in the first trial⁴⁸ (Yoon, 2010). Almost a decade has passed since the lawsuit, however, and it was surprising that not a few students including the interviewees still seemed to witness or hear about potential unfair cases about the process of university admissions. Among the interviewees from the special group, H and I admitted that they entered a special high school because it could be advantageous for them to enter a good university. Being influenced by parents at home, stimulated by the authoritarian high school system encouraging endless

⁴⁸ Despite the partial win in the first trial, the students and parents lost in the second trial as the judge regarded that adjusting special school students' academic performance records by the university in the admission procedure (the defendant) was conducted within the acceptable range (Lee, 2018c).

competition, and growing uncertainty in the university admissions procedure affected by incoherent policies, students cannot help but accept the rules of the competition which would become endogenous among them.

As D said in the interview, it was not certain that all those cases were confirmed as unreasonable, and the 'real' unfair cases could actually be very rare if they existed at all. The problem here is that it would be very hard for high school students, not to mention their parents, to give credit to the education system, especially in regard to university admissions. The looming discrimination institutionalised by the current education system is likely not only to make the competition more intense but also to produce some nasty side effects among students.

Perceived unfairness at the community level – degradation in the university

From the 1980s to 1990s, a small number of special high schools were established to find gifted students in foreign languages or natural sciences in the country, which were more likely to be an alternative school at the time (Kwon, 2017). In the late 2000s, with an increasing number of autonomous private high schools promoted by the conservative government, special high schools had become many parents' target for their intelligent children to have a good study environment at school (Kwon, 2017). Consequently, the number of students from special high schools increased a lot in prestigious universities; a news report showed statistics that among the matriculates at one prestigious university in 2016, the number of students from special high schools reached 44.6%, increasing 2.5 times over a decade, whilst the proportion of general high school students has reduced from 77.7% to 46.1% in the same period even though general high schools accounted for 86.2% of all academic high schools in that year (Shin, 2016). Those two large groups of students in a university now seem to play a role as invisible categories in differentiating students based on the perception of 'the amount of effort' in high school.

A: [For example] *In an online community of my university students, [some students often post anonymously that] students from general high schools seemed to enter the university with less effort [than students from special high schools]. [...] Moreover, some of them make explicit remarks about that in a gathering for a pint. I do not necessarily argue with them...but hardly agree [with them] ...Well, they could say they made more effort [than me in the high school], but I think they could make it because they were fully supported [by their parents or family and their high school]. [...] They say that I should have made an effort as much as they did [in a similar type of high school], but for me, [entering that type of high school] was very hard because I was not in the same [financial] situation as them. Therefore, when they simply count the number of hours they spent on studying in the high*

school and say because they spent more time on study, they deserve receiving an offer from the university, and we (general high school students) do not, I think their remarks are rather careless without understanding the situation of other students.

According to A's response, she experienced discriminatory attitudes or perceptions of some students from special high schools in the university. During the interview, she said she actually tried to apply for an international high school. When she knew that her parents could not afford it, however, she decided to enter a general high school instead. As of 2015, attending a special high school which was mostly private cost a lot of money, minimum two times to maximum ten times more than the cost for attending a typical general high school (Bong and Sun, 2015). Therefore, students such as A who wanted to enter a special high school but could not due to the unaffordable expense hardly agree with the argument of those from special high schools: nevertheless they might have spent more time than general high school students on doing extracurricular activities besides a regular schedule for studying in the high school, those activities and other programmes that special high schools ran for its students were known to be useful to make their student records noticeable at the stage of document evaluation in the university admission procedure, which rarely existed in general schools (Jin, 2016).

This phenomenon should be interpreted not only from the perspective of inequality in society but also from the perspective of acculturation among students which needs to be dealt with in the formal education sector. According to Green and Kynaston (2019, p.1), '[Education] is fundamental to creating who we are'. A number of studies also define that the aim of formal education in Korea is to learn how to understand each other and to be considerate on the basis of general education, encouraging students to participate in society in future as a democratic citizen (Lee, 2005; Gahng, 2015). From those definitions, as a part of the formal education system, a high school also needs to be a place where different types of students are mixed together to get to know each other. In this context, current special high schools seem to stand in opposition to those definitions as it plays a role in differentiating students by making a community of students from similar SES backgrounds, and the irony is that the proponent parents for special high schools are likely to favour differentiation, which was found in a qualitative study about parents' attitudes towards the current high school system.

Chung Sejin: *When doing group work [in a special high school], every student in the team is intelligent, so they deal with given tasks very well. [...] My child has been affected by those friends a lot, finding out herself what to do to progress. Therefore, [it is good that] we, parents, do not need to worry about her progress because she does all herself.*

Kang Gyuyeon: *Most of the students [in the special high school] tend to be very, very polite [to each other], and there are apparently no conflicts or school bullying. They are rarely stressed by those issues, so do not waste energy on it. Not much.*

* All names above are pseudonyms used in the source quoted (Jeon, 2018, p.237)

In the research, those parents argued that attending a special high school was good for their children for effective learning and emotional stability in the school. However, what they insisted could also be interpreted that they just wanted their children to focus on study without 'wasting' much energy on making friendships which led to learning how to live with others. Their narratives also sounded like they were not interested much in their children getting along with some other students who achieve less academically than their children, or have a different social background, although they did not say that explicitly. When making comparisons between parents of general and special high school students, Jeon (2018) pointed out that either group of parents rarely show interest in the contribution of education to the public good or social responsibility which formal education should aim at. Moreover, it was also captured that those parents also tended to think that general high schools were responsible for the current high school stratification, rather than to point at the institutionalised differentiation in the high school system due to the increasing number of special schools, which could be seen as being affected by the idea of marketisation in education policy. Some parents mentioned the negative impact of the high school stratification on students in both school types, but they thought it could be resolved to some extent by conducting character education (Jeon, 2018). Under the influence of those attitudes of parents, learning how to understand others in formal education seemed to become a low priority to students in high school.

In this regard, there were other interviewees saying that some students from special high schools in the university might lack understanding of others. They were from general high schools where applicants must pass an entrance exam, which is similar to the entrance procedure of special high schools. Both of them identified their high school type as a general school on the survey questionnaire, but they described their high school as different from typical general high schools.

D: *Many of my peers were from a high school which selects its students through an exam such as foreign language high schools. Well...what can I say? I feel that they cannot understand or do not have a certain empathy with other students who have taken a rather different route from theirs. Moreover, since I entered this university, I have felt quite often that they seem to think they deserve advantages over others because they think they did better in high school. I am very negative about those attitudes.*

G: [I said there should be some advantages based on the university rankings] *but it is to appreciate one's ability, not to discriminate others. Well, having perceptions such as 'we just want to get along with students like us' or 'you are not from the same [type of] high school with mine, so you might be less intelligent than me', and making some other students left out, it should not be acceptable.*

During the interview, it seemed that D and G did not experience discriminatory attitudes of other students from special high schools in the university. Unlike A, they were less likely to feel that they were mistreated by some peers from special schools. However, those two interviewees were negative about the attitudes of the students that they witnessed or heard. From A's response, it was found that some students from special high schools thought that they had made much more effort in high school than students from general high schools. There could also be an underlying meaning in the attitude because many intelligent students were in special schools; they had to bear fiercer competition than general school students. D and G might have been in the similar degree of competitiveness in high school because their high schools were also popular among intelligent students in middle school (G said that his high school was even more popular than some foreign language high schools in the region), but they did not show similar attitudes to that of the students from special high schools towards this issue.

Maybe, it would depend on one's personality: as for D, he said in the interview that he put significant value on his relationships with other people. Failure to enter a special high school could be the reason for showing a different attitude; actually, G applied for an international high school, but he did not pass the entrance exam. However, with the fact that no interviewee from special high schools mentioned the discriminatory attitudes towards students from general high schools or related issues such as the debate over a university baseball jacket with high school name added on it, it is persuasive to think that students from general and special high schools were the two main groups in conflict in this issue.

Perceived unfairness at the social level – SES differences and social prejudice

In this and following sections, recognising unfairness at the social level means that an interviewee regards an unfairness issue of interests as one of the results of social problems which have been debated for a long time, but have not been easy to find an effective solution for them because of its complicated aspects within society.

Firstly, there were three interviewees found who consciously or unconsciously tapped social inequality issues during the interview.

K: [In high school, I used to think about] *one's academic performance or economic capacity*

of one's family? Those kinds of things...There were many students who had a wealthy family background with good academic performance in my high school, so talking about those was rather...I did not try to talk about those things with other students, but I thought about them often. Many other students in the high school looked like thinking about those although they avoid explicitly talking about it. [...] [Not a few students seemed to be different on the inside and out] Maybe, it was just because of their personality, but many students in the high school were from rich families. It cannot be generalised, I think. When I captured [the difference] for the first time, however, [I thought] 'Is that the influence of their wealthy background?' And many of them [who were different on the inside and out] were from wealthy families, so I thought like that at the time. [...] Well...the fact that those students were from wealthy families was not the biggest part that affected me. It was just...I tried not to be influenced by them too much.

L: Well...I do not settle in a new place quickly, so during the first year in high school, I kept struggling. Because in the first year...I used to be in the group of top-ranked students [in the middle school], but in the foreign language high school, every student was very intelligent. [Students around me] were often gossiping about a luxurious family car of a student or another student's grandfather saying that he was the CEO of a big company. [...] Well...Surely, some students who had studied or lived overseas with their parents had a slightly higher score in English than other students. [...] I realised I could catch them up by making an effort when I received my academic record. [...] Yeah, I was worried about it at first, but I could catch them up indeed.

K and L graduated from a special high school. From K and L's responses, it was captured that they felt SES differences in the high school, but did not appear to experience class discrimination, also known as classism. In the interview, although K had difficulties in understanding those students' behaviours, probably she tried to keep her feelings inside so she could get along with them outwardly. However, she sounded like this was one of the most difficult elements of her high school life presumably because it was not easy for her to develop friendships with those students when she might have needed support from friendships (Mendelson and Aboud, 1999; Kang and Jeon, 2006) to keep up with the tough schedule in the school. K made a guess that those students in high school might have been affected by their family background, which would refer to their cultural capital inherited from families. Moreover, she appeared to think about the association between one's academic performance and SES in the high school, saying that not a few of the students in her high school attended well-known private cram schools or subscribed to an

expensive online lecture service besides the high school schedule, and it was considered as a must among the students. She said it actually made a difference in the assessment results when those students knew a lot more than others, sometimes more than the textbook, as they were under the relative grading system. According to what she said, it seemed that she could not resist receiving those private education services not to be left behind, but she said she kept wondering whether it was reasonable during her high school years. Maybe, that was why she wanted to emphasise at the end of the interview that she tried hard not to be swayed by her peers. For K, studying may have become something that costs a lot of money (she said 'honestly, I think good academic performance cannot be made up only with one's effort anymore'), which implies that she accepted the logic of private education to some degree no matter if she agreed with it or not. In this context, it was not surprising that when she was explaining her perception of welfare, she thought that providing government education subsidies for some primary, middle and high school students was a good example of welfare policy supporting them to be able to have access to private education to some extent, although the policy was actually aimed at reducing the financial burden on students from poor families to catch up with the basic level of access to education opportunities (The Ministry of Education, 2019). On the contrary, for L, the feeling did not seem to influence her as much as the case of K. In the interview, L mentioned about study groups as well which were run by private cram schools and many students around her kept participating in, but she did not. During the first year, she worried about whether she could catch them up, and while thinking about that, she seemed to be affected by SES differences. But she said she started to feel comfortable once she became settled and confident about her study methods. She preferred friendship in the high school because those friends in the high school were interested in study more than friends in the middle school, so she could easily share the common interest about studying with them, she said. In this respect, L's awareness of SES differences had affected her for a while, but the degree of the strength seemed to decrease. Although the degree of the feeling of differentiation that those two students had in high school did not appear to be similar, both of them seemed to have a good academic performance in a special high school where the competition among intelligent students was intense, which could be crucial to self-confidence in their high school life.

The third interviewee from a general high school also recognised the influence of SES on one's education but thought about it from the social mobility perspective.

F: Well...The social structure [in this country] seems to be...It looks like a kicking-away-the-

*ladder*⁴⁹ system preventing [upward] social mobility. I used to think that one of the most effective and tangible ways of [upward] mobility was having good educational credentials. However, good credentials could actually be [a sort of invisible asset] transferred by private education or in some other ways.

F said that she once talked about potential SES impact on one's education and social status with her friend in high school. From her answer above, it was apparent that having good academic credentials would be of interest to F in high school. She seemed to experience something in high school that triggered the change in her views about educational credentials, but due to the lack of interview skills, it was not captured in the interview. F was seen to deliberate on her awareness of SES impact on education, perceiving that educational credentials might not be a justification for one's ability anymore because it could be inherited by ways such as private education that people having more money can buy more. Before going to the general high school, she applied for an autonomous private high school (but did not receive an offer), and one of the reasons she wanted to enter the school was that the high school seemed to try to prevent its students from being affected by private education, she said. The high school she applied for seemed to be one of the boarding schools which did not allow its students to go to private cram schools, but her answer was still somewhat ironic; a longitudinal study that followed students from middle school through to high school discovered that the average spending on private education increased significantly during the middle school period, regardless of the student's academic high school type (Shin, 2017a), indicating that not a few of those cases are thought to focus on the competition to enter a special high school (Kim and Song, 2009; Shin, 2017a). Some parents advocating special high schools insist that in most cases, entering those schools is because those schools have a good quality curriculum with extracurricular activities which typical general high schools do not have, and it could later become advantageous over other high school students in university admissions (Jeon, 2018). In this vein, compared to the low average tuition fees for a general high school⁵⁰, the expensive tuition fees for a special high school could be seen that the expense of private education parents paid until the middle school period is replaced by a regular form of education expenditure in a special high school that parents hardly control, which would make students from poor families hesitate to apply for a special high school. What F said about the special high school was thought to be affected by the logic of the advocates of special high

⁴⁹ She seemed to quote the title of a book '*Kicking away the ladder: development strategy in historical perspective*' written by Chang, H. J.

⁵⁰ Though the tuition fees are low in general high schools, the number of general high school students having private education still seems to be high, especially in big cities, showing only 3.3% decrease from that of middle school students (Statistics Korea, 2019). However, the fact that parents at least have control over how much money they would spend on private education in this case makes a difference compared to the case of special high schools.

schools. Hence she was less likely to be sceptical about going to a special high school. It was not clear that her conversation with her friend about the influence of SES on education was related to the high school system. As F was one of the general high school students, however, it was expected that she could at least hear from friends about the cases of potential differentiation and disadvantages in terms of high school type. F was thought to be influenced by them to some extent. Therefore, it was feasible to interpret that she was more likely to think about educational stratification from the perspective of general high school students having a feeling of differentiation, regardless of her subjective SES and preference for the special high school.

Although those three cases above were captured in the context of recognising SES differences, all the interviewees talked about it in relation to education: awareness of the differences in the opportunities of having a private education, and academic credentials that could be inherited. It seemed to be natural because they were talking about their high school life or a conversation with friends in high school where a student was judged mostly by academic performance (Kang, 2016a). To put it another way, it might also mean that in high school, negative attitudes such as classism caused by SES differences could be relatively decreased towards students from poor families as long as they maintained a good academic performance. Consequently, those interviewees were more likely to be sensitive to the cases of differentiation in the education system rather than to other differentiation issues in society to which they could rarely make tangible changes themselves because they were the players who had to get a decent score in the arduous and intense competition in the system.

Secondly, there was another interviewee who talked about the family issue that seemed to make him feel differentiated.

G: *My family circumstances...are really good [emphasis], except for parental absence, everything in the family is good as my grandparents are wealthy? Something like that. [...]*
[As for the fact that I don't have parents] If I open it up, I would feel like...Honestly, I think people would judge me with prejudice. Well, no matter how much I achieve, people would say 'he [is one of those children without parents who] might have grown up in that [inadequate] family environment', maybe? That is why I normally do not like to open it up.

A body of research indicates that Korean society tends to consider grandparent families as a 'non-normal' family type, and children growing up in grandparent families are likely to be stigmatised on the basis of the stubborn perception of a 'normal' family which is consisted of parents and a child or children (Kim, 2009; An, Kim and Yeo, 2011, p.163). Furthermore, the biased perspective affects some children in grandparent families too much, and they put a stigma

on themselves as they keep feeling that they belong to a different type of family from that of their peers, devaluing themselves (Kim, 2009; An, Kim and Yeo, 2011). There are some studies arguing that grandparent families may do better than other family types in bringing up children who lost their parents; a number of studies comparing grandparent families with divorced or single-parent families indicate brighter sides of grandparent families than other family types in promoting children's psychological stability and social adjustment (Solomon and Marx, 1995; Kim, 2004; Hayslip and Kaminski, 2005; Choi, 2006a). Nevertheless, it should be admitted that social stigma on the children in grandparent families is still a crucial issue; along with the problems in communication between grandparents and grandchildren caused by the generation gap, many grandparent families are also exposed to financial difficulties (Hayslip and Kaminski, 2005; Yoon and Jang, 2012; Kim, 2017) which lead them to welfare benefits. When the fact that they are the beneficiaries of welfare policies is added to the distorted non-normal family perception, the stigma gets stronger in school within peer relations, and it is reinforced in the media by emphasising the weaknesses of those families under the name of promoting charity (Kim, 2009).

Although G seemed to grow up having an affluent family background, he also appeared to have felt differentiated. From what he emphasised that his family was 'really' good, he was seen to have been well-supported both emotionally and financially, and it was captured from his other responses during the interview. G appeared to have difficulties at times in communicating with his grandparents when they asked him to follow rather strict rules for daily life, but they were also very supportive of him and his decisions regarding education, he said. Despite the support and his good academic performance, however, G still seemed to be afraid of being stigmatised. It was not sure whether he had any experience of being exposed to blunt talks about the non-normal family prejudice, but he might have heard about the social prejudice at least, and feared being differentiated by peers or people who actually did not know anything about him probably because of the bias he expressed that 'he [is one of those children without parents who] might have grown up in that [inadequate] family environment' (from the interview with G). Additionally, as he was in an affluent and supportive family, he did not look 'different' in high school from other students with parents unless he told the difference to his friends (and he said he did not). From the financial support perspective, his family might have given him better support than others. This could be another reason that made him feel intrusive to the prejudice, which was also based on the attitudes of pity towards him. Hence, G is likely to be sensitive towards the distorted perception of family and to feel that it is unfair to be judged by that, because the

potential bias against him normally comes from what he could not control at all, and his life without parents is not that miserable and impoverished like some cases shown in the media.

Perceived unfairness at the social level: tax loopholes and the faulty welfare system

During the interviews, some of those interviewees expressed their distrust about transparency and efficiency of government services. There have been studies pointing out that Korean adolescents are less likely to trust the government, which appears to be affected by the social climate that has been giving less credit to the government (Jung and Cheong, 2012; Kim, Oh and Lee, 2015), and one of them infers that the social climate in Korea might have been built by political apathy drawn from the strong influence of the emphasis of political neutrality in society (Jung and Cheong, 2012). Apart from one's political stance, however, some interviewees actually experienced or witnessed unfairness in society that could make them sceptical about the government services.

I: Although income polarisation has been a big social problem, in my opinion, recently, tax evasion or corruption seems to be affecting society further. Therefore, I think [the government] should focus on eradicating these issues of moral hazard, rather than the redistribution.

M: I have heard from my friends that some people who run a business or are self-employed seem to understate income substantially. Therefore, [...] [some students from those families minimising their income] pay a very little amount of money for the tuition fees of the university [under the support by the government]. They even receive a scholarship at times [maybe due to their low-income decile], and I found one of them was bragging about travelling using that money. Whenever I see that I feel...I cannot receive those benefits as I belong to the tenth income decile. However, my family is not that affluent, so paying my university tuition fees is actually a big burden. Hence, when I see those cases around me...I think there is something wrong in the procedure of one's income declaration. [...] I feel like being honest in income declaration for taxation seems to be disadvantageous.

D: I think the system [of welfare service delivery in Korea] has not been effective yet. For example, my family has benefited from [childcare] services, although we do not desperately need it as we can afford [private services]. On the contrary, some families who really need that help cannot even apply for a childcare centre because they must work at the time when people are queueing for the service as it is on a first-come, first-served basis. For some welfare services that one's application is necessary, some people who need them

do not know how to apply for them as they have less knowledge about it. [...] I...I do support welfare policies and think that giving [social] support for people in need is good, but the delivery system does not seem to function very well as it was supposed to do.

What I and M pointed to in common was tax evasion. I just mentioned it as an urgent issue that the government should focus on, and it seemed that she was affected by what the media was reporting about corruption and tax evasion problems at the time. On the other hand, M's narrative was about what she experienced and heard from her friends in university. It was not sure whether those students that M mentioned were from families committing tax evasion in practice, but M seemed to feel a gap between their official income decile and actual financial situation. As the university abolished scholarships based on one's academic performance and decided to provide scholarships only for students from low-income deciles, M had no opportunity to apply for a scholarship in the university, she said. Under those suspicious circumstances, it was not surprising that M felt it was unfair.

Whilst I and M pointed at what others did as the reason for their perceived unfairness in society, D mentioned his family as an example of less effective welfare provision. During the interview, he said he used to live in a country which was known as having an advanced welfare system during his middle school period, and from his answer, it was seen that he was impressed by the inclusiveness that the system of the country was pursuing. Despite the welfare experience, D appeared to become sceptical towards the effectiveness of the current social welfare delivery system in Korea, giving examples of low accessibility of the needy although they were the target of the system. He kept emphasising the need 'to be realistic' when talking about welfare provision.

From the welfare attitudes point of view, the low level of trust in government systems found among those interviewees could be critical because it could lead to negative attitudes towards welfare policies as people having low levels of trust in government also think that the system would not function well to help people in need, and it would waste the budget (Lee and Park, 2016). In this vein, it seems plausible that the distrust that I and D had about government systems affected their attitudes of being reluctant to expand the scope of welfare provision in some degree. As for M, however, she showed support for expanding the scope of welfare beneficiaries to the middle class to include the self-employed who are likely to earn more than they declare to the tax authority; when they are sure of benefitting from welfare policies, they could be motivated in faithful tax compliance because they would get this back through welfare benefits, she said. It was interesting that M had a rather different approach from the two other interviewees to deal with the social problem she mentioned, although she experienced the

potential cases of the system faults and felt it was disadvantageous to her. It was not clear whether M was less likely to be affected by the tendency towards low trust in government systems than other two interviewees and based on the results of the survey in the first phase, those three interviewees seemed to have relatively similar family SES and degree of support for the government intervention to redistribution. Unlike I and M, D was from a general high school, but the high school seemed to be as popular as a special one to intelligent middle school students. The noticeable difference of M from I and D was that in the survey, she turned out to be more inclined to ST values whilst the other two interviewees were inclined to SE ones. For M, her ST value inclination should not be ignored when interpreting her answer above comparing to the answers of I and D. However, it should also be noted that there was another interviewee in the special group who showed a progressive attitude towards income redistribution to the middle class during the interview; J appeared to be similar to M in the SES and the degree of support for government intervention in redistribution, but she was inclined to SE values. Consequently, one's degree of trust about government systems or value inclination could explain one's welfare attitude to some extent, but there seems to be something else influencing their welfare attitudes.

4-3-3. Welfare attitudes: expanding the beneficiaries to the middle class

In this section, each interviewee's attitude towards welfare policies is going to be classified based on their answers in the interview about one's perception of social welfare including income redistribution, and the expansion of the beneficiaries to the middle class. Before doing the classification, two points need to be clarified.

Firstly, when it comes to one's attitude towards welfare policies, it is based on the concept of three welfare regime types⁵¹ suggested by Esping-Andersen (1990); among the three types, the liberal welfare regime type appears to be the closest to the characteristics of Korea's current welfare regime, as a number of studies identify its significant move towards a liberal regime, although it still has developmental and Confucian features (Choi, 2012; Abrahamson, 2017). Being affected by the strong liberalism in modern welfare politics in the country (Choi, 2012), it was assumed that the baseline attitude towards welfare policies was of a liberal welfare regime. Hence it is going to be labelled as a 'liberal welfare attitude'. As Esping-Andersen describes the characteristics of the liberal type of welfare states (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p.26), the outlook of liberal attitudes towards redistribution in this research is also based on the description: the main characteristic of liberal attitudes is to emphasise **focusing the benefits on the poor**. Under the main thought of residualism, people having liberal attitudes are likely to be **sensitive to the**

⁵¹ For the details of the three ideal welfare regime types, see Section 2-1-1. *The three ideal types of welfare regime*.

potential waste of the budget of welfare policies, which they think could undermine its effectiveness and efficiency. They are also likely to think that the beneficiaries should make an effort at least to get better through **self-responsibility**. On the other hand, when one shows attitudes out of those liberal characteristics, it is going to be labelled as a 'progressive attitude'. However, it does not mean that the attitude is likely to be of a social-democratic regime which is described as the most progressive type in Esping-Andersen's welfare regime classification.

Secondly, in the interview, a definition of the middle class was not clearly given to the interviewees to encourage them to rely on their perception about it, not on any academic definitions. The rough description of the middle class that they were given instead was based on the perception of the public identified in some studies: According to the results of surveys conducted in 2009 and 2013, it was captured that there was a huge gap between the definition of the middle class by OECD⁵² and the perception of Koreans about the middle class (Won, Ko and Kim, 2013; Lee, 2013), especially the gap in the size of assets that would mostly be made up by housing (Lee, 2013b). In the 2013 survey, 54.9% of the respondents who belonged to the middle class in practice perceived themselves as belonging to the lower social classes, expecting that the middle class would have over three times more assets than that of the definition of OECD (Lee, 2013b). In this regard, relying on one's perception was thought to be effective for having coherent answers from the interviewees because they were less likely to be familiar with OECD's definition of the middle class, and the definition could confuse them during the interview if they were asked to consider it.

Liberal welfare attitudes

Although an overwhelming 85.6% of the survey participants (89 out of 104) 'agreed' or 'agreed strongly' with government intervention in income redistribution, it turned out in the interview phase that the support did not necessarily mean to expand the range of provision of the benefits to overall levels of social status. As it was expected from the trajectory of dominant liberal welfare politics in the country (Choi, 2012), many interviewees seemed to be affected by liberalism to some degree. Among the interviewees having liberal attitudes, however, differences were found from the details in policy applications.

There were interviewees who showed relatively clear liberal attitudes in terms of the liberal characteristics mentioned above, classified as having liberal welfare attitudes.

⁵² According to the OECD's report released in 2019, middle-income households were defined as households earning between 75% and 200% of the median national income (OECD, 2019, p.19). The median national income of a family of four people in Korea is 4,613,536 Korean Won (about £3,076) per month in 2019 (Statistics Korea, 2018).

C: *A child who was born in a wealthy family has got a lot [of advantages] literally just because of luck...That does not come from making one's efforts. [...] I think [welfare policies] should be promoted in a progressive way, although there could be many opponents against it. [...] [I do not agree with expanding the scope of beneficiaries to the middle class] because...people who have difficulties with ensuring basic living standards should be the top priority in applying social welfare policies, I think.*

I: *I think income redistribution is necessary for helping people struggling with financial hardship and making ends meet [...] Recently, tax evasion or corruption seems to be affecting society further [than income polarisation]. Therefore, I think [the government] should focus more on eradicating these issues of moral hazard, rather than the redistribution. [...] Maybe, when the redistribution for the poor is conducted effectively, then it would be worth having a think [about expanding the beneficiaries]. However, it seems hard for me to agree that the current system has been doing well for the poor. [...] It appears to be a waste of public resources to share them with the middle class, though there are still people in needs.*

G: *For people who could go to school or have a job, and who could live with their family without having much trouble such as huge debt, though not affluent, I think they do not have to be supported [by the government] [...] It seems more reasonable [to spend the money] on expanding public facilities that many people could share. [...] Middle-class inclusive welfare policies? I do think it is not necessary. [...] Rather than investing [the budget for those policies] which seem to be inefficient, alleviating income polarisation in the society [using the budget] seems to be more imperative. When the mitigation system successfully settles down, then it would be worth thinking about those policies for the middle class, I think.*

Although C commented that welfare policies should be 'progressive', it appeared to mean in the context that the amount of support for the poor should be increased. Those interviewees were clearly seen to have liberal welfare attitudes based on the narratives about appropriate welfare beneficiaries (C and I) and who should be excluded from them (G). With the main liberal idea, they also expressed negative opinions about the expansion of welfare beneficiaries to the middle class or others who could make a living although they did not belong to the middle class; I seemed to have a low level of trust in the government systems, so she disagreed with the expansion which could undermine the current degree of effectiveness of the policies, whilst G's concern was more about the efficiency of welfare expenditure. On the other hand, for C, the

reason for his opposition to expanding the beneficiaries to other social classes was only about the matter of eligibility for the benefits, which seemed to be the most strict liberal welfare attitude among those of the three interviewees: when C was asked about expanding the scope of welfare beneficiaries, he defined the scope of appropriate welfare beneficiaries by insisting that whether one was able to make a living should be the standard of the eligibility. Unlike the other two interviewees, C did not add any other reasons for the standard in the way that I and G did. This could be interpreted that for C, the narrow standard itself became the reason for his opposition.

Pragmatic liberal welfare attitudes

Despite holding liberal welfare attitudes that welfare policies should be concentrated on the poor, some interviewees also held somewhat positive opinions about welfare provision to the middle class in some areas of social services that were most helpful for improving quality of life. Considering a general improvement in people's recognition of the living standard, they were classified as having 'pragmatic' liberal welfare attitudes.

L: I think expanding welfare beneficiaries [to the middle class] should be implemented in some limited areas. That is to say, financial support is...Well, they do not have any problems with making a living. Therefore, cultural activities or those kinds...Not in the areas of financial aids for household income, but in the areas for improving quality of life, the scope of welfare provision needs to be expanded [to the middle class], I think. In the long term, the expansion would also be helpful for the poor [in increasing the amount of support for them].

B: Well...I think there are some unnecessary and inefficient elements that should be removed from the current welfare policies. For instance, I think the standards for providing basic pension benefits should be based more on the size of assets that one has than on one's age. Support for childcare services? This should also be provided only to the badly off. [...] As for social services, except for any financial aids for income, [expanding the scope of beneficiaries to the middle class] seems to be fine in the areas of supporting cultural or leisure activities to improve quality of life.

A: [As for the lower limit that social welfare should guarantee] Well...I think it should be more than the minimum cost of living. [Thinking] Hmm...When pursuing my goal, I do not have to worry about my livelihood at least [if I could get the level of support]? [...] The budget for welfare is limited, so it is a matter of priority in distributing the budget.

Therefore, it seems reasonable to provide the money for people in need first. The distribution for the poor is still not enough, hence it seems too early to think about expanding the scope of welfare beneficiaries. [...] I think [the expansion] might be acceptable only in some limited areas, but it does not seem to be possible to expand the scope of the beneficiaries [to the middle class] in all welfare policies.

D: *I think, everyone has a right to receive welfare benefits regardless of each individual's income [...] People with lower incomes should receive certain types of welfare benefits that they need most, and the middle class would need some welfare benefits, too. [...] Regarding the question as to whether welfare benefits should be provided to the middle class as well, I would say yes, but the benefits should be provided on a sliding scale based on one's level of economic capacity, I think. [...] My opinion is that welfare policies should be made from a realistic perspective, [...] and there is no need to increase the number of inefficient welfare policies which have a lower output than input into them, I think.*

Among those four, L and B had something in common that they might think the middle class would also deserve benefits of some welfare policies supporting cultural or leisure activities from a quality of life perspective. In Korea, amid a persistent work culture that values hard and long-time working, there have been growing worries that the quality of life in society is still left behind compared to the growth in material living conditions (Oh and Cho, 2016; Maeil Business News Korea, 2019). According to the annual Better Life Index (BLI)⁵³ report announced in 2019 by the OECD, Korea ranked 33rd in life satisfaction and 37th in work-life balance among 40 countries (OECD, 2019). In this regard, low quality of life is thought to be a general problem in the country regardless of one's SES. L and B seemed to be influenced by the worrying sentiment, leading to a less strict attitude towards the provision of some welfare services to the middle class. Similarly, A appeared to have a pragmatic liberal attitude: she commented on the limited possibility of including the middle class in welfare beneficiaries, but also thought that social welfare should guarantee not only a minimum living cost, but also a basic level of life quality.

Unlike those three interviewees insisting that helping the poor should be the top priority of social welfare with allowing limited benefits for the middle class, D was favourable in principle to pursuing universal welfare, which seemed to be influenced by welfare experiences when he was living in an advanced welfare state during his middle school. During the interview, he mentioned

⁵³ Since 2011, the OECD has announced the BLI every year to compare well-being internationally based on the eleven essential topics about material living conditions and quality of life. The topics are as follows: housing, income, jobs, community, education, environment, civic engagement, health, life satisfaction, safety, and work-life balance. For more details, see <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/>

the idea of universal welfare three times. Recognising the low effectiveness of the current welfare delivery system in the country, however, he appeared to become sceptical towards the expansion of the beneficiaries, because he found there were systematic problems such as bureaucracy-bounded opportunism, making some people in need have difficulties in accessing welfare benefits.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, he did not seem to be negative to providing welfare benefits to the middle class as long as it would be provided on a sliding scale based on one's economic capacity. In this regard, for D, taking a liberal welfare attitude was a realistic approach under the current welfare delivery system to minimise potential waste of the welfare budget at least.

Progressive welfare attitudes

Despite the prevalent individualism and self-responsibility among university students (Oh, 2011) which were core ideas of welfare liberalism (Esping-Andersen, 1999), some interviewees showed somewhat positive attitudes towards expanding welfare beneficiaries to the middle class, and each of them had a different point of view about that. It was interesting to see that on the basis of liberal welfare ideas concerning the poor as the top priority of welfare policies, policy effectiveness and budget efficiency, and deservingness of welfare beneficiaries having self-responsibility, they also suggested rather bold ideas to solve problems related to the sustainability and effectiveness of the welfare system. Compared to the two types of liberal attitudes, their attitudes were classified as 'progressive', although the degree of progressiveness varied among them.

F: For social inequality or polarisation in wealth which is known as side effects of a market economy, it could be compensated [by implementing welfare policies] to manage the market well? [...] Efficiently providing welfare benefits to the needy seems to be most important. [...] Therefore, implementing universal basic income? I am negative about that. [...] When the middle class really need [social] help, I think they should also get helped. [...] [I found] some students officially belonging to ninth- or tenth-income decile were excluded from the government scholarships, but in practice, their financial circumstances were less than the official level⁵⁵. On the contrary, there have been news reports about some people running a business who intentionally understate their income to receive the scholarships [for their children] although they earn a lot more than that. In this regard, I think the 'real'

⁵⁴ For more details of D's response about this, see *Perceived unfairness at the social level: tax loopholes and the faulty welfare system* in Section 4-3-2.

⁵⁵ When calculating a student's family income estimate for the scholarships, the family's property is also estimated and converted into a form of monthly income, not to mention monthly household income. Therefore, when a family owns an expensive house, it could increase the estimation of their household income. For more details about the income estimate, see: https://www.kosaf.go.kr/ko/tuition.do?pg=tuition04_09_03&type=scholar

middle class should be included in the scope of welfare beneficiaries anyway, maybe below the top 50%?

M: [As for including the middle class into welfare beneficiaries] *I agree with the argument. The middle class seem to play a critical role in the taxation because many of them are likely to run a business or to be self-employed, and unlike employees, they will declare income themselves to the tax authority. Unless they think they need to declare the right information about their income and pay the right amount of tax, they could be tempted to commit tax evasion. Therefore, they need to be motivated for the right declaration. [...] Welfare benefits could play a role for the people to make them think that in the long term, paying the right amount of tax would be better for them as well.*

At first glance, F and M appeared to have reached a similar conclusion as both of them agreed with expanding welfare beneficiaries to the middle class. As for the aim and the degree of the expansion, however, there were differences found between them. Emphasising that the poor should be the top priority of welfare policies, F also mentioned expanding welfare beneficiaries to some of the middle class. For F, her perception of the 'real' middle class seemed to refer to people who have the median income, based on her words; 'below the top 50%'. Regarding the OECD's definition of the middle class (see footnote 52), the 'real' middle class was likely to be restricted to the lower-middle class. In this regard, that F agreed with the expansion of welfare beneficiaries seemed to be in the extended context of her liberal welfare ideas to reduce the financial burden faced by many families. On the other hand, M's narrative was more about the fundamental problems in the taxation for funding welfare expenditure and sustainability of welfare. Rather than thinking about how to spend the welfare budget, M focused on how to increase the welfare budget by reducing potential tax evasion attempts and motivating taxpayers to pay the right amount of money to take it back again in the form of welfare benefits. In this regard, the scope of the middle-class M mentioned was likely to be wider than F's perception, because M talked about some of them who might try to attempt tax evasion to hide that they earned more money from their businesses. Consequently, compared to F, M seemed to have a more progressive welfare attitude.

H: [For people in difficulties that they cannot overcome without help] *Well...[metaphorically] people need to be supported as long as they are running [to improve their situation], but not for some people who just want help and do nothing? [...]*

I thought the difference [of the two arguments⁵⁶] is about the final destination of welfare that each argument is aiming at. When the middle class is included in welfare beneficiaries, [...], I feel that the ultimate goal would be trying to make everyone be affluent. [...] [As for the argument that the middle class should be included in welfare beneficiaries to get more political support] I think the argument really makes sense. Suppose there is an argument that welfare benefits should be provided only for the poor, I wonder whether most people would really support the argument in practice. [...] Even though the middle class have enough money to make a living and do something they enjoy, there is still an undeniable gap between them and the rich, and the middle class may also desire to live like the rich. When they keep being told that they should wait until the support for the needy is completed, [...] Maybe, they think 'why should we always be excluded from being supported?'

K: *I think the concept [of social welfare] is trying to equalise opportunities for the people who have less access to them than others. [...] I support the expansion of welfare beneficiaries to the middle class. [...] [Like Scandinavian countries do] Uh...The tax rate should be increased to some extent to improve the quality of welfare benefits, and the scope of the beneficiaries also needs to be expanded to the middle class, I think. However, [the expansion] must not undermine the benefits for the poor.*

H's narrative suggested that the self-responsibility of welfare beneficiaries was important to her, which stemmed from welfare liberalism. Therefore, it was somewhat surprising that H also mentioned about the potential desire for welfare among the middle class, and she thought their desire should be treated in the same way as the poor from a political standpoint. It was not clear if H self-identified as belonging to the middle class; hence her attitude should not simply be interpreted as defending class interests. Additionally, H's perception of the middle class was 'people who have some time and money to do something they want, though they are not very affluent' (from the interview with H), and the researcher told her the public perception of the middle class, which might sound a little more affluent than her perception. Nevertheless, she expressed a positive attitude towards including the middle class into welfare beneficiaries, and maybe it was mostly because of 'the ultimate goal' (from the interview with H) that could make more people feel like they are supported by the government, implying the important role of

⁵⁶ When interviewing, as the last basic interview question, interviewees were asked to think about two arguments: the first one is that the middle class should be included in welfare beneficiaries to get more political support for welfare policies and to improve its sustainability; the second one is that welfare benefits should be focused on the poor to improve effectiveness of the policies and efficiency of the budget.

welfare politics. Similarly, K was also positive towards the expansion of welfare beneficiaries to the middle class, and it was impressive that she kept the positive attitude although she was told that her high school peers whom she had felt SES differences could be from the middle-class families. K also supported the tax rate increase to achieve both quantitative and qualitative improvements in welfare benefits alongside the expansion. From the cases of H and K, it may be seen that the influence of welfare politics and debates that have been made could make people think about the welfare state and its impact on their life from a political perspective.

J: I think [the concept of social welfare] is to alleviate...uh...severe inequality in wealth among people, although it does not mean to make them financially equal. In addition, [social welfare] also plays a role to guarantee an appropriate standard of living and opportunities to improve one's economic status. [...] [Appropriate standard of living means] maybe the minimum cost of living? or the minimum wage? [...] Guaranteeing opportunities [to everyone] ...seems crucial in social welfare, and the idea of providing basic income in the recent discussions also sounds quite... persuasive. [...] Umm...I used to agree with [the liberal welfare ideas] [...] [Thinking about the recent discussions of basic income, I found] Doing a means test also costs a huge amount of money, and the middle class...If they could have a new source of income [by being included in welfare beneficiaries], I think they would spend the money on things productive [for the society]. [...] Since I started to receive a financial aid⁵⁷ [from the local government for young people], [...] welfare benefits could have a huge influence [on people] ...and it has the power to encourage people a lot to change their life. Yeah, I feel like that.

From her narrative above, J appeared to be in the middle of changing her attitude from welfare liberalism to rather progressive welfare ideas; on the one hand, she thought guaranteeing one's proper economic standard of living by welfare policies would mean guaranteeing the minimum living cost. On the other hand, she was also supportive of the concept of universal basic income as she had an experience of receiving a similar type of financial support from the local government. Among all of the interviewees, J and D mentioned their welfare experiences. For D, he had the experience when living in a country of advanced welfare regime pursuing universalism. When he came back and found some faults and ineffectiveness in the welfare delivery system in Korea, he returned to a liberal welfare attitude because he could not give

⁵⁷ In Korea, there have been increasing number of local governments providing financial support for young people when they reach a certain age range. In most cases, this support is means-tested. As for Gyeonggi Province, however, the support called 'Youth Dividend' is provided merely based on the age and the length of residence in the province, hence it is thought to be one of partial basic income types.
(for more details about the dividend, see http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/795530.html)

credit to the government system.⁵⁸ Unlike D, J had her welfare experience in the country, and she said she changed her views about welfare policies because of that experience. Maybe, the experience made her think that it could be possible to build an advanced welfare system in Korea as well. As Arts and Gelissen (2001) argued, J seemed to prefer universal welfare policies mostly by the welfare experience she had, and also became positive towards social welfare itself presumably under the influence of welfare debates in society.

Finally, there was one more interviewee with a progressive welfare attitude. During the interview, E consistently expressed strong support for universal welfare policies, and welfare liberalism was seldom found in her responses;

E: I think...I don't look very positive about my future, do I? Honestly, I feel a little...No, I am very anxious [about my future]. [...] I am worried whenever I heard the news about the unemployment rate increase among the youth. [...] The rich always become successful whatever they try. There are some people who failed to achieve success, blaming themselves saying that it was just because they did not do their best. However, it seems like people who were born in an upward economy are more likely to achieve success than people in a downward economy, isn't it? [...] [I think Scandinavian countries are the ideal model of alleviating social inequality] Income in those countries is known to be less polarised [than in other countries] [...] At times, I think, is a CEO of a company really ten million times more precious than a cleaner to be deserved to have that more amount of payment?

During the interview, although she belonged to the top-class group of students in academic performance in the country, E appeared to think herself as not the right type of person to fit in the conventional social hierarchy, and this self-awareness seemed to increase her anxiety about the future in some degree. E appeared to be a proponent for universal welfare mostly because of the anxiety with the recognition that inequality caused by social structure implicitly became a matter of individual responsibility, which Titmuss (1968) rightly pointed out. All in all, E realised that her anxiety (which many others in the society might also have) could hardly be released by the individual level of effort. As she repeatedly said that '[the government] needs to get more tax to redistribute the money to overall [social classes]' (from the interview with E), it was interpreted that she understood social welfare is not only to help the poor but also to support all social classes in various ways, which seemed enough to be classified to a progressive welfare attitude, certainly the most progressive attitude among all the interviewees.

⁵⁸ For more details of D's response about this, see *Perceived unfairness at the social level: tax loopholes and the faulty welfare system* in Section 4-3-2.

When identifying each interviewee’s welfare attitudes, the presumption that the interviewees’ baseline attitudes towards welfare might be of a liberal welfare regime turned out to be plausible because a majority of the interviewees expressed ideas of liberal welfare states in some degree in the interview. Although E showed relatively strong support for universalism in welfare, it was not very sure whether E clearly understood all the terms about welfare that she said. As most interviewees were less likely to be exposed to information about welfare policies and welfare terminology in school, they did not seem to clearly know the meaning of words they were saying at times during the interview. Therefore, some of them appeared to position themselves as having contradictory welfare attitudes, which was a rather challenging part in identifying interviewees’ welfare attitudes. However, each interviewee’s attitude was not categorised by simple measurements such as the number of liberal ideas mentioned in the interview but by the context telling how they hope welfare policies be promoted in future. Those three types of welfare attitudes above were the result of the classification based on the context. Strictly speaking, there could be sub-categories identified in each welfare attitude type, but it needs further research.

4-3-4. Measuring subjective status: community status and potential SES in future

In the middle of the interview, each interviewee was asked to answer ladder tests to identify one’s subjective community status and expectation of potential SES in future (Adler and Stewart, 2007). It was marking where they thought they were on the ladder of the community (community test) and they expected to be on the ladder of SES in future (SES test).

Table 11. Ladder test results

ID	High school type	Welfare attitude	Community status	Expecting SES	Value specific	Status down	SIOPS
D	General	Pragmatic liberal	1	1	SE		73
C		Liberal	4	2	SE		64
F		Progressive	3	5-6	ST	Down	63
G		Liberal	1	3	ST	Down	54
E		Progressive	2	7	ST	Down	47
B		Pragmatic liberal	3	5	SE	Down	46
A		Pragmatic liberal	3	6	SE	Down	26
I	Special	Liberal	3	3	SE		78
M		Progressive	1	7	ST	Down	70
J		Progressive	2-3	13	SE		62
L		Pragmatic liberal	4	4	ST		60
H		Progressive	4	3	SE		52
K		Progressive	4	3	ST		42

To amplify what interviewees felt and clearly reflect it in the test, the community test was conducted at the end of the questions/answers about high school life, and the SES test, at the

end of the questions/answers about university life and their future. Each interviewee's answer is shown in Table 11 alongside their value inclination and welfare attitude category, sorted by SIOPS scores in descending order. The most interesting point in this part was that interviewees in the special group were likely to put themselves on the same or higher status in the SES ladder test than in the community ladder test. In poorer communities, people tend to choose a lower ladder in the SES test than in the community test as they may think SES is decided in terms of financial status, education level and occupation, whilst community status depends on their status in the local community (Adler and Stewart, 2007). In this study, a local community refers to each individual's high school, and SES indicates their potential status in society in future. In the special group, except for M, most interviewees placed themselves on the same or higher rung in the SES test than in the community one. On the other hand, in the general group, most interviewees chose a lower rung in the SES test except for C and D who seemed to be influenced by their higher objective SES on the subjective one (Kim and Shim, 2016). When comparing interviewees with lower SIOPS scores in the two groups, those in the special group showed a similar pattern to their group peers with a higher SIOPS score. This seemed to underpin the argument of Choi and Yoon (2018) to some extent that for some students from lower SES backgrounds, entering a special type-high school could be an opportunity to overcome disadvantages by utilising rich resources provided by the high school.

The upward choice of the special group interviewees in the SES test compared to the result of the community test could be interpreted differently; those interviewees in the special group might have been rather intimidated in high school, for example by the achievement-oriented school climate (Kang and Jeon, 2006), which needs further research. In this respect, M seems to be an extraordinary participant, and her answer that she *'regards a job as a tool for achieving an abstract goal [that she pursues]'* (from the interview with M) might explain her tendency of choice. It seems plausible to see M as the representative of ST value inclined, but it should not be ignored that she seems to be from an economically and culturally stable family which could be helpful to make one coherently devoted to pursuing values (Achterberg and Houtman, 2009; Kulin and Svallfors, 2013).

4-4. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the qualitative and quantitative data analyses and its findings. In the qualitative analysis, the objective stratification between the two high school types has been identified in two dimensions. In the SES dimension, the special group was likely to have higher SES backgrounds than the general group. Although both groups generally showed similarity in the objective SES, the special group showed higher status than the general group in the two

variables representing the location of family home which generally concerns house prices and the family's dominant occupation prestige score. In the cognitive dimension, through the theoretical lens by Kulin and Svallfors (2013), the special group was also likely to have higher SES; with the cognitive connection between values and the degree of support for income redistribution, the special groups held stronger and coherent connection whilst the general group showed a weaker and incoherent cognitive connection. It was interesting that the general group showed a strong, positive association between the SE values and the support for redistribution, which was different from the assumption of the theoretical lens. This unanticipated result necessitated the follow-up research outlined at the beginning of the qualitative phase.

In the qualitative analysis, there were two main aspects captured from the narratives of the interviewees. Firstly, most of the interviewees seemed to be affected more or less by prevalent credentialism and meritocracy as university rankings seemed to be their biggest interest. Some of them emphasised the amount of effort they had made to enter the prestigious university, and they appeared to think that the effort could justify the potential advantages they might have in the labour market in future as a graduate of a prestigious university. Secondly, interviewees' degrading experiences under unfair circumstances at the community level (high school and university) or at the social level (social problems and faulty social system) might contribute to forming residual welfare attitudes. At the social level, unfair degradation by social prejudice also seemed to contribute to residual welfare attitude. With the interviewees' welfare attitudes emerged from their narratives, they were classified into three welfare attitude types: liberal, pragmatic liberal, and progressive type, which meant far less liberal. Finally, for the ladder test results concerning the subjective community status and expecting SES in future, interviewees in the special group, especially those with lower SIOPS score, were likely to put themselves on the same or higher rung of the SES ladder than that of the community ladder when compared to the general group interviewees.

It was noteworthy in the qualitative analysis that those unfair degrading experiences at the community level seemed to have a close relationship with the high school system, either the authoritarian high school management or the segregation of high school type. Some interviewees in the general group perceived discrimination in the university by their peers from special high schools who tended to think they might have made more effort than students from general high schools. Those peers seemed to have a misperception arguably caused by the discriminatory high school system and competitive school climate they had to bear in special high schools. What was worse was that even general high school students themselves including

those interviewees might have felt like they lost to special high school students in the competition since high school (Oh, 2016), and teachers in high schools (Oh, 2016; Jeon, 2018) and parents (Jeon, 2018) also seemed to accept the perception. In addition, universities exacerbated the situation by implicitly applying high school rankings which favoured special high schools in the admission procedure (see The Presidential Advisory Committee on Policy Planning, 2008; Yoon, 2010). Hence, the unfair degradation caused by the stratified high school system could make general high school students be more obsessed with a fair procedure because they might think they could do better if a fair procedure were guaranteed at least. The problem of the increasing obsession with a fair procedure is that as long as the procedure seems fair, the obsessed are less likely to be critical to the result despite the fundamental differences of one's family background affecting the result (Nam, Bae and Oh, 2019).

On the other hand, it should be noticed as well that the prevalence of credentialism which almost equals to meritocracy in Korea seemed to result in another obsession with a prestigious university as a sort of a credible certificate of one's diligence which might make the person appealing in the labour market. This perception could be underpinned by a chief executive officer's explanation of hiring only university graduates for certain tasks, saying that 'it does not mean that university graduates are more intelligent, but I think the fact that they graduated a university may indicate they got over many difficulties over the four-year university course until they graduated' (Oyer, 2014, p.100-102, cited in Kang, 2016a, p.336). Amid the enduring high unemployment in Korea since the financial crisis, the perception might put high school students in the competition, ultimately to be recognised in the labour market to survive. Therefore, maybe it was not surprising that young Koreans were likely to have a too much belief in meritocracy described as 'hyper-meritocracy' (Park, 2016); this belief even justified discrimination against people having lower educational credentials and made its proponents argue that the lower educational credentials might represent those people's low competence. In this way, as Hayes (2012) puts, meritocracy could also make them gradually justify the gap between the rich and the poor, undermining the attempt of alleviating social polarisation by promoting equality of outcome.

Consequently, with the prevalent meritocracy, it seemed feasible to see that the stratified high school system seemed to contribute to the obsession with a fair procedure which could potentially impede social redistribution of wealth by affecting welfare attitudes of the discriminated students.

The following chapter will present a summary of the key findings, discussions of them, and policy implications and limitations of this study for future research.

Chapter 5. Discussion

This study aims at exploring and explaining the impact of high school stratification on students' welfare attitudes. Education is identified as 'a system of social stratification' (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p.55), therefore, in Korea where educational stratification among high schools has been a controversial issue especially during the last decade, it seems worth trying to identify whether signs of social stratification exist in practice between the two groups of students and how the stratified high school system affects students' welfare attitudes.

5-1. The existence of stratification in terms of school type and the impact on students

Stratification in the cognitive integration of values and concrete policy in terms of school type

Kulin and Svallfors (2013) identify an international pattern showing that the strength of the cognitive link between SE/ST values and attitudes towards income redistribution varies in terms of social class: the higher class are likely to have stronger integration of values and attitudes towards redistribution than the lower class. They argue that the tendency may have come from their economic stability and a higher level of education, followed by a better position in the workplace requiring more intellectual tasks. The researchers insist these might also make them easily able to combine values and value-related policies they want to support.

In this context, this study firstly compared the two high school groups for the strength of the cognitive association between values and attitudes towards income redistribution under the impact of one's SES. It was to see whether the two groups showed signs of stratification in terms of SES. A majority of students at special high schools were known to be from higher SES families than students at general high schools (Kim and Ryu, 2008; Son, 2010; Kim and Kim, 2014). However, almost 80% of matriculates at the top three universities⁵⁹ in the capital city of Korea turned out to have a middle-class or upper-class family background in the government investigation in 1998 (Kim, 2001). This indicated that the general group participants could have similar SES to that of the special group ones as both groups were recruited at the same prestigious university, which was one of the top three. Each group's SES was measured using economic, social and cultural capital indicators, and the mean values of those indicators were compared between the two groups to see whether they showed differences in SES. Next, associations of SE/ST values and attitudes towards income redistribution by the government were measured and compared in terms of high school type. Attitudes towards government-led income redistribution in this study could also be interpreted as one's degree of support for

⁵⁹ For more details about the top three universities in Korea, see the beginning part of Section 3-4. *Participants*.

income redistribution led by the government. In the quantitative phase, three hypotheses were constructed: 1) a participant inclined to ST values is likely to be positively associated with support for redistribution, whilst a participant inclined to SE values is likely to be associated negatively. 2) Participants in the special group are likely to have higher SES backgrounds than participants in the general group. 3) The special group is likely to show a stronger integration of values and support for redistribution than the general group.

A major finding in this phase was that the special group was likely to have higher SES and to show a stronger and coherent integration than the general group in the cognitive connection of values and support for redistribution. When it came to family background represented by SES variables, the two groups generally showed similarity except for two variables: the location of a family home and the dominant occupation of each family showed the differences in objective SES between the two groups. The special group was more likely to live in or near the capital city where house prices were much higher than other regions in the country (Son, 2017), showing 0.68 in the mean value of the dichotomous variable (0/1) than the general group showing 0.38. Each family's financial stability showed the highest correlation with homeownership in both groups. In the logistic regression analysis, as for the two variables indicating homeownership and whether the family home was in/near the capital city or not, the general and special groups showed the opposite direction to each other in the associations between the two variables and support for redistribution. In the special group, the homeownership variable was negatively associated with support for redistribution, showing the odds of the support for redistribution decreased by 99.9% for one unit increase in the variable. The other variable also had a negative but insignificant association to the support. Conversely, in the general group, both variables had a highly positive association to support redistribution, showing the odds of the support increased by 467.7% for one unit increase in the variable representing the location of the family home and 324.6% for one unit increase in the homeownership variable. In the general group, people who were living in/near the capital city showed higher support for redistribution regardless of homeownership whilst in the special group, people who were owning a family home showed lower support regardless of living in the metropolitan area. Consequently, those showing less support in the special group seemed more likely to live in affluent districts⁶⁰ and they might be influenced by their family (or their parents) who were likely to be sensitive to the changes in house prices and rather negative to redistributive tax policies which might increase their tax

⁶⁰ Chang (2007b) calls the phenomenon of district (or regional) rankings in house prices in Korea as 'residential segregation' because moving to wealthy districts from disadvantaged areas has been almost blocked due to the differentials in house price increase, exacerbating polarisation of housing wealth. The study identifies that different life style and financial stake exist in each area which generally lead to forming different attitudes, as Parkin (1979) pointed out in his theory of social closure.

burden (Chang, 2007b). As for the occupation variable indicating the SIOPS scores of the dominant occupation of families, the special group had 61.86 in the mean value, which was 4.42 higher than that of the general group. A German study identifies that before the economic recession in 2008 a man in his 30s generally had to spend the first 15 years in his occupation to gain about five points in the SIOPS score (Manzoni, Härkönen and Mayer, 2014). In addition, the OECD's recent report shows that occupation mobility in Korea is lower than in Germany (OECD, 2018). In this regard, the 4.42 gap in the mean value of the occupation prestige scores seemed to be a substantial difference in SES between the two groups. Consequently, the special group was likely to have higher family SES than the general group which met the second hypothesis.

As for the integration of SE/ST values and support for government redistribution, in the general group, SE values were positively correlated to support for redistribution whilst ST values were negatively correlated. When the general group was separated in terms of gender, both female and male participants in the general group showed the same direction of correlation, which meant both genders in the general group had a similar tendency in value-attitude integration. In the special group, the direction of the correlation between the values and support for redistribution was the opposite. In the logistic regression analysis, when comparing the odds ratios as percentages, the general group confirmed a significant positive association between SE values and support for redistribution showing that the odds of support increased by 84.3% for every unit increase in the SE value variable, whilst the ST value variable had a weak negative association which was insignificant. On the contrary, the special group held firm and coherent associations between the values and support for redistribution; the SE value variable had a negative association to the support for redistribution showing that the odds of support decreased by 82.7% for every unit increase in the SE value variable, whilst the ST value one had a substantial positive association showing that the odds of the support increased by 171.7% for every unit increase in the ST value variable. Both associations were significant at .001 level. Hence, the first hypothesis was consistent with the special group only. In conclusion, for the overall strength of association between values and support for income redistribution by the government, the special group was more likely to be coherent and stronger than the general one, accepting the third hypothesis.

The dominant occupation variable as a social capital indicator had a positive but marginal effect on support for redistribution in both groups, whilst the father's education level as a cultural capital indicator had a small negative association in both groups. The father's education level was regarded as one of the strong SES elements indirectly affecting a student's level of academic performance (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Phang and Kim, 2001; Lee, Kim and Han, 2006). Therefore,

the variable's effect could be related to one's SE value inclination, but it needs further investigation. Finally, a gender variable indicated that female participants were negatively associated with support for redistribution in both groups, especially in the general group. This result may support previous literature in Korea arguing that unlike Western countries, women in Korea did not show stronger support for welfare than men as the components of the Korean welfare regime could not be regarded as women-friendly (Baek, Joo and Kim, 2008) because of the lack of social services that female workers could rely on, and bad working conditions of female workers in the welfare service sector who were often excluded from social security insurances (Suh and Kim, 2014; Huh and Kim, 2016).

How high school stratification affects students' welfare attitudes

In the quantitative phase, the general group showed a positive association between SE values and support for redistribution and ST values were negatively associated, which was unexpected. However, from a welfare attitude perspective, the result above was about the degree of participants' support indicating that the degree of support for welfare varies in terms of one's value inclination, and further, social class. As Svallfors (1997) points out, the intention underlying public support for redistribution may depend on the legacy of a welfare regime. In this regard, that the Korean welfare regime has been regarded as being close to the liberal regime alongside some productivist characteristics remaining (Abrahamson, 2017) gives a hint about the unexpected association of values and support for redistribution. With the hint, how the stratified high school system influences the participants' welfare attitudes, and whether any differences are found between the subjective community status in high school and potential SES in future in terms of high school type needed to be identified in the qualitative phase. In this phase, two hypotheses were constructed: 1) interviewees in the general group are more likely to have liberal welfare attitudes than interviewees in the special group. 2) interviewees in the special group are more likely to give themselves a higher status in the SES ladder test than in the community ladder test.

The first major finding in this phase was that interviewees who perceived themselves to degrading experiences under unfair circumstances were more likely to show residual welfare attitudes. There were two main aspects captured from the interviews: prevalent credentialism and meritocracy nurturing the expansion of school ranking system; perceived unfairness at the community level or at the social level. A majority of interviewees seemed to be affected by credentialism as it was seen from their answers that they mentioned university rankings first followed by the competitiveness of their department. When talking about the department, one interviewee also considered whether her department was high-ranked among the departments

in the university, and another interviewee expected that the faculty and students of her department would be better than similar departments in other 'lower-ranked' universities. Additionally, they appeared to recognise that entering the university would be advantageous when applying for a job or a promotion in the workplace not only because of their good academic credentials but also because of the personal network of the university which would be very useful in Korea (Lee, 2018a). In this regard, one of the interviewees argued that people from prestigious universities were more likely to have a good job because they had better abilities to conduct the tasks required. Another interviewee clearly said that for example, in the competition for a job, putting some advantages based on university rankings seemed reasonable because those from prestigious universities might have made much more effort than others. He said when he expressed the opinion in a discussion class in the university, he felt most of his peers agreed with that, which could be interpreted as strong meritocracy among them. This obsession with credentialism and meritocracy seems to nurture and expand the school ranking system, provoking differentiation mostly in a discriminatory form.

Some interviewees perceived unfairness at the community level. At the community level, differentiation is mostly related to high school and university life as they were students. In high school, some of them were exposed to differentiation in high school, which was endogenous in its assessment system because the system was mostly based on each student's academic performance. In the form of discrimination against students having less (not low) academic performance in opportunities such as entering a school dormitory and joining a competition in the school, the conventional authoritarian high school management seemed to affect students negatively, especially in general high schools. In special type-high schools which were rather newly established, it was similar to general high schools that students were also judged by academic scores; when a student does not seem to have a good academic performance enough to enter a prestigious university, he/she is classified as not being able to apply for those universities at all. From those experiences, some of them started to think about what justice is, and others became frustrated about the blunt judgement and tried to prove that they can make it. However, they had to bear the discriminatory system anyway until they enter a good university because arguably, it was not easy for the interviewees to make changes under this competitive education system. B, C, and H seemed to be affected by those experiences, but H's case seemed to be rather different from the other two; H admitted that she did not study much during the first year in high school and knew that this was the reason for her teacher's judgement. As for H, the degrading experience seemed to have faded after she successfully entered the prestigious university, recognising the advantage of graduating from a special high school.

Moreover, the interviewees faced discrimination in the admission procedure of universities due to the implicit preference of universities for some popular schools such as special high schools. In practice, the competition for prestigious universities starts from high school entrance; some participants chose a special type of high school for a better curriculum and motivating study environment (J, L, M, K) while others sought advantages in entering a prestigious university (H, I). Regardless of the reasons, most participants in general high schools might also have wanted to enter a special high school⁶¹ because '[nowadays students] regard a general school as a place for students who *cannot* enter a special school due to *lack of abilities*' (Oh, 2016, pp.31–32). Oh (2016) shows that a lot of typical general high schools are actually suffering from this perception except for some recognised general schools. As for students in special-type high schools, they had to pay the price for the advantage by bearing hardships in high school; one interviewee said she had to control herself when she suddenly became one of the lower-ranked students in high school which she had never experienced in middle school. Another interviewee mentioned that some of her peers in high school complained about the quality of the curriculum as it was not quite different from that of general high schools despite the expensive tuition fees. Additionally, there were some interviewees in the general group who were shocked by what their friends from special high schools said; namely that they felt like a 'studying robot' (from the interview with G) just following the schedule that the high school stipulated. Despite these sufferings in both types of high schools, both students and parents still think there is no alternative under this education system (Jeon, 2018). Through circumstances verifying some cases of discrimination in terms of high-school type in the procedure of university admissions under government investigation (The Presidential Advisory Committee on Policy Planning, 2008) and by a lawsuit (Yoon, 2010; Lee, 2018c), the stratification among high schools has been built up in the minds of students and parents. D and G in the general group were seen to be affected by those experiences of degradation.

In the university, having met students from different types of high schools, the interviewees experienced differentiation at times in terms of high-school type. The form of differentiation was not necessarily discriminatory, but interviewees in the general group often felt that they were discriminated against by some of their university peers from special high schools. According to some interviewees in the general group who experienced discrimination or heard other students from special schools repeat discriminatory ideas, those from special schools tended to think that they might have made more effort than the general school students in high school. Hence, they

⁶¹ Except for one interviewee, most general group interviewees (six out of seven) tried to enter a special school (three) or entered a recognised general school (three) which was known as even better than a special school.

complained that general high school students seemed to be more benefitted compared to them in the admission procedure of the university. For the interviewees from general high schools, the complaint might have sounded selfish because they were degraded in comparison to the students from special-type high schools. The perceived unfairness in both group of students once became a controversial issue provoked by a club uniform in a prestigious university, putting a high school name on it (Kang, 2016b). Interestingly, more than half of the interviewees in the general group talked about this type of differentiation as discrimination, but none of the interviewees in the special group mentioned about this issue. A, D and G in the general group were seen to be affected by the degradation experiences.

Meanwhile, there were some other interviewees perceiving unfairness at the social level. The issues in this category were related to SES differences, social prejudice, or ineffectiveness of the social system which have been known to be difficult in finding a solution. F, K and L talked about SES differences they perceived in high school. Recognising SES differences from the expensive private education that their peers received, they seemed to have a rather limited view about the unfairness in the education system; they seemed to regard SES differences as something they could not resist maybe because they could not change it. Among their responses, degradation was not found.

On the other hand, G was seen to have suffered from a social prejudice as he was from a grandparent family. He did not have any economic problem or other difficulties 'except for the only fact that he did not have parents' as his grandparents were rather affluent. However, he seemed to be afraid of being stigmatised and thought people's prejudice about an 'inadequate family' that does not have any parents in Korea was so strong that it would affect him no matter how much he achieves. He might have had traumatic experiences caused by the prejudice although he did not mention any of them, and this seemed to make him focus on proving that he has abilities as much as other students from an 'adequate family', implying that he is more likely to pursue meritocracy. As for G's case, it seemed highly possible he experienced degradation.

Finally, D, I and M felt unfairness in the social system. They all thought social systems such as taxation and the welfare delivery system did not work effectively, showing negative attitudes towards the system. However, unlike two other interviewees being against welfare expansion, one interviewee suggested that welfare expansion could work as a motivation for the middle-class taxpayers when they think they would get the tax they pay back through welfare provision. This difference in their attitudes seems to show that attitudes towards a policy could vary in terms of one's values or ideology (Arts and Gelissen, 2001; Blekesaune and Quadagno, 2003; Lee

and Park, 2016). Though D described his family as an example of unnecessary welfare provision, degradation was not captured from their responses.

In addition to those interviewees above, E talked about the fear of uncertainty about her future and J appeared to be under pressure from her parents about her future job, which seems mostly to relate to the insecurity of their status. However, they did not mention any degradation experiences.

As a result of analysis about each interviewee's welfare attitudes, three types of welfare attitudes were identified: liberal (C, G, I), pragmatic liberal (A, B, D, L), and progressive (E, F, H, J, K, M) types. It was noticeable that those who appeared to be affected by degrading experiences were likely to belong to the two liberal attitude types except for I and L from the special group who did not seem to experience degradation. Interestingly, the general group was likely to have liberal or pragmatic liberal attitudes (five out of seven) whilst the special group was likely to have progressive attitudes (four out of six). These results above might indicate that the general group was more likely to have degrading experiences which seemed to affect their welfare attitudes under the discriminatory high school system.

This does not, of course, imply that all kinds of degrading experiences in the high school system could lead to forming a liberal welfare attitude. For instance, H had a degradation experience in high school. At the time of the interview, however, she seemed recovered from it probably because she successfully had an offer from a prestigious university and was aware of the potential benefit from her high school type. Moreover, H did not appear to think it was unfair for her to have the degrading experience as it was caused by her decline in academic performance. She admitted in the interview that she did not show good marks during the first two years of high school as she had difficulties in getting used to the competitive school climate. Being degraded just because of one's academic performance should not be acceptable, but H seemed to accept the rules of the competition endogenous in the high school system (Gahng, 2015) just like many Korean high school students do. In addition, she might know that at least she was less likely to be degraded in terms of high school type. H's welfare attitude was identified as a progressive type.

On the other hand, in other degrading experiences caused by discrimination in the education system, the interviewees' underlying sentiment in common was that the degradation was unfair: when they were degraded either due to the authoritarian high school management system (B, C) or due to the differentiation in terms of high school type (A, D, G), the degradation was not because of their fault or lack of ability. Indeed, they made a lot of effort despite the unfair system and thought finally overcame it by achieving a goal fair and square, but then they became

realised they could still be discriminated due to the byproduct of the unfairness in the high school system which seemed hard to mitigate in the near future. Consequently, when the interviewees felt unfairness in the degrading experiences caused by the high school system and that the degradation might lead to a potential downgrade of their status either in the community or in society, the degrading experiences were likely to lead to liberal welfare attitudes. In addition, it seemed that interviewees from the general group were more likely to have those experiences in the stratified high school system.

At this point, it is worth to consider why those interviewees who experienced unfair degradation due to the high school system were likely to have liberal welfare attitudes. A recent study might show the answer to the question, pointing out that young Koreans tend to believe that a 'fair procedure' such as an exam that all applicants take under similar conditions would yield credible results, being obsessed with procedural fairness (Nam, Bae and Oh, 2019). The researchers argue that the obsession could easily lead to uncritical (or less critical) acceptance of the result of the 'fair procedure', and it may overlook potential inequality in the result caused by fundamental differences such as cognitive ability inherited and nurtured by parental resources (Nam, Bae and Oh, 2019). In this regard, it is significant that some university students or young job seekers in Korea regard non-regular workers' demand to change their employment status into regular workers as unfair and that they insist those workers should either take an exam for a regular job just like them or accept their precarious status (Oh, 2010, 2011; Kang, 2016a). What those young people insist is based on meritocratic ideas to which they are accustomed in the competitive education system, but they might not recognise very well that meritocracy could also be a logic of justifying the gap between the well-off and the badly-off (Hayes, 2012) making people rather indifferent to the gap and related issues (Kang, 2016a). In conclusion, the obsession with procedural fairness combined with prevalent meritocracy described above seems to contribute to the young Koreans' preference for residual welfare policies that Yoo and Cho (2016) identify. Thus, it seems hard to deny that the discriminatory high school system demanding unlimited competition has exacerbated the obsession, especially in the general group. Under the influence of high school stratification, the general group seems more likely to be degraded compared to the special group and this might lead to the general group's leaning towards liberal welfare attitudes.

How high school stratification affects students' subjective SES

The second major finding in the qualitative phase was that interviewees in the special group were likely to put themselves on the same or higher status in the SES ladder test than in the community ladder test. When comparing interviewees in both groups in a lower range of SIOPS

scores, the special group interviewees generally chose the same or higher ladder in the SES test than in the community test whilst the general group interviewees chose the lower ladder in the SES test. Some interviewees in the highest SIOPS group made a different choice from their group peers. However, the overall higher SES expectation of the special group could also be interpreted that they might have been rather intimidated by the competitive school climate in high school (Kang and Jeon, 2006), and it needs further research.

5-2. Low consciousness of solidarity undermining welfare regime sustainability

The unanticipated direction of association in the general group between SE/ST values and support for redistribution seemed to be gleaned in the result of the quantitative phase. Unlike values that are 'a fixed set of enduring beliefs' (Kulin and Svallfors, 2013, p.157) pursuing abstract goals based on one's social and cultural experiences, an attitude is one's tendency about an object which is changeable in terms of circumstances and social context, and it often contradicts one's values (Kim, Ryu and Lee, 2013). In this regard, it was reasonable to see that the unexpected association might reflect the social consciousness of the participants to some extent. Since the beginning of welfare politics in 2010, there has been a general but strong consensus in Korea that the government needs to promote welfare policies to alleviate chronic income disparity (Kim and Suh, 2014) and in-work poverty worsened by the dualised labour market (Suh and Kim, 2014). As the participants in this study were born in the middle of the aftermath of the financial crisis in 1997⁶² when the government accepted a neoliberal approach to the labour market which Titmuss (1968) criticises as shifting the responsibility of crisis to individuals, they were grown up with the idea of neoliberalism, being exposed to painful stories of the laid-off or unemployed (Oh, 2011). The participants heard and witnessed the situation and recognised that as one of the major social problems, therefore, they were likely to show relatively high support for welfare policies; about 85.6% of the participants said they 'agree' or 'agree strongly' with government intervention in income redistribution. Meanwhile, they became more obsessed with good education credentials which they believed could be helpful in avoiding precarious non-regular work or the unemployment.

According to Arts and Gelissen (2001), a norm of solidarity in society is significantly correlated to people's level of consciousness about solidarity and social justice which could also influence one's welfare attitude. To this end, formal education plays a critical role in promoting social justice and solidarity by encouraging students to learn how to understand others under different circumstances and what to do as a democratic citizen to participate in society (Lee, 2005; Gahng,

⁶² An absolute majority of the participants were born in 1999.

2015). The current education system in Korea, however, is hardly seen as playing a role under the huge influence of marketisation (Son, 2010; Nam and Kim, 2013; Gahng, 2015; Jeon, 2018). On the basis of prevalent credentialism and meritocracy nurturing the dominant university ranking system in Korea, formal education may have become a kind of service that one could choose and buy for the improvement in academic performance to enter a prestigious university which provides its students with a better position in the labour market for having a good job as a 'regular worker'. Consequently, in most cases, overall competition in secondary and higher education in Korea may ultimately lead to the competition in the labour market as a commodity appealing to employers that students are ready for 'self-optimisation and have the potential to compete against in an independent manner' (Caraher and Reuter, 2017, p.489). Under this circumstance, the stratified high school system functions as adding an institutionalised differentiating (or discriminating) procedure in the competition to enter a prestigious university. In this respect, the results of this study could be discussed from two perspectives: the consciousness of solidarity and welfare regime sustainability in the long term.

What matters is that as students in high school are separated by the diversification policy, they are deprived of opportunities to some extent to learn how to get along with students with different SES, which would be helpful to enhance solidarity in the community. Some could argue that students could also learn those values in each type of high school, but it does not seem to be feasible; as for general school students, they feel like they are abandoned in the education system and not a few of those students lose motivation to study leading to lowering the average level of academic performance in general high schools (Oh, 2016; Jeon, 2018). In a special school, students have to spend most of their time studying and doing activities for university admissions (Chakrabarti, 2013), so they avoid conflict so as not to waste their time on anything other than studying (see Jeon, 2018, p.237). In some special schools with quite a competitive school climate, students do not even want to let their friends see their notes in class (Kang, 2009; from the interview with E). Therefore, the two student groups have difficulties in getting along with each other, and both groups of students are not pleased with the result of the competition when they are in a same prestigious university; the general group feels that it is unfair to be degraded, and the special group feels that their efforts in high school are not compensated enough because they think they might have made more effort than the general group. Maybe, from their point of view, 'making more effort' implies 'more deserving' of a specific status, and this idea may dominate the interviewees in the general group as well when they see students from lower-ranked universities. In this way, the idea seems prevalent to overall undergraduates in Korea as a form of 'hyper-meritocracy' (Park, 2016) based on each individual's university ranking (Oh,

2013; Kang, 2016a) by discriminating others whilst being discriminated concurrently, which is frightening. The perception explains the attitudes of some university students who show strong support for non-regular workers' strikes to improve their working conditions, but do not agree with changing the workers' status into regular workers, arguing it is not fair (Oh, 2011; Kang, 2016a). Those students tend to think the workers might not have made as much of an effort as they have. Therefore, they argue that those non-regular workers should accept their precarious status. It seems hard for those students to accept the idea of social solidarity under the education system of separation and unfairness.

Thus, it is significant that the young Koreans are likely to prefer liberal welfare policies and more than half of the proponents of residual welfare insist a high level of welfare provision (Yoo and Cho, 2016). It may also explain the general group's positive association between SE values and support for redistribution in the quantitative phase, and the association might be of a combination of competitive attitudes and increasing demand in welfare in the middle of the status competition for security in life. However, their support does not appear to be based on the idea of equality, recognising welfare as a charity for the poor. In a society where the perception is prevalent and rigid, welfare rights would hardly become a sort of social rights which should be guaranteed to a member of society based on social solidarity although the support for welfare is strong.

After all, their preference for residual welfare implies that students in Korea are likely to have a low consciousness of solidarity, and the education system seems to influence their attitudes towards welfare based on the results of this study. To some extent, the discriminatory perception among students accumulated under the education system seems to have similar aspects to the prevalent discrimination in the dualised labour market. In Scandinavian welfare states which have captured global attention, they have promoted policies regarding work and welfare as a right of its citizens enforcing the sustainability of a welfare regime (Kildal, 2001). In this context, the discriminatory perception among students which regards a good job as a status that one should take by making an effort and winning over competitors is more likely to have a negative influence on their welfare attitudes. Moreover, when their self-interest needs to be sacrificed, the support for redistribution is less likely to be stable due to the low consciousness of solidarity. Hence, their attitudes could undermine the sustainability of the Korean welfare regime in the long run.

5-3. Policy implications

On the fixed basis of values, welfare attitudes consist of one's situational, ideological elements (Blekesaune and Quadagno, 2003) along with the political context of the country (Taylor-Gooby, 1985; Svallfors, 1997), which could contradict values at times (Kim, Ryu and Lee, 2013). As a majority of Koreans did not even recognise the existence of welfare policies in the era of productivism, it seems reasonable to see that public welfare attitudes in Korea started to form during the first democratic government's term under the influence of the financial crisis which made people think that the government should also play a role in mitigating extensive poverty in society. To overcome the crisis, Koreans donated their gold to the government to help pay off the national debts (Becker, 2015; Ha, 2017) based on the sense of communal solidarity, but after that, it started to fade amid prevalent insecurity of life affected mostly by the huge increase of precarious jobs in the labour market. The foundation of social solidarity in Korea now seems to be weak, which also seems to be related to people's low level of credit on the government (Park and Lee, 2009; Lee and Park, 2016). Under these circumstances, policymakers need to take a broader view of considering the sustainability of a policy in the long term, which has rarely happened in the political trajectory of welfare in Korea. According to a report from the Asian Development Bank (2012), 60% of Asian respondents preferred reducing inequality of opportunities over income disparity, and some of the interviewees in this study showed similar attitudes. There has been an increasing number of studies showing that Koreans are likely to be sensitive to inequality of opportunities (Cho and Kwon, 2016; Kim, Huh, Choi and Lee, 2018). Therefore, it is a reasonable approach to talk about educational inequalities in Korea (Seong, 2011; Choi, 2014b), and high school stratification needs to become one of the central issues in the debate.

However, reducing high school stratification may not simply mean to increase the accessibility of poor students to privileged education; maybe it should ultimately lead to restoring the role of formal education facilitating social solidarity among students. In this regard, policies should not be biased towards one of those two different forms of inequality; reducing inequality of opportunities could be interpreted as improving the operating mechanism of the social system whilst reducing income disparity could be understood as strengthening the fundamentals of the welfare state. Therefore, they cannot be separated. Moreover, it should be remembered what Esping-Andersen (1990) notes that education is a social policy and also, a system of social stratification in a welfare state, which implies that from a social class perspective, education is more likely to be utilised for the higher class' interests than the lower class who are often excluded from the decision-making process. In this regard, keeping an eye on reducing income

disparity in practice also should not lose attention whilst discussing the inequality of opportunities.

Dealing with education inequality such as high school stratification and its impact on social policy is a long-term approach to build and maintain a solid foundation of social solidarity. Solidarity is the main driving force in developing a welfare state (Arts and Gelissen, 2001) which is supposed to be nurtured in formal education, but it seems to be severely undermined in the procedure of the stratification. Hopefully, this study could be an alert to policymakers to consider the long-term effect of education more carefully.

5-4. Limitations and future research

Due to lack of time and cost, the data could not be collected sufficiently. Therefore, in the quantitative phase, the sample size of the original data was rather small, so it seems hard to generalise those findings to overall matriculates in Korea. In the same vein, only one round of interviews was conducted in the qualitative phase, and there was no more opportunity to have interviews to complement the interview data. Additionally, it was a shame that no male interviewee was recruited from the special group as this might have made differences to the results of this study.

Focusing on high school stratification strengthened by the establishment of special high schools, differences among general schools were not counted in this study. As mentioned in the analysis a couple of times, some of the general high schools are more popular than less popular special high schools, and the applicants have to pass an entrance exam, which is similar to the entrance procedure of special high schools. Although the number of those schools are not many and the tuition fees are not as much as the tuition fees in special-type schools, the system and competitive school climate are likely to be similar to special schools. Therefore, it seems worth identifying stratification among general high schools, and also among special high schools in the same vein.

Although it was unintentional, this study spent more space explaining the general group's point of view in the qualitative phase as the second phase was started from the different association between values and attitudes towards redistribution in the general group, and the general group interviewees were the ones who had been degraded by the high school policy. However, to understand the situation more clearly, special high school students' point of view needs to be complemented through further studies. Moreover, further study is also needed to identify the influence of the achievement-oriented school climate in special-type high schools on its students, which would explain the higher status of the special group on the SES ladder.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

6-1. Reflection on the thesis

Despite the recent democratic achievements of people in politics which required social solidarity, the fundamental solidarity among individuals and smaller unit groups based on the idea of social equality has been hardly found in Korea (Lee, 2014b), which is crucial to the development of a welfare state (Arts and Gelissen, 2001). As being under the enduring influence of dominant liberalism since the financial crisis, people were more likely to be individualistic emphasising self-reliance on one's own effort, especially in the matter of finding a job in the liberalised labour market.

This sentiment might have been easily shared by many parts of society, and the competitive environment in the labour market led to the intensification of competition in the education system, as students tended to think that having good educational credentials would be advantageous in finding a good job. Under the strong middle-class support to avoid new social risks (Son, 2010), the conservative government in 2008 pushed forward the high school diversification policy to promote the establishment of special high schools that were mostly private and expensive. Although there were harsh criticisms about the policy that the stratified high school system would function as a system of separation and degradation of students in terms of one's SES (Son, 2010; Gahng, 2015; Shin, 2017a), an increasing number of special high schools were established. The topic of this study came from high school stratification as a matter of undermining social solidarity among students.

Kulin and Svallfors (2013) argue that people from higher social classes are likely to have a stronger cognitive connection between values and concrete policies than people from lower classes. Taking their study as a main theoretical lens, this study aims at exploring and explaining the impact of high school stratification on high school students and their welfare attitudes, making comparisons between two large high school types (the general and special groups) using both quantitative and qualitative methods in sequential order. High school type here is a representing variable of educational stratification, which is caused by social stratification.

In the quantitative phase, to identify whether the participants from the general and special groups were under the influence of social stratification, the two groups' objective SES and the strength of the cognitive association between SE/ST values and the support for redistribution were compared; the special group was likely to have higher SES than the general group, especially in homeownership and parents' occupation prestige score. The group also showed a stronger and coherent association of values and attitudes towards redistribution than the

general group. On the other hand, it was interesting that the general group showed a relatively strong positive association between SE values and support for redistribution, which was unexpected. The general group also showed a negative association between ST values and support for redistribution, which was insignificant. As a result of the first phase, the existence of social stratification between the general and special groups was identified both in the participants' family background and in the cognitive strength and coherence of integration of values and attitudes.

Based on the unanticipated strong significant positive association shown in the general group between SE values and support for income redistribution, additional research questions were drawn for the qualitative phase. One's attitude does not always match with one's values (Kim, Ryu and Lee, 2013), and the intention behind public support for redistribution could vary depending on the nation's trajectory of welfare (Svallfors, 1997). Therefore, it was necessary to interpret the unusual association in the general group based on their welfare attitudes. With this idea, two research questions were developed: how the stratified high school system affects the participants' welfare attitudes; and whether the two groups show differences in the relation between the subjective community status and the SES test results. A total of 13 interviewees were recruited from both groups.

The crucial finding of the qualitative phase was that interviewees having degradation experiences under unfair circumstances were more likely to show liberal welfare attitudes. On the basis of strong belief on meritocracy strengthening the university ranking system, perceived unfairness by interviewees was captured at the community or social level: at the community level, some interviewees perceived unfairness from the endogenous discrimination in the authoritarian high school management system based on each student's academic performance, which apparently degraded students; some others perceived unfairness in the procedure of university admissions due to the implicit but solid preference of universities for some popular high school students who were mostly from special-type schools, which would make students, especially from general high schools, feel degraded; in the university, some interviewees in the general group had at times experiences of either being discriminated or hearing about the discriminatory attitude of some other students from special high schools as those peers from special high schools thought they might have made more effort in high school than general high school students, and it was not fair that students from general high schools could also enter the prestigious university with less effort. This situation seemed to make those interviewees in the general group feel degraded. Unfairness perceived at the social level in this study was related to recognising SES differences, strong social prejudice, or having low credit on the faulty welfare

system. Except for the case of being exposed by strong social prejudice, however, the interviewees in the other two categories were not seen to feel degraded in the situation. Among the interviewees, there were three types of welfare attitudes identified in terms of accepting the degree of welfare expansion to the middle class: liberal (no expansion), pragmatic liberal (limited expansion), and progressive (support for expansion) welfare attitudes. From the results, it was noticeable that the general group was likely to have liberal or pragmatic liberal attitudes whilst the special group was likely to have progressive attitudes. This implied that the general group was more likely to be exposed to degrading experiences than the special group, to which the discriminatory education system contributed.

The second major finding of this qualitative phase was that, in the ladder tests, the special group was likely to place themselves on a higher or the same rung at least in the SES test than in the community test. In a comparison of the test results of both groups in a lower SIOPS score range, the tendency was clearly identified. On the other hand, there were some interviewees from a higher SIOPS score range who did not necessarily follow the tendency of their group peers. This indicated that except for the interviewees from the highest SES group, the special group was likely to have higher expectations than the general group, especially in the lower SES group. Meanwhile, the upward choice of the special group could also be interpreted as the participants being relatively intimidated by, say, a competitive school climate in high school, and it needs further research.

Those findings seem to reflect the social consciousness of the interviewees in some degree, showing that the general group to which a majority of academic high school students in this country belong is more likely to have liberal welfare attitudes under the current education system. Although the special group did not mention their feelings of unfairness in the interviews, some interviewees in the general group did hear that from their peers from special type-high schools saying that it was unfair for them to be with students from general high schools in the same prestigious university because they might have made more effort than students from general schools. If the special group also has difficulties in accepting that the general group deserved to enter the same university as them, then their tendency of being progressive in welfare attitudes would be less associated to building social solidarity in the long term. The perception would make students from general high schools feel degraded, which lead to undermining solidarity with students from special high schools. In this regard, restructuring the current discriminatory education system seems to be imperative to deliver the essential meaning and importance of social solidarity to students in formal education.

Nowadays, from the students' point of view, 'making more effort' seems to mean 'more deserving' of a specific status such as a student of a prestigious university or being a regular worker in the labour market. This idea may explain why they do not agree with non-regular workers demanding their status change into regular workers as some university students or young job seekers tend to think the workers might not have made much effort when they were at school. Therefore, maybe it is not surprising that in a study about young Koreans' welfare attitudes, 56.3% of the participants are supportive of residual welfare (Yoo and Cho, 2016), which is a feature of the liberal welfare regime. As long as welfare is recognised as a charity for the poor under welfare liberalism, those young people's support for residual welfare with high provision could mean that they do not regard welfare as a social right that should be guaranteed for members of society. The attitudes may also reflect low consciousness of solidarity among them. Without solidarity based on the idea of equality, their support for welfare could be less likely to be sustainable when their self-interest needs to be sacrificed for others, no matter how much support they are now showing for welfare.

6-2. Implications of this study and further research

Having been affected by liberalism for more than two decades, the foundation of social solidarity in Korea now seems to be weak along with the low level of credit on the government (Park and Lee, 2009; Lee and Park, 2016). High school stratification, the topic of this study, is also considered as one of the market-centred policies undermining solidarity in the country, and in the same vein, the idea of reducing inequality of opportunities has been discussed in the context of education (Seong, 2011; Choi, 2014b). This study shows that paying attention to high school stratification and its impact on social policy is urgent when regarding the increased expectations among Koreans to the welfare state; in the middle of intense competition to enter a better university, students are likely to recognise each other as competitors rather than someone who might give them some life lessons. It is clear that the situation has been exacerbated since the stratification among academic high schools. Luckily, it is found that some students still try to think about social values and justice principles. However, as long as the result of the competition is related to their status in the labour market which is decisive in one's economic and social survival in Korea, students cannot help but to compete, and degradation keeps occurring at the individual or group level through the overall education procedure. Under the circumstances, solidarity for self-respect among students could hardly be facilitated.

Although this study made some academic contributions in identifying the impact of high school stratification on students' welfare attitudes, it should be admitted that the depth of the study is not sufficient because it wanted to compare students from both general and special schools,

which was an ambitious investigation in a short period of time. Therefore, further research needs to be continued in order to explore the influence. As there have been not many previous studies about the impact of high school stratification on students' welfare attitudes, it seems fruitful to proceed studies for the purpose of accumulating rich information of each group of students in this research area: comparisons of both groups of students with national-level data which could be generalised; in-depth studies about students in each high-school type (general or special) taking qualitative approaches such as grounded theory; identifying differences among high schools in each group as there could also be stratification inside of a group.

People's preferred level of solidarity and choice of justice principles depend on the normative level of solidarity in a society (Arts and Gelissen, 2001), and the normative level may depend to some extent on what they learn formally and informally under the education system. It should be remembered that through consistent efforts of unveiling and changing the current discriminatory meritocratic culture rooted in the education system, students could understand and accept the notion of solidarity emphasising self-respect of each individual, which will be fundamental to the sustainability of the Korean welfare state.

Appendices

A-1. List of basic interview questions

Phase	Contents of the interview questions
Values	Values that I have thought about or talked about with others
High school life	About the school system, friendship and getting along with the system in the school
	Reasons for choosing the type of high school
	Perceived differences from other students
	The potential influence of the high school type on my life
University life and my future	Differences between life in high school and in university
	Differences between the friendships in high school and in university
	Perceived differences from other students
	Jobs that I am dreaming of
	Potential benefits from being a student of the university
	The potential influence of the relations in the university on my life
Social welfare in Korea	Perceptions about social welfare and income redistribution
	Ideal ways of improving welfare policy in Korea
	Whether to include the middle class in welfare beneficiaries

A-2. Matching variables due to changes in the name for analysis

Type of capital	Variable	Meaning	Re-written in the analysis
Economic	<i>n_enoughm</i>	no need to have a part-time job	Enough financial support
	<i>n_cmut</i>	commuting from home	Living in/near the capital city
	<i>n_fhmctyp</i>	my family owns a house/flat	My family owns a house
	<i>sn_fsprthm</i>	monthly money supported from home	Monthly money from home
	<i>sn_pcrdexp</i>	additional monthly expenditure by a family credit card	Monthly card expenditure
	<i>sn_alwnc</i>	the monthly allowance I can use freely	Monthly allowance
	<i>n_ffinsit</i>	how easy my parents seem to manage the household on the household income	Feeling financial stability
Social	<i>n_siops</i>	a family's dominant occupation prestige scores	Dominant SIOPS score
Cultural	<i>n_dadedlv</i>	the education level of my father	Father's education level
	<i>n_mumedlv</i>	the education level of my mother	Mother's education level

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Students in the Welfare Regime of Korea**

(34 Questions)

1. Gender: ① Male ② Female

2. Your department :

3. What type of high school did you graduate from early this year?

① General schools ② Science schools ③ Foreign language schools

④ Autonomous private schools ⑤ International schools ⑥ Autonomous general schools

⑦ Vocational schools ⑧ Homeschooling, alternative schools etc.

In this section, there are descriptions showing **one person's thought about some values and the person's way of pursuing it. How much do you think the person described in the questions is like you?**

You can choose one how much each person is or is not like you on a six-point scale.

When you do not want to answer, tick the 'Refusal' box on the right.

4. It is important to **A** to be rich. **A** wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.

Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Somewhat like me	Like me	Very much like me	Refusal <input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	

5. It is important to **B** to get respect from others. **B** wants people to do what she/he says

Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Somewhat like me	Like me	Very much like me	Refusal <input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	

6. It is important to **C** to show her/his abilities. **C** wants people to do what she/he says.

Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Somewhat like me	Like me	Very much like me	Refusal <input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	

7. It is important to **D** to be successful and that people recognise her/his achievements.

Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Somewhat like me	Like me	Very much like me	Refusal <input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	

8. It is important that everyone in the world should be treated equally. **E** believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.

Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Somewhat like me	Like me	Very much like me	Refusal <input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	

9. It is important to **F** to listen to people who are different from her/him. Even when **F** disagrees with them, **F** still wants to understand them.

Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Somewhat like me	Like me	Very much like me	Refusal <input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	

10. **G** strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to **G**.

Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Somewhat like me	Like me	Very much like me	Refusal <input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	

11. It is very important to **H** to help the people around her/him. **H** wants to care for their well-being.

Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Somewhat like me	Like me	Very much like me	Refusal <input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	

12. It is important to **I** to be loyal to friends. **I** wants to devote herself/himself to people close to her/him.

Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Somewhat like me	Like me	Very much like me	Refusal <input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	

How much do you agree with the argument?

In this section, you can choose one how much you agree or disagree with the sentence suggested on a five-point scale.

13. The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels.

Disagree strongly	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Agree strongly
1	2	3	4	5

From this section onwards, questions making one choice or multiple choice on a six-point scale or in suggested categories and questions for a short-answer are going to be mixed. You can choose or tick the 'Refusal' box for any question that you do not want to answer.

14. If you try to be thrifty, do you think you can cope with the tuition fees and living costs during your academic years without having any (part time) job?

- ① Yes ② No ③ Refusal

(If you answered "yes", then move to the question No.16)

15. If you have had (part time) jobs to pay for the tuition fees or living costs, how many hours do you spend on work daily on average during a semester?

___ hours a day / Refusal

15-1. How much money do you earn from your work per month on average? Tick the box below of the amount of your monthly income.

Monthly income (1,000 Korean Won)	Less than 300	300-less than 500	500-less than 700	700-less than 900	900-less than 1100	1100 or more

Refusal

16. Have you had any educational loans that you expect to repay?

① Yes ② No ③ Refusal

(If you answered 'no', then move to the question No.17)

16-1. Do you think you would have more educational loans during the academic years?

① Yes ② No ③ Refusal

17. Have you ever received a financial aid such as a bursary covering most of the tuition fee from any other sources of your family such as a company they work for?

① Yes ② No ③ Refusal

(If you answered 'no', then move to the question No.18)

17-1. Do you think you can keep receiving the financial aid throughout the academic years?

① Yes ② No ③ Refusal

18. How much money do you receive monthly from your sponsor (such as your parents) on average to deal with living costs, including pocket money? Tick the box below the amount of money you receive monthly.

Monthly receiving money (1,000 Korean Won)	Less than 300	300-less than 500	500-less than 700	700-less than 900	900-less than 1100	1100 or more

Refusal

19. Are you able to spend some more money using your sponsor's credit card in addition to the monthly money you receive?

① Yes ② No ③ Refusal

(If you answered 'no', then move to the question No.20)

19-1. How much money can you spend monthly using a credit card on average? Tick the box below of your monthly credit card expenditure.

Monthly credit card expenditure (1,000 Korean Won)	Less than 100	100-less than 300	300-less than 500	500-less than 700	700-less than 900	900 or more

Refusal

20. How much money do you spend monthly on average as you choose? Tick the box below of your monthly expenditure.

Monthly pocket money (1,000 Korean Won)	Less than 100	100-less than 300	300-less than 500	500-less than 700	700-less than 900	900 or more

Refusal

21. Do you have your car? ① Yes ② No ③ Refusal

22. Do you commute to the university from your family home? ① Yes ② No ③ Refusal
(If you answered 'yes', then move to the question No.23)

22-1. If you live apart from the family home, what type of residence do you live in?

- ① a place bought for you ② a place rented for you with a large deposit (no monthly rent)
- ③ a place rented for you with a monthly payment (incl. a single lodging room)
- ④ a shared lodging room (two students in a room) ⑤ a shared flat/house with others
- ⑥ school accommodation ⑦ a tiny bedroom rented with a monthly payment (no deposit)
- ⑧ a relative's or a friend's house, etc. ⑨ Refusal

23. How do you think has your family been doing when managing a household on the household income?

Very hard	Hard	Rather hard	Rather easy	Easy	Very easy
1	2	3	4	5	6

Refusal

24. What type of contract has your family had for the house they live in?

- ① Rental with monthly payment or etc.
- ② Rental with a large deposit without monthly payment ③ Own house ⑨ Refusal

25. Which region does your family live?

- ① In the remote regions from Seoul and the metropolitan area
- ② In Seoul or nearest areas such as Kyunggi and Incheon ⑨ Refusal

26. What has been the major occupation of your parents? You can choose one in the standard occupation categories provided separately and write the number of the occupation category in each blank below. If they are self-employed, tick the 'self-employed' box in the middle.

(If your parents are retired or deceased, then the major occupation type in their career should be the answer. If you cannot find a suitable one, then you can directly write the job title in the blank)

Father:	(self-employed <input type="checkbox"/>)	Refusal <input type="checkbox"/>
Mother:	(self-employed <input type="checkbox"/>)	Refusal <input type="checkbox"/>

27. What type of primary and middle schools did you attend? You can make multiple choices in the examples suggested if you have ever transferred schools.

① General schools ② Special private schools (such as international schools) ③ Studied overseas ④ Home schooling, alternative schools etc. ⑨ Refusal	
Primary school:	Middle school:

28. What is the highest level of education attained by your parents? Choose one in the examples suggested (incl. drop-out).

⑩ I don't know ① No education ② Primary school ③ Middle school ④ High school ⑤ Vocational college ⑥ Undergraduate ⑦ Master's degree ⑧ PhD degree ⑨ Refusal	
Father:	Mother:

29. What is your perception of the highest level of education your parents expect you to achieve?

- ① Undergraduate ② Master's degree ③ PhD degree ⑨ Refusal

Important! Please leave your contact in the consent form for interviews!

It is just in case of your being an interviewee for the next step of this research, and the information you provide will be completely destroyed right after finishing fieldwork scheduled to end by June. When you are contacted to be an interviewee, you will be fully informed of the interview contents and the amount of incentive to thank you for your time spent on the interview. You can also ask any questions about the interview before you decide whether to participate.

Contact

If you have queries, please contact:

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York, North Yorkshire, UK (YO10 5DD)

LETTER OF CONSENT**[Research study on social stratification among students in the welfare regime of Korea]**

Please give your answer to the items below by ticking “yes” or “no”. Your answers can be used for the research only when you choose ‘yes’ in all items except for the last one.

I agree to take part in the survey for the research.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that I do not have to take part in the survey.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have been told what this research is about, who is doing it and why it’s being done. I’ve been given an information sheet.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I’ve been able to ask questions about the research.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I can refuse to answer any question and can withdraw at any time.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I will not be named in any research reports, and my personal information will remain confidential.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that if the researcher thinks that I or someone else might be at risk of harm, they will have to contact the relevant authorities. But they will try and talk to me first about the best thing to do.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree for my anonymous data to be archived [e.g. at the University of York] and for other researchers to be able to use it.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree that other researchers may use my anonymous data.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I give consent for you to use my words anonymously in any research output.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree that the researcher may contact me for an interview, with consenting to keep my personal contact until the end of fieldwork. The personal information will only be used for doing this fieldwork and destroyed after finishing it.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
* If you checked ‘Yes’, please leave your contact at the bottom.				

Participant signature: _____

Date: _____

Researcher signature: _____

Researcher name: Suehyun Noh



1. Mobile:

2. E-mail:

LETTER OF CONSENT**[Research study on social stratification among students in the welfare regime of Korea]**

Please answer the questions below by putting a tick in the box marked “yes” or “no”.

I agree to take part in the research. This means I will be interviewed.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree with you recording me. (You can still take part in the research without being recorded)	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that I do not have to take part in the research	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have been told what this research is about, who is doing it and why it is being done. I have been given an information sheet.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have been able to ask questions about the research at any time.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I can refuse to answer any question and can withdraw at any time.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I will not be named in any research reports, and my personal information will remain confidential.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that if the researcher thinks that I or someone else might be at risk of harm, they will have to contact the relevant authorities. But they will try and talk to me first about the best thing to do.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree for my anonymous data to be archived (e.g. at the University of York) and for other researchers to be able to use it.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree that other researchers may use my anonymous data.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I give consent for you to use my words anonymously in any research output.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>

Interviewee signature: _____

Date: _____

Researcher signature: _____

Researcher name: Suehyun Noh

A-6. List of Occupational Category

* This is a modified version of the Korean Standard Classification of Occupation (revised 2017).

Macro level	Medium level	Micro level			
	-	0. I don't know A. Housewife			
Managers * More than 80% of tasks is supervision and management of other workers * Self-employed hiring regular workers and only doing management tasks belong to this category	Senior Public officials and Corporate Officers	1. Legislators, senior government officials and senior officials of public organisation 2. Senior corporate officers			
	Public, Business Administration, Marketing Management Occupations	3. Public and business administration managers 4. Marketing, advertising and public relations managers			
		Professional Services Management Occupations	5. Research, education and legal services-related managers 6. Insurance and finance managers 7. Health and social welfare service-related managers 8. Culture and art-related managers 9. Information and communications-related managers 10. Other professional services managers		
	Construction, Electricity and Production Related Managers		11. Construction, electricity and production-related Managers		
	Sales and Customer Service Managers		12. Sales and transport managers 13. Customer service managers 14. Environmental, cleaning, and protective service-related managers 15. Other sales and customer service managers		
			Science Professionals and Related Occupations	16. Biological and natural science related professionals 17. Liberal arts and social science professionals 18. Biological and natural science related technicians, etc.	
				Information and Communication Professionals and Technical Occupations	19. Computer hardware and telecommunication engineering professionals 20. Computer system and application software developers 21. Data and network specialists 22. Information system developers and web masters
					Professionals and related workers * Wage workers or self-employed hiring no employees or doing similar tasks with employees belong to this category

		23. Telecommunication and broadcast transmissions equipment technicians
	Engineering Professionals and Technical Occupations	24. Architectural practitioners, construction engineers and technicians
		25. Chemical engineers and technicians
		26. Metal and material engineers and technicians
		27. Electrical, electronic engineers and technicians
		28. Mechanical and robot engineers and technicians
		29. Fire and emergency management engineers and safety professionals
		30. Environment, gas and energy engineers and technicians
		31. Aircraft pilots, ship engineers, controllers
		32. Other engineering professionals and related workers
		Health, Social Welfare and Religion Related Occupations
	34. Pharmacists and oriental pharmacists	
	35. Nurses	
	36. Dietitians	
	37. Therapists, pathologists and medical technologists	
	38. Health and medical service related workers	
	39. Social welfare service-related workers	
	Education Professionals and Related Occupations	40. Religious activities related workers
		41. University professors
		42. University lecturers
		43. School teachers
		44. Kindergarten teachers
		45. Liberal arts, technical and arts instructors
	Legal and Administrative Occupations	46. Other educational professionals
		47. Legal professionals
	Business and Finance Professionals and Related Occupations	48. Administration professionals
		49. HR & business administrations professionals

		50. Finance and insurance professionals
		51. Product planning, public relations and survey professionals
		52. Appraisers, technical sales representatives, brokers and related workers
	Culture, Arts and Sports Professionals and Related Occupations	53. Writers, journalists, and related professionals
		54. Curators, librarians and archivists
		55. Drama, film and moving image professionals
		56. Visual and performing artists
		57. Designers
		58. Sports and recreation related professionals
		59. Chefs and culinary development professionals
		60. Cultural art planners and agents
Clerks * self-employed included	Administration and Accounting Related Occupations	61. Administrative clerks
		62. Business administration and office clerks
		63. Accounting and book-keeping clerks
		64. Secretaries and administrative assistants
	Financial Clerical Occupations	65. Finance clerks
	Legal and Inspection Occupations	66. Legal and inspection clerks
	Customer Service, Information Desk, Statistical Survey and Other Clerical Occupations	67. Statistical service-related clerks
		68. Travel agent, information and reception clerks
69. Customer service and other office clerks		
Service workers * self-employed included	Police, Fire Fighting and Security Related Service Occupations	70. Police, firefighting and prison related workers
		71. Guards and security related workers
	Caregiving, Health and Personal Service Workers	72. Caregiving and health service workers
		73. Hairdressing related service workers
		74. Wedding ceremony and funeral service workers
		75. Other caregiving, health and personal service workers
	Transport and Leisure Services Occupations	76. Transport services workers
77. Leisure services workers		

	Cooking and Food Service Occupations	78. Cooks 79. Food and beverage service workers
Sales workers * Self-employed included	Sales Occupations	80. Sales representatives
	Store Sales and Rental Sales Occupations	81. Store sales workers 82. Rental sales workers
	Mobile, Door to Door and Street Sales Related Occupations	83. Mobile telecommunication related sales workers and telesales workers
		84. Door to door and street sales related workers
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers * Self-employed included	Agricultural, Livestock Related Skilled Occupations	85. Crop growers
		86. Horticultural and landscape workers
		87. Livestock and stockbreeding related workers
	Skilled Forestry Occupations	88. Forestry related workers
	Skilled Fishery Occupations	89. Fishery related workers
Craft and related trades workers * Workers who have skills and less reliance on machines such as a master craft man * Self-employed included	Food Processing Related Trades Occupations	90. Food processing related trades workers
	Textile, Clothing and Leather Related Trade Occupations	91. Textile and leather related workers
		92. Garment related workers
	Wood and Furniture, Musical Instrument and Signboard Related Trade Occupations	93. Wood and furniture, musical instrument and signboard related trade occupations
	Metal Coremakers Related Trade Occupations	94. Die and mould makers, metal casting workers and forge hammersmiths
		95. Welders
	Transport and Machine Related Trade Occupations	96. Automobile, transport equipment mechanics
		97. Machinery equipment fitters and mechanics
	Electric and Electronic Related Trade Occupations	98. Electric and electronic machine fitters and repairers
		99. Electricians
	Information and Communications Technology Related Occupations	100. Information and communications technology equipment fitters and repairers
		101. Broadcasting and telecommunications equipment related fitters and repairers
	Construction and Mining Related Trade Occupations	102. Construction structure and construction-related technical workers
		103. Construction finishing related technical workers
104. Mining and civil engineering related technical workers		

		105. Craftsmen and metalsmiths
	Other Technical Occupations	106. Plumbers
		107. Other technical workers
<p>Equipment, machine operating and assembling workers</p> <p>* Workers producing products in factory or shipping</p>	Food Processing Related Machine Operating Occupations	108. Food processing and beverage producing related machine operators
	Textile and Shoe Related Machine Operating Occupations	109. Textile production and processing, textile and shoe related machine operators and assemblers
	Chemical-Related Machine Operating Occupations	110. Petroleum and chemical material processing machine operators
		111. Chemical, rubber and plastic production machine operators
	Metal and Non-metal Related Machine Operating Occupations	112. Metal casting and metal processing related operators
		113. Painting and coating machine operators
		114. Non-metal products production machine operators
	Machine Production and Related Machine Operating Occupation	115. Metal work machinery operators
		116. Cooling and heating related equipment operators
		117. Automated assembly line operators and industrial robot operators
		118. Transportation vehicle and machine related assemblers
		119. Metal machinery parts assemblers
	Electrical and Electronic Related Machine Operating Occupations	120. Power generation and distribution equipment operators
		121. Electrical and electronic equipment operators
		122. Electrical, electronic parts and products production equipment operators
	Driving and Transport Related Occupations	123. Locomotive and electric train drivers
		124. Freight train related workers
		125. Automobile drivers
		126. Freight-handling equipment operators
127. Construction and mining machines operators		
128. Ship workers and related workers		
Water Treatment and Recycling	129. Water treatment plant operators	

	Related Operating Occupation	130. Recycling machine and incinerator operators
	Wood, Printing and Other Machine Operating Occupations	131. Wood and paper related machine operators
		132. Printing and photo development related machine operators
		133. Other machine operators
Elementary workers	Construction and Mining Related Elementary Occupations	134. Construction and mining labourers
	Transport Related Elementary Occupations	135. Loading and lifting elementary workers
		136. Deliverers
	Production Related Elementary Occupations	137. Production related elementary workers
	Cleaning and Guard Related Elementary Occupations	138. Cleaners and sanitation workers
		139. Building concierges and ticket examiners
	Household Helpers, Cooking Attendants and Sales Related Elementary Workers	140. Domestic chores and infant rearing helpers
		141. Food preparation-related elementary workers
		142. Sales-related elementary workers
	Agriculture, Forestry, Fishery and Other Service Elementary Occupations	143. Agriculture, forestry and fishery related elementary workers
		144. Gauge reading, money collecting and parking control related workers
		145. Other service-related elementary workers
Armed forces	Officers	146. Field grade officer or higher ranks
		147. Company grade officers
	Commissioned Officers	148. Commissioned officers
	Armed Forces, other ranks	149. Armed Forces, other ranks

**Research study on social stratification among students
In the welfare regime of Korea**

1. Purpose of the research

To explore and explain the emerging social stratification in the welfare regime of Korea focusing on students in terms of their cognitive link between human values and attitudes towards redistribution

2. What is involved in participating?

You will be asked to fill in a questionnaire which might take 8 minutes to finish on average. No one except me (the researcher) and my supervisor is allowed to see the responses. In addition, you will also be asked in a consent form included in the questionnaire to leave your contact just in case of being interviewee, but it is up to you. Those contacts will only be used to make contact with interviewees and will be completely destroyed after fieldwork. When you become a potential interviewee, you will receive in advance information such as what kind of questions will be asked and a reward for your participation to help you decide whether to participate.

3. Benefits and risks

To thank you for your participation in this survey, I am going to give you 5,000 Korean Won in gratitude. As it cannot be ignored that there could be potential risks of unexpected disclosing data, I will do my best to keep the data in the secure storage of the University of York. All paper copies will be destroyed after saving them as electronic ones. In the questionnaire, there are some sensitive questions; for example, questions about your financial situation and the education level of your family members. When you find questions that you feel intrusive or you do not want to answer, you are able to refuse to answer them. As for the questions about your support for welfare state redistribution and the demographic questions asking gender, your department, and the type of high school you attended, however, there is no 'refusal' option for those questions are to classify each participant into groups set for the study. I apologise and ask your understanding for that.

4. Terms for withdrawal

You are able to withdraw at any time without providing a reason. In the event of withdrawal, the data you provided must be destroyed after the confirmation of your withdrawal.

5. Data usage and ethical use of the data

After anonymising, the collected survey data will be used in the dissertation of this project, and also it may be used for further research purposes such as journal publications, conference papers and presentations. The data will be stored securely both in the file store centrally managed by the University of York and its cloud storage. All the data will be anonymised, and the access to non-anonymised data such as completed questionnaires that could identify any participant will strictly be restricted to me, and my supervisor, if necessary. The data will be archived in the system of the University of York for ten years following on the completion of the research.

* This study has received ethical approval from the University of York.

Contact

If you have queries, please contact:

Suehyun Noh (postgraduate student)

email/mobile: sn924@york.ac.uk / +44(0)7474078663

address: Research Centre for Social Sciences

6 Innovation Close, University of York,

York, North Yorkshire, UK

YO10 5DD

**Research study on social stratification among students
In the welfare regime of Korea**

The aim of my research is to explore and explain the emerging social stratification in the welfare regime of Korea focusing on students by scrutinising their strength in the cognitive link between human values and attitudes towards redistribution, and subjective future SES.

Invitation

I would like to invite you to take part in the interview for this study. Your participation will be a great help to make up-to-date data showing the link between values and welfare attitudes of the students in Korea, which could be a good reference to researchers and policymakers. You will be given an opportunity to ask me any queries about the interview and the research before you decide whether to participate or not.

Participation is completely voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw from the interview which includes 1) to stop your participation at any time, and 2) to refuse to answer or respond to a certain question. When you want to withdraw your participation, all of the interview data collected from you will be completely deleted immediately after the confirmation of your withdrawal.

The interview

If you decide to participate in the interview, I will arrange a face-to-face interview with you at a mutually agreeable time and place. Before doing the interview, you will be asked to show your student IDs from the university and the government. No information on these IDs will be recorded. Then you will be asked to sign a consent form for the interview, which is also attached in this email with this information sheet. On the interview day, you should send a photocopy of the signed consent form to my email address before the interview.

At the beginning of the interview, I will briefly explain the purpose of the interview. If you have anything to ask, please do not hesitate. I will ask some questions about your thoughts of human values based on your responses in the questionnaire, your high school experiences, and your brief future plans. Each interview is expected to last about one hour, audio-recorded under your permission. If you do not want to be recorded, however, I would like to take notes instead. At the end of the interview, you can also have some time to ask questions or clarify something you might think not clear in your answers. I expect that only one interview will be asked. When additional information is necessary for clarification, I will contact you via email or mobile within a couple of months after the interview.

Benefits and risks

To thank you for your participation, I am going to give you 50,000 Korean Won as a reward after finishing the interview. As it cannot be ignored that there could be potential risks of unexpected disclosing data, I will do my best to keep the data in the secure storage of the University of York. All paper copies will be destroyed after saving them as electronic ones. During the interview, you

might feel some questions are intrusive, or you do not want to answer. If then, you are able to refuse to answer them with no reason.

Data usage and privacy

The interview data will be transcribed and anonymised to be used in the dissertation of this project. Your words may directly, but anonymously be quoted. It may also be used for further research purposes such as journal publications, conference papers, and presentations. Non-anonymised data, however, such as audio-recorded interview files will remain strictly confidential and will only be accessible to me (the researcher) and my supervisor, if necessary. All the data collected will be securely stored in the cloud storage of the University of York. The transcript may be given to you upon your request.

* This study has received ethical approval from the University of York.

Contact

If you have queries, please contact:

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If you have any concerns or complaints, please contact the Head of the Ethics Committee, Social Policy and Social Work at the University of York on spsw-ethics@york.ac.uk or on 01904 321480.

Ladder test 1.

Think of this ladder as representing where students stood in your high school as a community. People define community in different ways; please define it in whatever way is most meaningful to you.

At the top of the ladder are the students who had the highest standing in high school. At the bottom are the students who had the lowest standing in the high school

Q. Where would you place yourself on this ladder?

Please place a large 'X' on the rung where you think you stood in high school, relative to other students in the school.



Ladder test 2.

Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in Korea.

At the top of the ladder are the people who are the best off – those who have the most money, the most education and the most respected jobs. At the bottom are the people who are the worst off – who have the least money, least education, and the least respected jobs or no job.

The higher up you are on this ladder, the closer you are to the people at the very top; the lower you are, the closer you are to the people at the very bottom.

Q. Where would you place yourself on this ladder?

Please place a large 'X' on the rung where you expect to stand in future, relative to other people in Korea.



Abbreviations

AIC Akaike's information criterion

BIC Bayesian information criterion

BLI Better Life Index

CSAT College Scholastic Ability Test

EFA exploratory factor analysis

EGP The Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero class schema

FMI fraction of missing information

ILO International Labour Organization

IMF International Monetary Fund

ISCO International Standard Classification of Occupation

ISEI International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status

KEDI Korean Educational Development Institute

KICE Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation

KMO Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy

KSCO Korean Standard Classification of Occupations

MAR missing at random

MCAR missing completely at random

MI multiple imputation

MICE multiple imputation by chained equations

MNAR missing not at random

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OLS ordinary least squares

PCA Principal component analysis

PMM predictive mean matching

RVI relative variance information

SE self-enhancement

SES socioeconomic status

SIOPS Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale

SKY an informal name to call the top three universities in Seoul, Korea, made by first initial letter of Seoul National University, Korea University and Yonsei University

SNU Seoul National University

ST self-transcendence

VIF variance inflation factor

VoC Varieties of Capitalism

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