

# Women's Education and Social Mobility in South Korea

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to examine women's educational attainment and social mobility in contemporary South Korea. This study seeks to answer to the following key research questions: 1) how much parents' characteristics such as occupational status and educational attainment, are important to their children's education and class; 2) the roles of educational qualification to occupational attainment in contemporary South Korea; 3) whether South Korea has become a more equal society with improved mobility chances for people of different social origins; and, 4) if there is a general pattern of social mobility and social fluidity in South Korea, how it is related to the change in the occupational positions of women.

This research uses the Korean Labour and Income Panel Study (KLIPS) from 1998 to look at the changing relationship between social origin, education, and destination and what it indicates the role of education in the social mobility in Korea. The following tools are used for the analysis: I adopt Goldthorpe's class schema and CASMIN scales of educational qualifications. I then separately look at the association for men and women separately. Various statistical methods are subsequently employed to explore the substantive research questions: I use descriptive analysis for changes of Korea's educational attainment and look at absolute rates of mobility. Disparity ratios and odds ratios are used for describing the relative patterns and chances of educational attainment and mobility and regression model are used for analysing the impact of a range of factors on educational attainment and class destination. Finally, I draw on log-linear and log-multiplicative analysis for the trends in relative mobility and social fluidity.

I find that access to education is still influenced by social background. Although the disparities between men and women become narrower across cohort, class and gender differentials in general educational attainment still apply to South Korea. Regarding the relative mobility rates, the results from disparity ratios show that the social class and gender differentials in class mobility still exist and the results of odds ratios confirm that social origin has a significant effect on children's social class destination. Looking at the origin-education (OE) association, class differences are still considerable and the relationship between class origins and educational attainment remains. Turning to the association between educational attainment and occupational destination (ED), qualifications continue to play a critical role in entry into the labour market remains, but there is no evidence that the association between education and destination has strengthened over time. Looking at the direct association between origins and destination (OD), the evidence shows the continuing association of origins on destinations. Regression analysis shows that the origin class effects upon educational attainment and occupational destinations were not dramatically decreased, but there were significant changes for women but not for men. The findings from the log-linear and log-multiplicative analysis suggest that there is trendless fluctuation and a stronger link between education and destination for women than for men.

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## **Chapter 1 Introduction**

### **1.1 Background of the study**

Why Women? Why educational and social mobility?

The equality of educational and social opportunity for women vis-à-vis men was legally guaranteed in the 1950s in Korea. It has been believed that women have different characters and socially different roles from men. The traditional culture always places women in subordinate and inferior positions to their male counterparts. The role of women emphasised by the educators was of subordination to men - being good wives to their husbands and wise mothers to their children. Since 1951, the ideology 'A wise mother and good wife' had affected women's education. The curriculum promoted 'Home Economics' skills such as dressmaking, sewing, knitting, typing, etc. understood to be suitable for women. Excluded from technical education and intellectual knowledge, women could not achieve social advancement.

The literature about women and education in Korea is extensive, but limited in two important respects. On the one hand, researchers have tended to pay attention to questions of the equal opportunity of education and the gender discrimination. On the other hand, far fewer studies have been conducted into the experiences of women's education and the analysis of gender issues in school, even though the 'gender' factor in women's educational policy has been discussed in Korea since 1987 (Jang, 2003: 389-90).

## **1.2 Aim and objectives**

The aim of this thesis is to examine women's education and social mobility in contemporary South Korea. This research focuses on analysing how women's experience in school has affected their occupational (class) positions and to the difference from those of their parents in South Korea.

The curriculum framework did not have a specific focus on gender in Korea. Its main focus was to set out to reduce gender stereotypes with regard to subject choice and career aspirations. However, subject choice is dependent on the head master of the school, such as 'Home Economics' for girl's school and 'Manual Training' for boy's school. Curriculum of the secondary education for women in Korea still emphasises femininity and requires the establishment of traditional feminine figures.

Social researchers concerned with patterns and or trends of crucial social issues find it increasingly necessary to use large-scale national representative data, as they simply cannot afford to collect their own data. Fortunately, there are many data sets collected by government agencies and the academic community over the past decades, which are free for academic users. Once we have well-formulated research questions and appropriate data sets, we need to know how to use the data to answer our research questions (Li, 2004: 200-1).

## **1.3 Research questions**

To address the changing nature of the educational and occupational system for women as compared with men in my analysis of data, some of the following key research questions will be answered:

- What is this research piece about and why is it important?
- The significance of the change of secondary education
- How much is parents' characteristics such as occupational status and educational attainment important to their children's education and class?
- The effect of the educational qualification to occupational attainment of women
- Is it useful to maintain the traditional gender role education in the future?
- Is it possible to overcome the gender differentiation?
- Whether South Korea has become a more equal society with improved mobility chances for people of different social origins?
- Is there a general pattern of social mobility and social fluidity in South Korea and how is it related to the change in the occupational positions of women?
- What are the limitations of the data and methods used?

The research questions are designed to throw light on (a) a critique of the limit of traditional analyses in gender roles in education and in social mobility and (b) the presentation of the new perspectives of the roles of education and social mobility in contemporary South Korea. This study not only contributes to the general literature of social mobility by finding little evidence of rising social fluidity in South Korea, but also fills in the gap in mobility research by using Korean Labour and Income Panel Study data to examine the issues with a class structural approach. The following section provides an overview of the thesis outline and key findings of the empirical chapters.

## **1.4 Thesis outlines**

Following the overview of the research background and questions in the previous sections, this section details the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literatures and provides the theoretical framework for the linkages between women and Korean society. The chapter starts with a review of women in traditional Confucianist Korea and theories of gender in contemporary South Korea. After a review of class and education, the chapter ends with a brief review of gender and education.

Chapter 3 gives a brief account of the data and methodological approaches for the analysis in this study to address the research questions. The first part of the chapter introduces the Korean Labour and Income Panel Study (KLIPS) and explains the reason for choosing it to provide the data for the empirical examination of the research question. After that, key variables are presented in detail. In the last section, the overview of statistical methods, including cross-tabulation, disparity and odds ratios, regression analysis and loglinear and log-multiplicative layer effect models that are introduced which are applied in the empirical chapters of the thesis.

Chapter 4 explores the general trends of educational attainment and employment status in contemporary South Korea. Following this, to have an overview the changes of South Korea's educational system and trends in employment, I use secondary sources, the Korea National Statistical Office and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, and World Bank.

The first empirical chapter in this thesis, Chapter 5, seeks to address the question of how social origins affect children's educational attainment in contemporary South Korea. Followed by the literature review of the theoretical arguments on gender and class differentials, I present the descriptive analysis of the relationships between educational attainment and social origin in contemporary Korean society. The analysis shows the positive association between parents' education and children's educational attainment. This chapter also confirms that social origin has a marked effect on higher educational attainment across cohorts. In terms of relative chances for educational attainment, I analyse trends in the country's educational attainment using disparity ratios and odds ratios. The results of analysis shows the opportunities for educational attainment are still influenced by social origin and gender differentials in the general educational attainment still apply to South Korea.

Chapter 6 explore the patterns of intergenerational mobility in contemporary South Korea. Following a brief review of the existing theories and studies on social mobility in the West and in contemporary South Korea, I present the changes of class distribution by cohort. The results of analysis show a distinct association between class destination and cohorts for women. Following that, I present absolute mobility rates and both inflow and outflow patterns of intergenerational mobility. The results show that, in terms of social closure, higher-status fathers were generally able to secure higher occupation for their daughters in South Korea. Moreover, the results of analysis in Chapter 6 indicate that the closure thesis and buffer-zone thesis does not hold good in the Korean case for either women or men. Counterbalance thesis is not discussed, as this thesis is not concerned with work-life mobility.

The final empirical chapter in this thesis, Chapter 7, seeks to address the questions of social fluidity in South Korea and whether trends of social fluidity are similar between men and women. I present the results of the preliminary analyses between the social origin and education (OE), education and destination (ED), and origins and destination (OD) in the first section. The results show that the continued improvement in educational achievement and the educational effect on destination, but class differences and the association between origin and educational attainment remains, so does the educational effect on destination. After that, I apply the ordered logistic regression model. The results indicate that the origin effect were of a similar degree for men and women in education and class destination, and education is playing a significant role on class destination for women as for men. In the final empirical section of Chapter 7, In terms of relative mobility, I examine whether South Korea has become a more equal society by conducting log-linear and multiplicative layer effect models. The results of analysis in Chapter 7 indicate that there is trendless fluctuation and a stronger link between education and destination for women than men.

Chapter 8 concludes this thesis with a review of the key findings of this analysis, discusses the contributions to knowledge of this thesis. In the final part of the chapter, it also provides the limitations of this research and proposes further inquiries for future research.

## **Chapter 2 Literature Review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter seeks to provide a theoretical framework for the relationships between women and Korean Society. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, this thesis aims to provide a sociological explanation of women's education and social mobility in contemporary South Korea.

The chapter is structured as follows. To start with, Section 2.2 is a review of women in Confucianist Korea. In the next section, I turn to look at gender in contemporary South Korea. Section 2.4 reviews the concept of class and education. Before the chapter is concluded, Section 2.5 reviews the experience of gender and the relationship between gender and education.

### **2.2 Women in Confucianist Korea**

For 2,500 years Confucian beliefs have influenced the thought and behaviour of peoples in Mainland China, Korea, Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan. However, it is believed that Korea is the most Confucian country in all of East Asia. Confucian thought and social patterns have a strong influence on Korean society today, even though Confucianism lost its official position as Korea's state ideology in 1910 with the collapse of the Yi dynasty.

As a civic culture, Confucian ideas can easily be found in family relationships, political attitudes, work, and gender relations. Confucianism also plays a considerable role in community life in many small towns and villages. In accordance with the

Confucian structure of society, women were to inhabit a position lower than men. Most Confucians accepted the obedience of women to men as natural and proper.

### **2.2.1 What is Confucianism?**

Confucianism is a philosophy or attitude that is concerned with human beings, their achievements and interests. In Confucianism, man is the centre of the universe. Confucianism deals with moral conduct and ethical living. The central doctrines of Confucianism are ancestor worship - the veneration of the spirits of the dead by their living relatives and filial piety (*Hsiao*) which is devotion and obedience to and reverence of the elders of the family by the younger members. Confucianism is founded by Confucius who was descended from a noble family in the state of Lu in China. Confucius was interested in moral character (Lau, 1979: 9-11).

In Confucius view, moral character is based on the Way (*tao*) and virtue (*te*). Confucius believed, 'He has not lived in vain who dies the day he is told about the Way' (The Analects, IV.8). Lau defines the term of the Way as 'Truth' found in philosophical and religious writings in the West (Lau, 1979: 11). On the other hand, virtue is defined as 'an endowment men get from Heaven' (ibid.). The term virtue was used when Confucius, facing a threat to his life, said, 'Heaven is author of the virtue that is in me' (The Analects, VII.23). Confucius said that 'if one guided the common people by virtue they would not only reform themselves but have a sense of shame (The Analects, II.3)' (ibid.).

To Confucius, a general morality is based on the natural love and obligations obtaining between members of the family, especially between father and son and between elder and younger brother. Confucius said, 'If a man is a good son and a good younger

brother at home, he can be counted on to behave correctly in society' (Lau, 1979: 16). The doctrines of Confucius can be summarized by six crucial terms. *Jen* (golden rule) is the idea of humaneness, goodness, benevolence; *Chun-tzu* (gentleman) is the ideal moral character for Confucius; *Cheng-ming* (role-player) is the way in which Confucius believed everyone must act his proper part, 'Let the ruler be a ruler, the subject a subject, the father a father, the son a son' (The Analects, XII: 11); *Te* is virtuous power; *Li* is the standard of conduct, and *Wen* encompasses the arts of peace which Confucius held in high esteem (ibid.).

### **2.2.2 History of Korean Confucianism**

Confucianism was introduced to Korea during the Three Kingdom period (37 B.C. - A.D. 935).<sup>1</sup> Firstly, Confucianism was adopted as the government's state doctrine. It had become an integrated part of Korean culture by the fourteenth century, and it has been a leading thought and philosophy of Korea, especially from the sixteenth century.

During the initial stages of Confucianism in Korea, the Korean literati or court nobles studied Confucian precepts, particularly for their lessons in practical government or the mastery of literary forms. In the *Samguk sagi* [The History of the Three Kingdom] by Kim Pu-sik (1075-1151), it states that in 372, the Koguryo King established a Confucian college where provided the education of the sons of the nobility (Yang & Hederson, 1958: 83).

The first Korean Confucian scholar was Sol Chong who was a son of a famous Buddhist monk. Sol Chong is the first Korean to translate the Canon of Classics into

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<sup>1</sup> By the first century BC, Three Kingdoms, Koguryo (37 BC- AD 688), Paekche (18 BC - AD 660) and Silla (57 BC - AD 935) had emerged on the Korean Peninsula and part of what is now known as Manchuria (Simons, 1995:78-9).

Korean, using the *idu* (the phonetic use of Chinese characters to represent native Korean place names, surnames, reign names, and eventually, auxiliary verbs and connectives) script which he is said to have devised in 680 to convey the Classics to the Korean (Yang & Henderson, 1958: 83). In the late Silla dynasty, another great Confucian scholar Choi Chi-won was born. Choi Chi-won and Sol Chong found enshrinement in *Songgyun-gwan* (the Confucian shrine in Seoul) the only Korean scholars (ibid., 84). In the late Koryo, Chu Hsi Confucianism (also called Neo-Confucianism) was emerged. An Hyang (1243-1306) urged the Koryo government to reestablish the Confucian Academy with Chu Hsi's works. Chu Hsi Confucianism became the official creed of government and the aristocracy in Koryo and later *Chosun* (*Yi*) dynasty (ibid., 85-8).

During the *Chosun* (*Yi*) dynasty, Confucianism was the chief intellectual concern of the entire era. From 1392 on, Confucianism was the primary system of belief amongst the scholarly *yangban* [high society] classes and generals. The Yi family restrained Buddhism and encouraged Confucianism for its use in administration and social regulation. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, *Silhak* [practical studies] movement for a more practical social reform replaced great Neo-Confucianism (Yang & Henderson, 1958; Eckert *et al.* 1990).

### **2.2.3 Traditional Confucian perspective of women**

Ancient historical records show that there was a time when Korean women had a superior social position in relation to men. But when Chu Hsi Confucianism came to Korea, Korean women suffered under the new role of a Confucian morality; what are called '*The Seven Divorce Reasons* (七去之惡), *The Three Following Rules*

(三從之義) and *the Husband's Autocracy* (夫爲婦綱)' (Ji 1972: 43). This new morality brought about the philosophy of *the Predominance of Man over Women*(男存女卑) and it formed a more severe feminine moral pattern in the *Chosun* (Yi) dynasty. In Yi periods, Korean women were not able to get the opportunity to attend school of any kind. Even those who belonged to *Yangban* learned '*the women's Four Readers* (女子四書讀本), *Samkanghaengsido-Eonhae* (三綱行實圖諺解), *Hyokyeong-haeon* (孝經解諺), *Yeolnyeojeon* (烈女傳)' at home from their parents and from other families privately and informally (Ji, 1972: 43).

Traditional Confucian morality required the Korean women to keep certain rules. For example, in everyday life, contact between women and men should be kept to a minimum, and the opposite sex should keep physical distance. Obedience to parents-in-law was required as was intimacy with brothers- and sisters-in-law, and working hard in the home. Moreover, remarriage of women was not allowed if she was widowed and no jealousy was allowed in the case of polygamy. Moreover, women should not concern themselves with matters outside her household (Ji 1972: 43; Cho, 2001: 193).

In the Confucian ritual of ancestor worship, it is common that only men perform the rituals and succeed ancestor worship rituals following male lineal principle (Deuchler, 1992: 139-143). On the other hand, women's role in the ritual is limited to contribute in preparing for and holding the offerings in sacrificial rites (Ch'oe, 1984: 228). Therefore, if family has no sons, the ancestor worship of their family discontinued but it is possible to continue by adopting male who are taken from near relatives following the recommended kinship ranking of seniority and generation. In addition, in

traditional Confucian culture, childless women can be expelled from the family (ibid., 228-9).

In the perspective of patrilineality, married women must leave her home village and family. Women cannot change their membership such as names or titles in their patrilineal group because they are born as members of a patrilineal family. Even after the marriage, woman still cannot fully change her patrilineal membership during her lifetime. Woman finally obtains the full member of her husband's lineage after death (Ch'oe, 1984: 227-8).

According to Confucian ideas, men and women play different role in society due to their sex. It described women as having different characters and socially different roles from men. With the development of a patrilineal lineage system, men are educated the characteristics of responsibility, assertiveness, and independence in order to be a leader of the family. On the other hand, passiveness, obedience, quietness, and calmness represent the characteristics of women (Deuchler, 1992; Park & Cheah, 2005: 26). Principally, the role of women was subordination to men; they had to be good wives to their husbands, and wise mothers to their children. In the 1950s, to develop in accordance with this ideology, women's education was divided into three categories: firstly, education must conform to the principle of national cooperation: secondly, education must be practically suitable to the semi-war period system: lastly, education must enhance womanly virtues and motherly affection (Lee, 2003: 325). Since 1951, the curriculum promoted Home Economics skills such as dressmaking, sewing, knitting, typing, etc. understood as being appropriate for women. Adult education also provided a separate class for job-related opportunities. However, to be a woman in Korea meant having motherly affection and womanly virtues (Lee, 2003: 325-7).

In sum, although this explains on the traditional construction of Korean femininity, women had improved their social position in the 20th century, especially since 1960 when they received equal status with men from the Constitution and Civil Law (Ji, 1972: 43).

#### **2.2.4 Being a woman in modern Confucian society**

Confucianism in Korea regards the family as the elemental unit of society, and emphasizes a strict hierarchical order of human relationships based on age, gender, and inherited social status. These common beliefs have been noticeably changing, with women's higher educational achievement, democratic ideology, and the materialistic and competitive nature of industrial society (Park & Cheah, 2005: 24). However, the Confucian separation of the roles of husband and wife, and the wife's subordinate position within the family continue. In general, Korean men and women hold different kinds of jobs and expectations. In many families, the rigid gender role dichotomy, with "the husband as breadwinner and the wife as household manager" is still persistent. (Kim & Finch, 2002: 43-5). On the other hand, traditional Confucian values or attitudes are not followed as virtues by young generation in contemporary Korean society who instead express their own opinions more freely. It is common for young Korean mothers to adopt Western individualistic values and to put more emphasis on academic achievement and social assertiveness rather than on traditionally valued social behaviours (Park & Cheah, 2005: 24).

There has been significant progress in social change in Korea in the past few decades. However, traditional values inherited from Confucian culture mean that Korean families have retained their childbearing practices and beliefs. Mothers in

contemporary Korean society are experiencing conflicts in their socialisation practices with regard to maintaining collectivist values versus pursuing individualistic values. As education is seen as the means to social success, most Koreans mothers' parenting goals are focused on academic achievement, emphasising competition among peers rather than cooperative social behaviours (Park and Cheah, 2005: 25).

Moreover, in case of parenting, the role of father is not of a disciplinarian, whereas the role of mother is not of caregiver and nurturing agent. Thus, girls are raised to develop characteristic aspects such as emotional warmth and helping others, which may be reflected in mothers' support of social skills being more compulsory for girls than for boys (ibid., 26).

Korean social structure consisted of a patriarchally dominated, extended family system that emphasized the maintenance of family lines. This structure tended to maintain separate and unequal roles for women from those of men. One of the codes of belief of Confucianism requires three obediences of women: 'to the father when young; to the husband when married; and to the son in old age' (Palley, 1990: 1140).

At the present time, Korean women are faced with several underlying problems, which make it difficult to foster change in sex-role relationships and gender equality. It is hard to change women's role in maintaining family relationships that are required by with Confucian moral practice. It is maintained by custom and is further reinforced by the Family Law. Despite its modifications, the Family Law still preserves a system of patrilineal family headship, defines relationship in a different manner for a woman's family than for a man's, and restricts marriage between people with the same surname and place of origin. However, women's attitudes about their own roles have been

changing. Men's attitudes have been changing too, although more slowly. It is not unusual that women still believe that they should be good housewives and mothers (Palley, 1990: 1153).

### **2.3 Gender in contemporary South Korea**

In contemporary Korean society, Korean people's social attitudes, values and beliefs, including gender-related ones, are undertaking rapid change. Identifying what the social change in contemporary Korean society means and how Korean people are responding to these changes is the first stage to understanding the contemporary social construction of gender, particularly how it may impact upon gender socialisation.

The contemporary Korean society was very similar to Western cultures in its way of life. Korean people wear Western style clothes, live in Western style houses, and eat Western style foods. However, to my knowledge, Korean society is fundamentally different from Western cultures, in terms of its social values and beliefs in particular, including gender roles. I have been more aware of the cultural specificity of Korean society since coming to the U.K. For example, during my childhood, it was rare for women to be employed outside of their homes, and 'working mothers' were even unusual. Employed mothers were regarded as exceptional in Korean society, because most Korean women generally quit their jobs when they were married or became pregnant.

#### **2.3.1 The concept of gender in contemporary South Korea**

English language has unique terms 'sex' and 'gender', while Korean has only one word '*Seong*' which stands for both sex and gender. At first, '*Seong*' meant only 'sex'

as there was no distinctive term for 'gender' in Korean language. Ever since the concept of 'gender' was brought in from Western culture to Korea, '*Seong*' has been used as both sex and gender depending on circumstance of its use but it should be pointed out that the usage of '*Seong*' is based on a more biological term in Korean society (Lee, 2004: 12). For that reason, it is not difficult to see that '*Seong-Yeokhal*' is often used to for the understand of the sociological term of a 'gender' in Korea, with the translation of 'Yeokhal' as 'role' (ibid.).

Consequently, '*Seong*' only describes the term 'sex', while '*Seong*' or '*Seong-Yeokhal*' explain 'gender' in Korean society. It depends on the context that the usage of '*Seong*' and '*Seong-Yeokhal*' has the meaning of gender. For instance, it is common to translate 'gender' as '*Seong*', while when the usage of 'gender' is combined with other term like 'gender development' or 'gender socialisation', those are translated with '*Seong-Yeokhal Baldal* (development)' or '*Seong-Yeokhal Saheowha* (socialisation)', respectively. Nonetheless, these terms are not translated with '*Seong Baldal*' and '*Seong Saheowha*' (ibid.).

### **2.3.2 Confucianism and traditional gender views in South Korea**

It has been frequently noted that Confucianism is the major source of gender definition and symbolisation in Korean society, and its influence is persistent (Kim, 1993). Korean gender ideas developed within this Confucian cultural background. Thus, through the development of the gender ideas from traditional Korean society to contemporary Korean society, historical changes in Korean gender attitudes and gender socialisation can be examined.

As mentioned in Chapter 2.2.2, in Korea, Confucianism was adopted as the state doctrine, and has been the dominant ethic principle of ‘good manner, practical wisdom, and appropriate social relationship’ for more than 600 years (Duncan, 1998). Firstly, during the Three Kingdom (37 B. C. – A. D. 935), Confucianism had no effect as a ‘social ideology inspiring the behaviours and attitudes’ of Korean society until when Neo-Confucianism was introduced from China during the last *Koryo* dynasty (918-1392). When the *Chosun (Yi)* dynasty (1392-1910) adopted Neo-Confucianism as the official ideology of new dynasty in order to reconstruct of a new social and political ideology, Buddhism of the *Koryo* dynasty was restrained (Duncan, 1998; Yang & Hederson, 1958). Since the foundation of the *Chosun (Yi)* dynasty, Confucianism in Korea was influenced not only to establish the outlines of living and standards of social value, but also to practise the attitudes concerning life (Lee, 2004: 21).

Tu recapitulated the main characteristic of Confucianism which concerns for human relationship into the Five Cardinal Relationships: King-vassal, father-son, elder-younger, husband-wife, and friend-friend relationships which clarify the distinct duties related to their positions, respectively (Tu, 1998). The family is the fundamental unit of society in Confucianism, and the head of the family is always man (Duncan, 1998). Moreover, a strict hierarchical order of human relationships which based on age, gender, and inherited social status was emphasised by the Neo-Confucian philosophy (Tu, 1998). The development of a patrilineal lineage system in Korea is the most prominent feature of Korean Confucianism (Deuchler, 1992).

Table 2.1 presents the concept of gender in traditional Korean society (Lee, 2004: 23).

Table 2. 1 Korean gender concepts

Korean words	Definitions
<i>Nam</i> 男	Male
<i>Yo (Nyo)</i> 女	Female
<i>Namnyo-yubyol</i> 男女有別	Differential gender-treatment between men and women
<i>Namjon-yobi</i> 男存女卑	Honoured men and abased women: the predominance of man over woman
<i>Sam-Jo'ng-ji-do</i> 三從之道	Three rules of obedience: 1) Before the marry, women should obey their father; 2) After they are married women should obey their husband; 3) If the husbands are dead, women should listen to their sons.
<i>Chil-guo-ji-ack</i> 七去之惡	The seven sins to throw out a wife: The 7 divorce reasons 1) Not obedient to parents-in-laws 2) Childless (especially no son) 3) Licentious 4) Jealous 5) Diagnosed with a serious disease 6) Talkative 7) Larcenous

As Table 2.1 shows that the translation of *Namnyo-yubyol* as differential gender-treatment between men and women and *Namjon-Yobi* as honoured men and abased women, these terms describe two main ethics principle of the interactions between the genders (Cho, 1998; Kim, 1998). The meaning of *Namnyo-yubyol* is that men and women are different, the treatment of them also be different. The concept of *Namnyo-yubyol* also designates the social arrangement of men and women; the men are in a public domain (labour) while women are in a domestic domain (home) (Lee, 2004: 24; Park, 1986). Moreover, *Namjon-yobi* indicates that these two domains are hierarchically ordered (Lee, 1998). In traditional Korean society, the status of man is predominant much above woman, which implicates that woman is inferior,

subordinated, and vulnerable to man, and expects the differentiated gender role (Lee, 2004: 24-5).

### 2.3.3 Masculinity and femininity in South Korea

The terms of masculinity and femininity often refer to the ensemble of cultural forms, meanings, and values associated with the traits to the men and women. The certain forms of speech, styles of bodily comportment or personal qualities have functioned traditionally as cultural markers of masculinity and femininity. In most cultures, masculinity is the term in a binary opposition of femininity.

Table 2.1 shows some sex differences between a person's masculinity and femininity with certain psychological traits (Vetterling-Braggin, 1982, 5-6).

Table 2. 2 Traits of femininity and masculinity

<b>Feminine</b>	<b>Masculine</b>
Gentleness	Strength of will
Modesty	Ambition
Humility	Courage
Supportiveness	Independence
Empathy	Assertiveness
Compassionateness	Aggressiveness
Tenderness	Hardiness
Nurturance	Rationality or the ability to think logically
Intuitiveness	Abstract and analytical ability
Sensitivity	Ability to control emotion
Unselfishness	

However, is it easy to say that the majority of men are masculine or women are feminine? We should be cautious in determining whether a person is 'feminine' and

'masculine' who has these certain feminine or masculine traits, because the concepts of masculinity and femininity are applied not only to illustrate a socially constructed set of personality traits that are to be observed in an individual man or woman's behaviours and role expectations related to men and women, but also to reveal ideas about what people think men and women should not be or do (Kendall, 2001: 82). Connell also emphasised that no masculinity takes place except in a structure of gender relations in which men and women conduct gendered lives and which are produced and maintained through culturally specific and continuous practices (Connell, 1995: 71).

Before examining the view of contemporary masculinity and femininity in South Korea, it is important to see the transformation of the Korean society through history. Jackson and Scott indicate that the dominant definitions of normal masculinity and femininity have been shaped largely by white Western middle class and heterosexual view of the world (Jackson & Scott, 2002: 269-270).

Korean society has experienced dramatic and rapid changes in its political system. Until 1910, it was a monarchy, and with the invasion and imperialistic occupation by Japan from 1910 to 1945, it existed under Japanese dominance. At the end of World War II (1945), Korea was liberated with the victory of the Allied Nations over Japan (Eckert *et al.* 1990). The rejection of imperialism and anti-Japanese sentiment allowed Korea to open its doors to Western missionaries and Western democracy.

In September 1947, Korea was divided into North and South Korea because of their different political ideologies (social-communism versus democratic capitalism), and South Korea adopted a democratic political system (Eckert *et al.* 1990). However, by

as a result of a military coup, South Korea was under military rule from 1960 to 1987, and finally achieved democratisation of the political system with a student movement in 1987 (Buzo, 2002). The democratic principles in South Korea have had great impact on not only political system itself but also society and culture. One of the most important changes was the elimination of a heredity social class system (ibid.). In addition, since 1953, primary educational opportunities were extended to all and each person had similar rights under the law. In addition, age became less important in determining who occupied leadership roles (ibid.).

Economic capitalism and industrial development in South Korea after 1960s has also resulted in cultural opening to Westernisation and modernisation of social life. South Korea experienced rapid economic development beginning in the mid-1960s. Until the mid-1960's, Korea was one of the poorest, least developed countries in the world. However, after the mid-1960s, South Korea made great efforts to industrialise. Consequently, South Korea became the eleventh largest economy in the world within 40 years and transformed itself from an agricultural state to an industrial state (Kim & Choi, 1998).

Deuchler pointed out that the most distinctive change in South Korean society is the growth in women's social position (Deuchler, 1992). Egalitarianism, modernised education, and Western culture, which emphasises equal rights to both genders, influenced the rise in women's social status, the expansion of women's roles, and employment opportunity (Abelmann, 2002; Kim & Choi, 1998, Lee, 2004). In the past few years, numerous organisations representing women's interest have emerged. At present, two types of women's organisations have been established to improve conditions for women in Korea. They are identified by women activists as either

‘radical’ or ‘reformist’ in orientation especially in the context of Korean women’s movement (Palley, 1990: 1141-2). Palley emphasised that the term of ‘radical’ in Korean women’s groups refers to not support for radical changes in women’s role or status but support for human right reforms and the reformist as ‘traditional’ or ‘mainstream’ organisations which involved in education, influencing decision makers (such as Equal Employment Opportunity Acts in 1988), drafting legislations (alteration of Family Law), etc. and tend to support the ruling party as pro-government (ibid.).

In traditional Confucian view of masculinity and femininity, most Korean people viewed masculinity and femininity as characteristics that their society expects men and women to keep to (Min, 1998). Since Confucian Korean society was based on patriarchal family system, men were expected to be ‘authoritative, dominant, strong, independent, and intelligent’ because the role of men was to stand for their families (Deuchler, 1992). On the contrary, traditional Korean society required women to be ‘obedient, quiet, dependent, passive, warm, and wise’ in order to be ‘a wise mother and supportive wife (*Hyunmo-yangcheo*)’ (Deuchlder, 1992; Kim, 1998).

With dramatic social changes in South Korea, the traditional Confucian traits of masculinity and femininity has been loosened but not eliminated. For example, superior physical strength, men’s magnanimity and broad-mindedness are still in use in contemporary notion of masculinity. The word *Dae-jang-bu* (Mighty man) instead of just *Namja* (man) is still used only for men and Korean society expects men to be ‘magnanimous’ (Lee, 2004: 82). In addition, contemporary Korean men are still expected to perform a traditional role as head of their family which is a primary role for men in patriarchal system based on traditional Confucianism, even most contemporary families are nuclear families (ibid., 84-5). As Moon argued, these

masculinized practices give men both domestic authority and dominance in South Korean society (Moon, 2001: 84). On the other hand, ‘tenderness’ and ‘warmness’ which might be regarded as traditionally feminine traits are a new characteristic of masculinity in contemporary Korean society that men can and are expected to have (ibid., 87).

Contemporary women are expected to exhibit traditional feminine traits such as ‘physical appearance’ and ‘softness’ which were still used to characterize contemporary femininity (Lee, 2004: 88-9). In young Korean women in particular, being good looking is strongly related to feminine gender identity (Cho, 2001: 183). According to Cho, it used to be that the femininity of the grandmother or mother defined women’s identity by their motherly power or wifely power, whereas today’s young women has their femininity defined by the physical appearance of the female body. Moreover, there are young men joke that “a woman with a past can be forgiven but an ugly woman cannot be forgiven” (ibid., 185). Corresponding with the men’s role as a family leader, women are expected to continue to be supportive, considerate, compliant, and self-sacrificing (Lee, 2004). All this goes to show that Korean society still expects men to lead and for women to follow men’s leading. However, in contemporary Korean society, women are also expected to have new roles and personality traits in addition to the traditional ones. The new characteristics such as ‘activeness’ and ‘initiativeness’ relate to the new role of women as an employed worker outside of the home (Lee, 2004: 95-6).

In sum, from all this it follows that contemporary view of masculinity and femininity reflect both traditional Confucian values and contemporary social changes in Korean society. When asked what traits are desirable for women in contemporary Korean

society, several feminine characteristics such as ‘weakness’ and ‘shyness’ were no longer regarded as desirable (Jung, J., 1991). Min also examined the concepts used to describe the characteristics of Korean men’s and women’s and found modifications in masculine traits such as being independent, reasonable, and creative and feminine traits such as being wise, dependent, and quiet were no longer regarded as gender-related in contemporary Korean society (Min, 1998).

#### **2.3.4 Gender socialisation in modern Korean society**

Socialisation is commonly described as the process by which individuals are transformed into social beings that have taken on particular norms and values, and know what kinds of behaviours are expected of them (Persell, 1990; Brim & Wheeler, 1966; Inkeles, 1971). The main feminist’s concern to see socialisation is in women’s oppression – gender role socialisation which is the process by which children come to be ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’ ones (Stanley & Wise, 2002: 272-3). Parents play an active role as the agent that defines the content of what is taught in the children’s socialisation process.

Kimmel also argues that we get our gender identity through socialisation, and we are socialised to behave in masculine or feminine ways through socialisation (Kimmel, 2000: 106). The gender socialisation process includes not only developing a self-identity as a member of one of the two gender groups (gender identity), but also beliefs about the roles and expectations that are associated with each sex group (gender roles) (Stockard, 1999).

Since 1945, the life of Korean family has been changed, particularly in regard to socialisation of children. The main characteristics of socialisation of children that have

changed involve ideas of the value of an adolescent, socialising agents, mechanisms, and the content of socialisation (Yi, 1993). Westernised gender egalitarian values influenced modern Korean society, the general conception and value of daughters has improved even though some people still have strong preference for sons<sup>2</sup> (Kim, 1993; Park & Cho, 1995; Lee, 2004).

Cho revealed that the three generations (grandmother, mother, and daughter generations) in Korean society reflect rapid social changes as each generation has its own particular definition of gender roles (Cho, 2002a). Firstly, she defined the feminine identity of the generation of grandmother as ‘a mother’. Although Confucian patriarchy denotes the traditional Korean society, women’s rights as a mother can be found in some features of Confucian patriarchy. Therefore, the generation of grandmother thinks of themselves as mothers and this identity influences their life experiences. The generation of grandmother values traditional feminine beliefs in their personality traits, defined by her ‘familial’, ‘caring’, and ‘managerial roles’ (Cho, 2002a: 174).

Secondly, Cho describes the generation of mother as a new image of the aggressive modern wife. According to Cho, the generation of mother made their own identities not only through their children but also through their husbands. As the Korean family converts itself from extended into nuclear forms, the generation of mother acknowledges as having, ‘wifely power’, in addition to the traditionally granted ‘motherly power’ (ibid., 182).

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<sup>2</sup> For some people, abortion of female embryos is still unavoidable until they get sons (Kim, 1993; Park & Cho, 1995).

By contrast, Cho describes that the generation the daughter pursues power as neither motherly power nor wifely power, but ‘the power of female body’ (ibid., 187). Moreover, the generation of the daughter seeks to have active and independent lives, influenced by the increasing sense of individuality in contemporary Korean society. Thus, the women in the generation of daughter identify themselves not as mothers or wives but as individuals (Lee, 2004: 35).

In traditional Korean society, the role of mother was mainly ‘caregiver’ and the role of grandmother was the primary socialising agent for education, especially for boys (Lee, 2004: 37). Through the modernisation and westernisation of Korean society, more women with young children participate in the labour market, more men pursue to contribute to child-care, and family becomes more nuclear than the traditional extended family (Park & Cho, 1995; Lee, 2004). Consequently, the role of parents is defined as caregivers and educators for both boys and girls. Furthermore, schools and day care centres participate in the socialisation of children (Lee, 2004: 37). Most of all, there have been major changes in the content of gender socialisation of children in modern Korean society. Parents in modern Korean society place less emphasis on gender differentiated aims in the socialisation of children than traditional Korean parents (Yi, 1993; Lee, 2004: 38). Moreover, parents’ expectation of their children to engage in the gender role and traits are also changed from the traditional Korean society to those in modern society (Lee, 2004: 38).

However, different childrearing is still given to boys and girls by parents (Kim, 2000; Lee, 2004). According to Kim’s study, what children comprehend from parents is the emphasis on the affirmation of love and self-regulation for girls while achievement for boys (Kim, 2000). Specifically, there is still the emphasis of masculine boys and

feminine girls, resulting in the continued rejection of feminine boys due to traditional patriarchal lineage system (Kim, 1993; Lee, 2004). Suh and Jung's study on expectation of parents also support the notion of the existence of difference between boys and girls, and they pointed out that the rejection of feminine boys is more persistent than the rejection of masculine girls in Korean society (Suh, 1988; Jung, 1991).

In sum, it confirmed that modernisation and Westernisation have brought about many changes in the gender socialisation of Korean people. However, despite these changes, traditional Confucianism still has a powerful influence on the differentiation of men and women in Korean society. Confucianism continued to influence Korean people's gender socialisation. How contemporary Korean people perceived the changes in their gender attitudes needs to be studied more fully and specifically to understand Korean people's cultural particularities related to their gender socialisation and the aspect of changing Korean society. Moreover, to exactly understand contemporary Korean's behavioural practices related to gender including parental gender socialisation, exploring contemporary Korean people's gender roles and attitudes is needed.

## **2.4 Class and education**

### **2.4.1 Childhood socialisation and education**

Many scholars have pointed out the concept of socialisation as the process by which people acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, needs and motivations, and dispositions that make them more or less able members of their society and shape their adaptation to the physical and socio-cultural setting in which they live (Brim & Wheeler, 1966: 3; Inkeles, 1971: 615).

The main interest of the study of socialisation is how society socialises the individual and how it converts the raw material of biological man into a person suitable to perform the activities of society (Brim & Wheeler, 1966: 4). Mostly, socialisation is associated with child development, but it is a lifelong process (Lindsey, 2005). In Allan G. Johnson's account, "from the perspective of individuals, socialisation is a process through which we create a social self and a sense of attachment to social systems through our participation in them and our interaction with others. From the perspective of social systems, socialisation is necessary if the system is to continue and function effectively, since every social system depends upon people who are motivated and prepared to perform the various roles that it encompasses" (Johnson, 1995: 267-8). The importance of socialisation is not set on the knowledge and skills but the learning of personality formation, in cultural environment, of each individual such as humanity, values and attitudes etc. (Kim, 1995: 8).

#### **2.4.2 Concept of childhood**

Childhood remains largely unrealised as an emergent patterning of action. As Rousseau stated in the Preface to *Emile*:

"We know nothing of childhood: and with our mistaken notions the further we advance the further we go astray. The wisest writers devote themselves to what a man ought to know, without asking what a child is capable of learning. They are always looking for the man in the child, without considering what he is before he becomes a man" (Rousseau, 1993).

The concept of childhood emerged as a subject for historical study in the 1960s with the rise of the 'new social history' (Walvin, 1982: 11; Chaudhuri, 1991: 241). Philippe Aries's *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) was the first general historical study of childhood. In his study, he argued that the term of the child and the notion of childhood did not suddenly emerge in modern times, but found the evidences of the usages of them as 'the ages of life' in the Western Europe from the end of the Middle Ages and of the development of the concept of childhood with the idea of dependence in the seventeenth century (Aries, 1962).

According to Archard, there are three basic respects in which conceptions of childhood can differ: the extent of childhood (how long it lasts), its nature (precisely what qualities distinguish the child from the adult) and its significance (how important these differences are held to be) (Archard, 1993: 21-4). With regard to the extent of childhood for the modern age, James Walvin opted to take fourteen as the upper age limit (Walvin, 1982). The age of fourteen, in Walvin's view, was the predominant school-leaving age and the limit by which criminality was deemed to be committed by children (ibid.). Harry Hendrick's definition of childhood is also the age range from babyhood up to thirteen/fourteen years (Hendrick, 1997). The dominant concept of the nature of childhood has been that of a 'stage' in the development of a human being, on the road of adulthood. In relation to the significance of childhood, John Burnett pointed out that 'childhood is clearly seen as an important phase of development, a time when identity and personality are formed and when crucial influences are brought to bear which shape the character and destiny of the individual' (Burnett, 1994: 3). In Hendrick's view, 'childhood, as distinct from biological immaturity, is neither a natural nor universal feature of human groups but appears as a specific structural and

cultural component of many societies' (Hendrick, 1998: 9). According to these views, it is confirmed that childhood is socially constructed.

### **2.4.3 Socialisation and family**

Before industrialisation the most common type of family was the 'extended family', that is, a large family group of grandparents, parents, children, sometimes including aunts and uncles, all living in one household. It is generally believed that, somehow, under the impact of industrialisation, the large family unit was replaced by the modern 'nuclear family' consisting of man and wife, with children (Hopkins, 1979: 201-3). The family, as the most important agency of the socialisation, teaches culture and subculture to their child. Children learn the concrete behaviour from his family. The children's development in language, attitude, values, and behaviour patterns are formed within the social context of the family.

According to Lim, the educational aspiration of the child is related to social status of their family and is affected not only by their family but also by the parents' expectation of the achievement (Lim, 1974: 78). In her research, she found that lower class parents had lower educational aspirations or ambitions than middle class parents (ibid.).

Socialisation of the family depends on social class. Parents control their children with their value system within their social class (Lim, 1974). There might be a different educational value among classes, because each social class has his own value system. According to the result of Lim's research, most parents believed that they could raise their social status through education; however, close analysis showed that middle class

parents with little education and lower class parents with higher education had negative attitude toward social class mobility through education (ibid.).

#### **2.4.4 Concept of class and class stratification**

The concept of the class has come under observation as a way of explaining both the present and the past and the reasons for this lie in the rapid economic, political, and sociological changes marking our time. Class is seen to be one of the important factors for explaining current reality.

One difficulty has proved to be finding a definition of class which accords with the empirical evidence. Karl Marx, who believed that a person's class is determined by his or her economic standing, has been the outstanding figure in the theory of class (Marx, 1948, cited in Breen, 1995: Ch.2). The extracts from Marx reveal what has been perhaps the central problem in class theory since his time, namely the relationship between 'structure' and 'action', or between the 'objective' and 'subjective' aspects of class. In Marx, this is the famous distinction between 'class-in-itself' and 'class-for-itself' (Breen & Rottman, 1995: 25). The former is apparent in the social relations a class enters into; the latter is realised, in terms of politics and struggle as the consciousness a class comes to have of itself and other classes (ibid.).

For Marx, a class is defined in terms of its position in the relations of production and class relations are determined by the ownership of means of production and class relations as existing at the political or ideological level (ibid.).

Unlike Marx, Weber was focused on individuals and culture and was concerned with social theory, methodology and the discipline of sociology (Weber, 1968). For Weber, classes are defined in terms of individuals' resources and differential life chances not by their place in the relations of production (Breen & Rottman, 1995: 27-8; Breen, 2002: 43). Weber also argued that economic classes combine into 'social class' in any historical situation - 'a social class makes up the totality of class positions within which individual and intergenerational mobility is easy and typical' (Weber, 1968: 302, cited in Breen & Rottman, 1995: 28). For Weber, class relations are only one aspect of the distribution of power in society and the definition of power is 'the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests' (Weber, 1968: 53, cited in Breen, 2002: 44).

According to Erik Olin Wright who is the one of analytical Marxists, classes are formed by the productive assets that a class controls, 'which lead them to adopt certain strategies within exchange relations and which thereby determine the outcomes of those market transactions' (Wright, 1989a: 14; Wright, 2002). Wright's main concern was to create a structural Marxist theory, the conceptualisation of class relation in particular, that is relevant today. Wright's class schema attempts to retain a Marxist approach to class analysis and extends the Marxist formula of 'land, labour, and capital' to labour power, capital, organisation and skills or credentials which is based upon exploitation currently embracing 12 classes (Wright, 1989a: 16; Breen & Rottman, 1995: 36).

The concept of class cannot be fixed itself and the meaning of it cannot be given automatically, as so often imputed to it. In *The Making of English Working Class* E. P.

Thompson relates class with class consciousness and class experience (Thompson, 1963). Thompson defines class as a *historical phenomenon*. For him class exists only in time, and consequently can only historically be known (ibid.). He emphasises that class is ‘unifying a number of disparate and seemingly unconnected events, both in the raw material of experience and in consciousness’, and adds to it that class is ‘something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationship’ (ibid., 8). For Thompson, ‘experience’ is crucial to understanding of the conception of class. He claims that ‘class is an outcome of experience’ and ‘class is defined by men as they live their own history, in the end, this is its only definition’ (ibid., 10).

On the other hand, John Goldthorpe’s approach to class stratification is associated with the relationship between economic growth, industrialisation, and social mobility (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992). Initially, the class schema by Goldthorpe and his associates was presented as distinguishing occupations on the basis of market situation and work situation (Goldthorpe, 1987; Erikson, Goldthorpe & Portocarero, 1983; Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992: 37). Subsequently, classes were constituted by the occupations that share market and work situation and occupants of different classes got different life chances (Breen & Rottman, 1995; Wright, 2002).

However, Goldthorpe suggested a slightly different set of principles on which the same class schema is based in his later work *The Constant Flux* (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992). In the Goldthorpe schema, two main distinctions are captured in classes: employers and employees and among the latter, those in higher and lower grades of professional and managerial ‘service class’ in chief contrast to the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled working class, with an intermediate class of clerical workers, manual

supervisors, forepersons and lower grade technicians in between (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992; Goldthorpe, 1997).

#### **2.4.5 Concept of education**

Schooling has been central to the processes by which childhood has been socially constructed. Education is best defined as the methodical socialisation of the young generation (Egan, 1983). However, what was children's experience once they got to school? It is not always easy to discover. The experience of children has not been the main issues of the mass of administrative data which is the obvious source on education.

Through the recent economic changes, education for all became as a right. Walvin mentioned that compulsory education for all the young comes to reality with the help of the national economy (Walvin, 1982: 195). As Eric Hopkins has argued, the last quarter of the nineteenth century represented 'the period in which childhood was transformed', in that compulsory schooling replaced wage-earning as the accepted occupation for children aged five to around twelve or thirteen (Hendrick, 1997: 12). It is also worth noting that by compulsorily keeping children within the classroom, schooling lengthened the years of childhood.

The school can be defined as a social institution which functions as a means to maintain and control the social order and as a social group which participates in the relationship of the people, condensing the society disorganised by industrialisation and achieving moral integration of society. Thus, the school performs an active participation in the formation of the social character of the student through the socialisation of education. This can be accomplished by means of the cooperation

between the teacher and the student in the field of education. The teacher, equipped with sufficient qualifications as an educator, should provide proper conditions for the social studies while the student acquires them according to the learning principles. The teachers, therefore, ought to be equipped with the character and sociality as an educator as well as general culture, expert knowledge, information about his students, knowledge about teaching. The teachers arrange for learning environments, combining individual work, face-to-face meetings, and lectures with asynchronous discussions, depending on what is suitable, according to the course content, the students, available technology, and organizational support and restrictions. During the course, the teachers have to be observant of each student's behaviour and adapt their facilitation to what each student needs.

## **2.5 Gender socialisation**

It is difficult to figure out what gender is or how gender emerged. It is historically debated what sex/gender distinction is by English-speaking feminists, however, there is no distinction between sex and gender in some languages like French (*sexe*), Norwegian (*kjonn*) and Korean (*seong*) (Hughes, 2002: 12). There is no simple equation of sex and gender. However, it is now believed that gender is a social category which structures every aspect of our daily lives.

Pamela Abbot argues that women's dissatisfaction with sociology began to show that sociological thoughts did not speak to the experiences of women until the 1960s and 70s. Through 1960s and 70s, feminists focused on the inadequacies of existing sociological theories. Feminists tried to achieve empirical research in areas of interest

to women, and to add gender as variable, and they began to develop theories to explain gender divisions (Abbot, 2000:61).

### **2.5.1 The emergence of gender and the effect**

Gender is sometimes used in contrast to biological sex, to emphasise a social, cultural or psychological dimensions. Since the 1950s, the term *gender* has been increasingly used to distinguish a social role and/or personal identity from biological sex. In the early 1970s gender has become one of sociology's key concepts. The concept of gender was adopted in order to emphasise the social construction of masculinity and femininity and the social ordering of relations between women and men. It is still the main argument that the distinction between sex and gender in contemporary feminist theory.

There was not much debate in the nineteenth and early twentieth century about the women question in the mainstream sociology. However, a number of thinkers paid little attention to gender and sexuality with their work in the social changes with the rise of industrial capitalism. Firstly, Karl Marx, as one of the major nineteenth century thinkers, has had the greatest impact of feminist work. However, he did not say much about women and gender much. Marx's main interest is class and the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist. His conception of workers and capitalists was based on man; woman was invisible in his work. On the other hand, Friedrich Engels, Marx's collaborator, had rather more to say about the position of women in society. However, Engels, like Marx, took the fixed division of labour between women and men. When Engels questioned the universality of women's subordination, he assumed that gender divisions were entirely natural. However, the work of Marx and Engels influenced the debate on women and the family (Jackson & Scott, 2002: 3-4).

Secondly, Max Weber's famous concept of patriarchy influenced gender studies. Weber believed that patriarchal authority was the oldest form of socially legitimated power. In his theory, the power that was given to male heads of households gave them authority over women, children, younger men and any other household dependants. In patriarchal society, for Weber, women were subordinate to men. Like Marx and Engels, Weber did not question the basic distinction between women and men. As Jackson and Scott (2002) noticed, Weber considered the mother/child unit to be natural and saw men as linking the mother/child relationship into the wider society (Jackson & Scott, 2002: 4-5).

Emile Durkheim's view of society in which everyone had their place and women's place was in the home is the least influential to modern feminists. He argued that it was inevitable that men's and women's roles are specialised with the division of labour. Durkheim saw the sexual difference as fundamental, making men and women dependent on each other (ibid., 5).

Lastly, Georg Simmel, as one of the founders of sociology, thought that differences between men and women were natural. However, he was aware of the imbalance of power between men and women. He also acknowledged that masculinity was treated as the human norm and femininity as a deviation from it (ibid., 5-6).

In the twentieth century, more critical analyses of sex roles were beginning to emerge. With the rise of 'second wave' feminism in the late 1960s and early 1970s, many young sociologists looked at the social lives of men and women and the inequalities between them. Moreover, the concepts of 'gender' and 'patriarchy' were replaced by

the 'sex roles'. A key influence was Simone de Beauvoir who laid the foundations for a feminist analysis of gender. According to Jackson and Scott, Beauvoir's famous statement that 'One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman' emphasised the social character of womanhood as distinct from biological femaleness (Jackson & Scott, 2002: 9). With the adoption of Beauvoir's distinction between biological sex and socio-cultural gender, Ann Oakley defined sex as 'the anatomical and physiological characteristics which signify biological maleness and femaleness and gender as socially constructed masculinity and femininity' (Oakley, 1972). For Oakley, masculinity and femininity are products of the social, cultural and psychological attributes acquired through the process of becoming a man or woman in a particular society at a particular time. Gender is thus a social characteristic, not a direct product of biological sex' (ibid.).

There was another influential account of gender which Gayle Rubin wrote in the United States. Rubin related gender to reproductive sexuality, encompassing the two in the concept of 'sex/gender system'. Rubin claims that each society has a sex/gender system which the biological raw material of human sex and procreation is shaped by human, social intervention. Gender, for Rubin, is 'a socially imposed division of the sexes' and 'a product of the social relationship of sexuality' (Jackson & Scott, 2002: 9).

According to Jackson and Scott, the concept of gender enabled us to think of masculinity and femininity as historically and culturally variable rather than fixed by nature. In addition, they assumed that if gender is social rather than natural, change and variability are always possible. The hierarchical relationship between women and men has persisted despite many changes in the meaning of femininity and masculinity and in the social activities of women and men (ibid., 10).

For Kimmel, gender is not simply a system of classification, by which biological males and biological females are sorted, separated, and socialised into equivalent sex roles. He also emphasises that when we speak about gender we also speak about hierarchy, power, and inequality (Kimmel, 2004: 1).

By the late 1980s, the question is asked about the sex-gender distinction on the grounds was asked that sex itself is a social construct and is not separate from gender. However, many questions about the meaning of gender and its relation to biological sex are still under debate today (Cudd & Andreasen, 2005: 117).

Jackson and Scott define gender as a hierarchical division between women and men embedded in both social institutions and social practices. In their account, gender, as social structural phenomenon, is produced at the level of everyday interaction. Gender encompasses the social division and cultural distinction between women and men on top of the characteristics connected with femininity and masculinity (Jackson & Scott, 2002: 1-2).

### **2.5.2 Gender theory as power?**

As Hughes comments ‘theory simply means explanation’ (Hughes, 2002: 5). Butler and Scott (1992: xiii) note that ‘‘Theory’ is a highly contested term within feminist discourse.’ They ask whether theory is singular or multiple. When we discuss the gender theory, patriarchy was the key concept developed by feminists to describe male power. Pamela Abbott (2000) describes the original meaning of patriarchy - rule of the fathers was used in a specific sense in social anthropology to describe a kinship system in which males had dominant positions with respect to their female relatives (Abbots,

2000: 11-2). Additionally, for radical feminists, the concept of patriarchy is not simply the domination of individual men or groups of men over women but structural domination. The structural theory of patriarchy also meant that masculine values, ideas and typical mode of living (ibid.). Feminists adapted this to mean any kind of male domination of women – at the level of society or within households (ibid., 62-3).

Sociologists challenged the view that gender divisions can be explained by biological differences between men and women. In the 1960s English-speaking feminists introduced the sex/gender distinction as a strong defence against the biologically deterministic meanings that were predominant in understandings of the term woman in masculine theorizing (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004).

Christina Hughes describes the distinction of sex and gender where ‘sex is the term that is used when referring to woman as a biologically sexed body and gender is the term that denotes the socially produced meanings of woman’ (Hughes, 2002: 12). On the other hand, Pamela Abbott defines gender identity as fundamentally ascribed at birth and structures our experiences from birth and the expectations that others have of us (Abbot, 2000: 56). She claims that gender cannot be adequately represented solely as a single hierarchical division between men and women. Abbott believes that relationships between men and women and women and structured gender relationships are changing, but gender remains as an important dimension of stratification (ibid., 65). Moi argues that every usage of the term ‘women’ as exclusionary are misplaced. In Moi’s view, the feminists’ discussion of the meanings of the words woman, sex and gender belongs to their use in the language (Hughes, 2002: 21).

### **2.5.3 Experience of gender**

Bob Connell argues that there is no single form of masculinity or femininity in Western societies, only different ways of being a man or a woman (Connell, 2002: 60). Jackson and Scott (2002) also believe that the meanings of masculinity and femininity are not fixed and ideas about gender vary across social and cultural settings. They argue that the dominant definitions of normal masculinity and femininity have been shaped largely by white Western middle class and heterosexual view of the world. Therefore, their thought about normative masculinity and femininity are defined in part through active heterosexuality, which in turn is shaped by gendered difference (Jackson & Scott, 2002: 269-70).

Socialisation is commonly described as the process by which children are transformed into social beings that have taken on particular norms and values, and know what kinds of behaviours are expected of them. The main feminist's concern to see socialisation is in women's oppression – gender role socialisation which is the process by which children come to be 'feminine' or 'masculine' ones (Stanley & Wise, 2002: 272-3). Kimmel also argues that we get our gender identity through socialisation, and we are socialised to behave in masculine or feminine ways through the socialisation (Kimmel, 2000: 106).

Stanley and Wise argue that mothers respond differently towards their children on the basis of preconceptions about what biological sex differences are. Their argument suggests that by the age of four children know their sex identity and are aware of the fine distinctions of gender. Basic concepts of learning gender include 'imitation', 'identification' and 'internalisation'. Stanley and Wise believe that children imitate the behaviours those people they identify with (Stanley & Wise, 2002: 274).

In feminist ideas about 'socialisation' and 'role', we are told that mothers who are involved in the earlier unconscious stage of socialisation. Bronwyn Davies argues that children learn that they must be socially identifiable as one or the other forced by adults. She adds that 'dress, hairstyle, speech patterns and content, choice of activity' are the key features to position oneself as a girl or boy (Davies, 2002: 280-1). Davies also suggests that a child consider being male or female more enthusiastically than adults expect. She argues that not only mother or father teach sex role of his/her child, but media or peer, etc. preserves that role as well. Masculinity and femininity, in Davies view, are not inherent properties of individuals but are structural properties of our society. In addition, she argues that positioning one as male or female is not only a conceptual process but also a physical process. She believes that with children's practices of maleness or femaleness which are handed by adults their gender are emphasised (ibid., 282-4). As Davies suggests:

'Each child must get its gender right, not only for itself to be seen as normal and acceptable within the terms of the culture, but it must get it right for others who will be interpreting themselves in relation to it as other' (ibid., 289)

In historical view, Beverley Skeggs determines that femininity is the process through which women are gendered and become specific sorts of women (Skeggs, 2002: 311). She argues that 'being, becoming, practising and doing femininity' are very different things for women of different classes, races, ages and nations (ibid.). For Skeggs, femininity is very much a public performance dependent upon validation by others. She suggests that women are not feminine by default but the femininity is a carefully

constructed appearance and form of conduct that can be displayed (ibid., 317). In her work, it is mentioned that femininity may indeed be an uninhabitable category, reproduced by white working-class women through necessity rather than choice. As Skeggs describes, women do not identify themselves as feminine (ibid., 323).

#### **2.5.4 Gender and education**

The educational process is important to understanding contemporary manifestations of gender. It is no doubt that identities are developed through the schooling process. It has been the main issues why girls did not achieve as well as boys at school and in the education system until the early 1990s (Abbott, 2000: 66).

There are differences in the subjects that boys and girls choose to study after the age of 16 in U.K. Abbott's research shows that more men get first-class degrees than women and more men than women go on to study for higher degrees at university (Abbott, 2000: 67-8). However, there is gender stereotyping of subjects at the degree level; men in engineering and technology, while women in education and the humanities (ibid., 68). Abbott argues that the empirical evidence is limited to explain the relative performance of boys and girls in the education system (ibid., 69). Until now, textbooks and other teaching material divide men and women into sex-stereotyped roles. Even with the rapid improvement in the educational performance of girls in public examinations, girls are still underestimated, have less confidence in their ability than boys. The schooling is an important element in boys learning appropriate masculinity, so girls appropriate feminine identity (ibid., 72).

## **2.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has started with a review of the existing literature on issues that are relevant to this study, Confucianism and women, women in modern Confucian society, gender views in South Korea, class, education, and, finally, research of gender and education. Summing up, this chapter made an overall review of the theoretical framework for the following empirical analysis. Before moving to the empirical part of this thesis, the next chapter will introduce the Korean Labour and Income Panel Study (KLIPS) and statistical methods for this study.

## Appendix for Chapter 2

The purpose of this appendix is to give readers who are perhaps less familiar with the Korean context an overview of Korean history.

### *History of Korea*

Korean history generally divides into some periods: the primitive societies, (Pre) Three Kingdoms (Baekche, Silla, and Koguryo), Silla Unification, Late Three Kingdoms, Koryo Dynasty, Choson (Yi) Dynasty, and Modern Korea.

#### **1. Prehistoric times**

Simons argues that it is difficult to determine when people began to live in the Korean Peninsula. (Simons, 1995: 64) However, archaeological evidence shows that Palaeolithic Age in Korea was at least 400,000 to 500,000 years ago. Tool and pottery making artefacts from Palaeolithic period have been found in Tonggwangjin and Unggi in North Hamyong, Kongju in South Chungcheong Provinces, Gyeonggi and South Pyongan. The people were in caves, or in the shelter of overhanging rock, or else built dwellings on level ground. They lived by gathering fruits and edible roots, and by hunting and fishing (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 1-2). They held a variety of animistic beliefs and believed that all the objects of the natural world- mountains, stones, rivers and trees, possessed souls. The basic social unit in the Neolithic period was the clan which combined to form small walled-town state (Simons, 1995: 68-9).

#### **2. The First Kingdom – Go (Old) Choson and Pre-Three Kingdoms**

By about the fourth century B.C., the first walled-town tribal states: Puyo in the Sungari river basin, Yemaek along the Yalu river, Imdun in the Hamhung plain, Chinbon in Hwanghae province, Chin to the south of the Han river, and Go (Old) Choson in the Liao and Taedong river basins had been formed with the advent of the use of bronze implements. (Simon, 1995: 70) The most advanced society was Gochoson which had established by Tangun in 2,333 BC By the time of the fourth century BC Gochoson had combined with other walled-town states to form a confederated kingdom. At the end of the fourth century, Gochoson gradually declined, as a result of Yen, one of the Warring States in China, forces (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 11-2).

The rise of Puyo was seen in Manchuria along with China's developing centralized power. Puyo was frequently appeared in the historical records about the fourth century BC to the beginning of the first century AD. Koguryo was founded in 37 BC by Chumong from Puyo and had succeeded in creating a strong state extending over Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula (Simons, 1995: 74-5). In the second century BC, the state of Chin was divided into three new political entities, known as the Samhan: Mahan, chinhan, and Pyonhan (*ibid.*, 17-8).

In this period, agriculture was the principal food source and it is believed that reservoirs for rice irrigation were being constructed. In Puyo and Samhan, raising livestock was another important economic activity. In the religious ceremonies, singing and dancing, drinking and eating together were the main events. According to the belief of the immortality of the soul, the lavish burial rites were common features in the religious events. In Puyo numerous burial objects were place in the tomb and multiplicity of burial objects were marked in Koguryo. In Samhan, they buried large

birds with the deceased to supply for the soul to fly away (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 22; Simon, 1995: 76).

### 3. Three Kingdoms

By the first century BC, Three Kingdoms, Koguryo (37 BC- AD 688), Paekche (18 BC - AD 660) and Silla (57 BC - AD 935), had emerged on the Korean Peninsula and part of what is now known as Manchuria. They become known as the "Three Kingdoms" although there was a fourth kingdom known as Kaya (founded in 42 AD).

Koguryo emerged in the mountains of southeastern Manchuria and dominated northern Korea and much of the Manchurian Plain with the kingly authority and centralising the governmental structure. Koguryo fought China's Sui and Tang dynasties for both territory and independence. King Sosurim (371-384) adopted Buddhism and established a National Confucian Academy which was essential to instituting a new bureaucratic structure in 372. King Kwanggaeto (391-413), who was known as great conqueror, created a vast kingdom which including 64 walled cities and 1400 villages through the over two-third of the Korean Peninsula and much of Manchuria. (Simons, 1995: 78-9)

Even it is not certain when Paekche emerged as a confederated kingdom, Paekche developed to incorporate the walled-town states in the Han river basin. King Koi (234-286) had successful consolidated centralised authority. He appointed six ministers to conduct states affairs, created sixteen grades of official rank and, in 262, decreed harsh penalties for corrupt officials. In 369, in the reign of King Kun Chogo (346-375), Paekche took the whole of Mahan's territory. In his reign, father to son royal succession to the kingship was established (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 24-5).

The third of the Three Kingdoms, Silla, was based on the walled-town state of Saro in southeastern Korea. In the beginning, Silla was the weakest, less fertile and backward state among the Three Kingdoms. The *Kolpum* ('bone-rank') institution of Silla which was a system that granted special privileges, political preferment to economic advantage according to their bone-rank, provides the example of the actual structure aristocratic society (ibid., 32-3). For political decision making in Silla, the *Hwabaek* institution, Council of Nobles, was developed.

Silla established a strong voluntary military organisation called, *Hwarang* (Flowered Youth). The *Hwarang* members were trained as a group in the arts of war, literary taste and community life. Won'gwang proposed five primary objectives of their education: 1) loyalty to the king, 2) filial piety to parents, 3) fidelity in friendships, 4) no retreat in war, and 5) aversion to unnecessary killing. In the early 600s, he strengthened Buddhist-Confucian virtues in the education of Silla youths. This movement became popular and the corps contributed to the strength of the Shilla Kingdom (ibid., 34-5).

The relationship between the Three Kingdoms and china was critical because the Three Kingdoms had to face Chinese attacks, particularly Koguryo whose frontiers bordered on China. The conflict between them was both constant and severe. The struggle between Koguryo and the Sui and Tang Dynasties were the most violent. Sui Emperor Yang-Ti invaded Koguryo with more than one million troops. In 612, Koguryo General Ulchi Mundok held the fortresses against Yang Ti's army and navy for several months and destroyed the Sui troops in retreat. An ambush at *Salsu* river allowed only 2,700 Sui troops out of 300,000 men to escape. Sui fell from power partly as a result of the defeat by Koguryo. As revenge, Tang Tai Tsung attacked Koguryo and failed to invade in 655.

Silla persuaded Tang to come to its aid in the conquest of Paekche and Koguryo. The hostile relationship to Koguryo drove Tang Kao Tsung to ally itself with Silla in the campaign against Paekche and then Koguryo. Finally, Silla was able to defeat the other two kingdoms. However, Silla did not succeed in unifying all the lands. Especially, much of Manchuria, refugees from the Koguryo established the new kingdom of Balhae (Simons, 1995: 87-8).

#### **4. The Silla Unification and Balhae Kingdom**

During the early phase of the unification of Silla (57 BC - AD 935), the nobility of Koguryo and Paekche were treated with some generosity. Scholars specialising in diplomacy, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy were invited to bring professional personnel into governmental service. In the middle of the eighth century Silla reached the peak of power and prosperity. The class system was survived and *kolpum* was used for selecting the Silla officials. Buddhism was the main inspiration for philosophy, literature and art in Silla and later became the extravagant indulgence of state and private resources (Simons, 1995: 91-2). A prominent monk, Wonhyo (617-686) started a new faction of Buddhism among the common people. He brought Buddhism to the public as a popular religion.

Tae Cho-young founded Balhae (699 – 926) was founded by Tae Cho-Young who was a former Koguryo's general. The ruling class of Balhae consisted mostly of Koguryo people. Balhae declared itself the successor to Koguryo, and sometimes called itself *Koryoguk* (state of Koryo). Balhae became a victim of the political confusion and violence which accompanied the fall of the Tang Dynasty. In 926, Balhae was conquered by Khitan who later created the Liao Dynasty. Most of the ruling class of Balhae moved south and joined the newly founded Koryo Dynasty. However, there are no historical records about Balhae nor the Liao left histories of Balhae (Eckert *et al.* 1990).

Silla began to fall by rebel leaders such as Kyon Hwon who proclaimed Hu (Later) Paekche in Chongju in 900, and Kung Ye who proclaimed to Hu (Later) Koguryo, the following year at Kaesong. Wang Geon, the last rebel leader, became the first minister of Kung Ye. Overthrowing Kung Ye for misdemeanours and malpractice in 918, Wang Geon sought and received the support of landlords and merchants whose economic, as well as political, power overwhelmed the Silla government. Wang Geon was at first content to leave provincial magnates untouched. He was particularly careful to conciliate the Silla aristocracy. He gave former King Kyongsun the highest post in his government, and married a woman of the Silla royal clan, thus somewhat legitimizing his rule (Byeon, 1999).

#### **5. Unification of Koryo**

Koryo (918-1392) was established by Emperor Taejo Wang Gon who regarding himself as the successor to Koguryo. Wang Gon united Later Three Kingdom (Silla and Later Paekche) in 936. Confucianism emerged as a political ideology of the new Koryo dynasty. The new Koryo political structure began to take shape in 983 and was completed in 1076. The government was organised around Three Chancelleries (the first two called the Directorate of Chancellors-policy decision, the third chancellery called Secretariat for State Affairs-carrying out policy) (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 70-1). In the late Koryo, Neo-Confucianism's doctrine was adopted which political ethic stresses the mutual relationship of ruler and subject. With the spread of Neo-Confucianism, Buddhism became powerless in Koryo (ibid., 102).

In 992, the National University, which contain a number of colleges<sup>3</sup> within, was established under King Songjong. King Injong (1122-46) expanded the opportunity of education through the providing schools for rural areas.

Land system of Koryo implicated that all land in the country was the king's. 'Public land', which the state managed directly, provided economic benefits to 'public'. On the contrary, there was 'private land', such as granted in perpetuity. Through the growing of the power of the aristocracy, 'stipend land' came to be inherited as well (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 74-5).

Aristocratic rule in Koryo affected the discrimination of military officials, which triggered the military revolt in 1170, and consequently, the political power from the civil officials passed to the military. During the military rule, a new bureaucratic class 'literati (*sadaebu*)' appeared following the disintegration of aristocratic government (*ibid.*, 89-98).

During the reign of King Kojong (1213-1259), the Japanese *waegu* began to raid. Repeated diplomatic to Japan failed to end the attack, Koryo asked the resources from the military, in particular, Choe Yong and Yi Song-gye who were victorious commanders against Japanese raiders. Yi Song-gye who was a pro-Ming dynasty policy, marching his army back from Wihwa Island, ousted the king and Choe Yong from power gained political control himself, and provided the establishment of a new dynasty (*ibid.*, 100-1).

## **6. Choson (Yi) Dynasty: 1392-1897**

Yi Song-gye (1392-1398) who was the prominent military commanders in Koryo became the first ruler of his dynasty named Choson and moved the capital to Hanyang (Seoul in Korea) (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 102).

In Choson (Yi) dynasty, two distinctive classes emerged. Firstly, the *yangban*, which were constituted by literati, were the dominant social class (civil or military officials). This *yangban* class influenced economy, culture, and politics of Choson. Another class was *chungin* ('middle people'), whose main occupational status was in the medical, translator, astronomer, accountants, law clerks, or government artists. For maintaining the privilege and the status of *Yangban*, they married only among themselves and lived in separate quarters of Hanyang. There were a distinction within them, such as the civil officers were more prestigious than the military (*ibid.*, 108-9).

However, Neo-Confucianism was flourished by the *sarim*, which were rural Neo-Confucian literati, not by the dominant politically engaged *yangban* (*ibid.*, 135-40). Private academies, called *sowon* and *hyangyak* (the village contract or code) appeared as the commitment to Neo-Confucian thought (*ibid.*, 140-1).

Beginning in the late seventeenth century, *Silhak* [practical studies] movement for a more practical social reform replaced great Neo-Confucianism (Yang & Henderson, 1958; Eckert *et al.* 1990).

## **7. The First Phase of Japanese Rule: 1910-1919**

On 29th August 29 1910, Korea became a Japanese colony with Prime Minister Yi Wan-yong's signing of the Treaty of Annexation which marking the end of the 518 year rule of the Yi Dynasty (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 254). The experience under Japanese

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<sup>3</sup> Six Colleges of the Capital: University College, High College, and Four Portals College for high-ranking officials and The Law College, College of Calligraphy, and College of Accounting for the low-ranking officials and commoners.

rule in the twenties century enhanced Korean hatred towards the Japanese. The first decade of Japanese rule has been called 'dark period'. The Japanese banned any political organisation and the right of assembly and 1907 Newspaper Law and 1909 Publication Law silenced the Korean press publication. Moreover, the colonial education system, which was designed to train Korean to Japanese customs, culture and language, had profound effect on Korea society (ibid., 260-1). The Japanese also established government regulation of textbooks and curriculum in public schools to control the educational system in Korea. In the first decade of Japanese rule, the attendance of school increased dramatically, however, most Korean students experienced the discrimination, as there are two types of schools in Korea, for Korean another for Japanese. This system also restricted higher educational opportunities for Koreans. Only 5 per cent of Korean students went beyond primary school in this period (ibid., 263). Acceleration of the Japanisation of Korean history and culture gradually weakened cultural identity and confidence of Korean people.

In the first decade of Japanese rule, communication, public services, and economic activity in general was controlled by the Japanese. In 1911, Company Law, which required approval of Government-General, was set to control the formation of private and public corporations. Japanese companies still had a distinctive benefit over Korean and other foreign competition (ibid., 272).

The Japanese political, cultural, and economic oppression generated conditions for a strong nationalist reaction in Korea. Expansion of education system provided a potential recruits for political activity. Many of the Korean activists came from the students attending school in Japan because of the limitation on higher education in the colony. Korean students in Japan contributed to the dramatic political renaissance of the Korean nationalism in 1919 (ibid., 275).

### **8. Nationalism and Social Revolution, 1919-1931**

Korean nationalism was derived from the loss of sovereignty. The first phase of Japanese rule had been a 'dark period' in the cultural and political life of the Korean people. However, in the 1920s, The Cultural Policy provided opportunities for Koreans (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 286). Politically, the exile movement had formed a government in Shanghai and linked with emerging nationalists in the colony. Increasing school attendance and expanding literacy had developed the potential recruits for political mobilisation. In 1920, 985 Korean organisations of all types (political, labour, youth, church youth, academic, health, industrial, women's etc.) were established with the colonial policies, but restricted their activities to 'safe' social or enlightenment projects (ibid., 286-7). Increased operational freedom led similar groups to form national federations and leagues. Moreover, the expansion of publications at this time supported these organisations to publish their activities. Even The High Police had maintained censorship (prepublication inspection), in the 1920-25 period it was relatively casual. Through the development of the 'cultural movement' by the nationalists in this period, few opportunities beyond middle school were available in the colony, and college-bound Koreans increased in Japan to complete of their education. Nationalists finally established the organisation for the establishment of a national university in 1922 (ibid., 289-90).

Korean Production Movement in 1923-24 generated Korea's economic dependence in the colony. Nationalists had been seen the link between economic power and political autonomy. The Korean Production Movement, which heightened mass awareness of economic issues, had become the most successful mass mobilisation of Koreans (ibid.,

292-3). It is also noticeable that during the cultural renaissance of the 1920s, the first modern novels began to appear and Korean drama and cinema were produced.

### ***Modern History of South Korea***

#### **9. Liberation, Division, and Korean War, 1945-1953**

In 1945, the Japanese defeat in World War II had brought liberation of Korea. However, the imminent collapse of Japan made Korea an object of attention to the United States and the Soviet Union and the evening of August 10-11, a decision of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee divided the peninsula into two occupation zones (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 327-35).

##### *American Military Government in South Korea: 1945-1948*

U.S. set up a formal United States Army Military Government in Korea and administered the southern half of Korean peninsula.

The basic political orientation of American Military Government, which favoured the rightist-conservative and anti-communist ideology, was reflected to the economic and social reform in South Korea. March in 1948, in the last months of military rule, a land reform was carried out. However, because of its limitation, it influenced to restore the Japanese colonial bureaucracy.

On August 15, 1945, the Republic of Korea was established with Rhee Seung-Man as its first president. On the other hand, on August 25, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea claimed to be the only legitimate government in peninsula with Kim Il Sung as a leader (*ibid.*, 337-43).

##### *Korean War: 1950-1953*

On June 25, 1950, the North Korea launched the attack across the 38th parallel. Between the end of 1948 and Jun 1950, there were frequent and intense military conflicts along the 38th parallel. The North Korean army, which were more experienced and well equipped, soon overwhelmed the unprepared and poorly trained South Korean army, and captured the capital city of Seoul. Three years of fighting made hundreds of thousands of refugee civilians and brought ruin to both halves of the country.

On July 27, 1953, the three days of the negotiation of the Armistice concluded at Panmunjom establish a Demilitarised Zone (DMZ). Following the armistice, the South Korean government returned to Seoul on August 15, 1953 (Eckert *et al.* 1990).

#### **10. The First Republic 1948-1960: Rhee Seung-man's Liberal Party**

In 1948, the National Assembly passed the National Security Law which used as a political tool to restrict the power of opposition. With the National Security Law, Rhee Seung-man began on a campaign of anti-communist pursuit. Consequently, all major organisations were subjected to inspection (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 348-9). In 1954, Rhee amended the constitution to remove the two-year limitation on presidential terms, and he established his own political party, called The Liberal Party, to enable him to remain in power indefinitely.

The nationwide students demonstrations on April 1960 demanded for the resignation of Rhee and the First Republic of Korea was ended (*ibid.*, 354-5).

#### **11. The Second Republic 1960-1961: Chang Myon's Democratic Party**

Following the resignation of Rhee on April 26, Ho Chong's interim government revised the constitution to establish bicameral parliamentary system (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 355). With the Democratic Party's won in elections on July 29, 1960, the Second Republic was established with Chang Myon as a premier. However, with the fundamental weakness of the Democratic Party and lack of commitment to revolutionary change, the Second Republic had fallen to a military coup on 16 May, 1961 (*ibid.*, 356-7).

## **12. Military Rule 1961-1963**

On May 16, 1961, Park Chung Hee, who was a major general seized control of the Chang's government placed the Korean military at the centre of the country's politics (*ibid.*, 359). Park prohibited elections for two years and suspended all political and labour institutions and rebuild them according to his own preference (Yang, 1981). Park controlled the country through a military junta called the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR) and carried authoritarianism in South Korea (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 360). In 1962, Park and Kim Jong Pil found the extensive and highly centralised new political organisation, Democratic Republican Party (DRP), while the prohibition on political activities was still in effect (*ibid.*, 362).

## **13. The Third Republic 1963-1972: Park Chung-hee's Democratic Republican Party**

Park attempted to structure of democratic party politics during 1963-72. In 1963, following a referendum on a new constitution, Park relocated power from SCNR to a civilian government and allowed limited scale of political activity (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 361-2). The reason for the electoral success of the DRP was based on the dramatic growth of economy and export-led industry. However, in response to domestic insecurity and American pressures, Park declared Martial Law in October 17, 1972 and introduced the new Yushin Constitution (*ibid.*, 364-5).

## **14. The Fourth Republic 1972-1979: Park Chung-hee's Autocratic Rule**

Park announced the new Yushin<sup>4</sup> Constitution in 1972 which allowed a legal dictatorship and indicated return to an authoritarian rule. Under the Yushin constitution, the president was empowered all political and economic power into his own hands. This system had sustained with the support of the national police and bureaucracy for seven years (*ibid.*, 365-6). However, anti-Park movement was strengthened by Park's harsh response and nation widened initially with Park's assassination on October 26. Choi Gyu-ha who was the prime minister under the Yushin Constitution was elected president on December 1979, but he unable to fulfil the popular demand for constitutional revision and his lacking any independent of political base gave Choi little change to remain in office (*ibid.*, 368-75).

## **15. The Fifth Republic 1980-1987: Chun Doo-hwan's Autocratic Rule**

While Park's coup was considered as relatively quite and little bloodshed, Chun's coup had involved not only the deaths of numerous soldiers on December 12, 1979, but also brutal massacre on a city of Gwangju on May 18, 1980 (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 374-8).

In August 1980, president Choi Gyu-ha was 'persuaded' to resign (Lee, 1990). Like Park, Chun Doo-hwan was himself elected president of South Korea by the National Conference for Unification and on September 1, 1980 became the president of the

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<sup>4</sup> The same word used in Japan for the Meiji 'restoration'

Fifth Republic (Ha, 1989). For strengthening his autocratic rule, Chun revised the constitution that the presidential system limited to a single seven-year term.

To distinguish the Fifth Republic from the Yusin system, Chun continued economic growth and carried out some of social changes such as ending the curfew, elimination of severe haircuts and black uniforms for middle and high school students to gain public acceptance (Eckert *et al.* 1990: 376-7).

On December 1987, new president election was held following Roh Tae-woo's announcement of the Declaration of Political Reforms for direct presidential elections and restoration of civil rights for Kim Dae Jung and other political poisoners, the lifting of press restrictions, etc. and it was the end of 5th Republic (Lee, 2005; Eckert *et al.* 1990: 382).

### **16. The Sixth Republic and Prospects for Democracy, 1991- current (2011)**

The Sixth Republic began in 1987 with the 13th president Roh Tae-woo who was from the first direct presidential election in 16 years. Roh was one of the leaders of Chun's coup, but he was elected as a unified candidacy agreed by the opposition leaders (Kim Young-Sam and Kim Dae-jung) (Lee, 2005: 610-13). In 1988, Olympics held in Seoul.

In 1992, Kim Young-Sam was elected as the 14th president of Republic of Korea. Kim Young-Sam was the first civilian president in 30 years. Kim's government determined to correct the mistakes of previous presidencies, such as the trial of the former presidents Chun and Roh on relation to bribery, illegal funds, and responsibility of the Gwangju incident (*ibid.*, 615-19).

With the death of Kim Il-Sung in 1994, the summit meeting between the two Koreas was postponed. In 1996, the government joined the OECD but encountered economic crisis. Consequently, the government had to approach the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for relief funds in 1997.

In February 1998, Kim Dae-jung was elected as the 15th president of Republic of Korea. Kim's government established a national pension system and introduced the educational reforms. For reconciliation with North Korea, Kim Dae-jung pursued the 'Sunshine Policy', which included the reunions of the separated families of the Korean War and summit talk with Kim Jong-il who is the North Korean leader, consequently, Kim Dae-jung awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000.

In 2002, Roh Moo-hyun was elected as the 16th president with much support from the younger generation and civic groups who desired participatory democracy and 'participation government' was the Roh's administrative motto.

In February 2008, Lee Myung-bak was elected as the 17th president of South Korea.

## **Chapter 3 Data and Methods**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter details data management, variable construction and statistical methods of the research. The data used for the statistical analysis come from the Korean Labour and Income Panel Study (KLIPS) which is chosen because of the information on education and social background. This enables us to examine the relationship between educational attainment and social origin. KLIPS also provides information about occupational attainment. This allows our analysis to extend to the impact of educational qualification on occupational attainment. This chapter presents a fuller description of the KLIPS.

The first main section reviews the data set used in the following chapters. The second part of the chapter details on the construction of the main variables that will be used in the statistical analyses. The final section provides a summary of the statistical methods and techniques that are employed for analyses in subsequent chapters.

### **3.2 Korean Labour and Income Panel Study**

#### **3.2.1 General description**

The data used in the analysis are taken from the Korean Labour and Income Panel Study (KLIPS). The KLIPS is a continuing, multi-disciplinary longitudinal study that is conducted on a sample of 5,000 households and individuals of the households who are resident in urban and rural areas across the country excluding Jeju Island since 1998 (Wave 1) by the Korean Labour Institute. Annually, the same set of questions is repeated to the same set of households and individuals. The aim of the study is to

improve understanding of the characteristics of households such as education and social development of the individuals as well as the economic activities, labour movement, income, expenditures, and job training. The sampling procedure was carried out using 10 per cent of the Enumeration Districts (EDs)<sup>5</sup> 21,675 (excluding the 263 in Jeju Island) were used for the KLIPS as primary sampling units and 19,025 EDs of the cities were used for sample frame.

The two key types of KLIPS dataset are (1) Household dataset and (2) Individual dataset which questioned household members aged 15 and over. The New Entrant Dataset is also collected for individuals who have been newly included from Wave 2 (new member of households aged 15 or older and members who just reached the age of 15) and onward with all the account of the Individual dataset 1. There is Additional Survey which was conducted in a limited number of years. In particular, Youth Survey was collected in Wave 3 (2000) on those between 15 and 30. In the Youth Survey, type of school, grade and subject area were asked.

### **3.2.2 Core contents of KLIPS and adopted variables**

The Individual dataset and New Entrant dataset are used for the research. Adopted key variables of the Individual dataset include pid (personal number) and hhid (household number) of each Wave. Pid is the number of the responding individual, and remains constant across all Waves. Other adopted key variables are gender, relationship with the head of household, age, birth year, marital status, current residence, place grown up in until 14-year-old, education level, education status, employment status and occupation, parent's education and occupation at the respondent's age of 14.

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<sup>5</sup> 21,938 EDs: 1997 Special Survey on Employment Structure which was used for the 1995 Census

The New Entrant dataset reflects all information contained in the Individual dataset, but because it is for the individuals who are first-time participants in the KLIPS, it also contains the some variables that are not included in the Individual dataset such as place of residence at the age of 14 and parents' occupation at 14. To use the data as variables, the New Respondent data and Individual data of each year were appended.

### **3.3 Variables**

This section describes the questions and coding scheme for the variables how the main social background and other variables are constructed which will be used in the statistical analyses in later chapters.

#### **3.3.1 Social background variables**

##### *Class of origin*

One of the main concerns in this study is the relationship between class of origins<sup>6</sup> and current class positions of women in South Korea. It is believed social class origin is something individuals cannot choose or change should they wish to do so. However, social class has a dominant influence on an individual's position in the social structure with regards to their occupation, education attainment, and other aspects of distinctive economic importance (Archer *et al.* 2003).

For the 'class analysis', there are two main varieties of contemporary class analysis - one is particularly associated with the work of Erik Olin Wright (1985) whose class schema developed from the Marxist, the other with John Goldthorpe whose class

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<sup>6</sup> Class origins usually refer to the class position of their father.

schema is described as a ‘neo-Weberian’ or ‘left Weberian’ (Goldthorpe, 2000; Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992).

Although there are some suggestions on class scheme for the Korean social class introduced by Young Mo Kim<sup>7</sup> (1982, 1998), Du Seung Hong<sup>8</sup> (1982, 1983) and Kwan mo Seo<sup>9</sup> (1987), Erikson and Goldthorpe’s seven-class classification (Table 3. 1) is the basis of the analysis for this research.

Table 3. 1 Erikson and Goldthorpe’s seven-class schema

Seven-class	
I+II	Service class: professionals, administrators and managers; higher-grade technicians; supervisors of non-manual workers
III	Routine non-manual employees in administration and commerce; sales personnel; Other rank-and file service workers
IVab	Petty bourgeoisie: small proprietors and other self-employed workers in primary production
IVc	Farmers: farmers and smallholders and other self-employed workers in primary production
V+VI	Skilled workers: lower-grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers; skilled manual workers
VIIa	Non-skilled workers: semi-and unskilled manual workers (not in agriculture, etc.)
VIIb	Agricultural labourers: agricultural and other workers in primary production

*Note:* Source from Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1993: 38-9

<sup>7</sup> Young Mo Kim’s class schema: bourgeoisie class, the old middle class, the new middle class, and working class. (see Appendix 3A. 2 and 3)

<sup>8</sup> Du Seung Hong’s class schema: higher-grade class, the new middle class, the old middle class, working class, urban lower class, independent self-employed farmers, and lower-grade farming class.

<sup>9</sup> Kwan mo Seo’s class schema: bourgeoisie, petit bourgeoisie, and working class.

In this thesis, the original schema<sup>10</sup> has been modified in order to link comparative research objectives and more suited to the allocation of women. Table 3.2 shows Goldthorpe's full version of the class schema. As I mentioned above, Erikson and Goldthorpe's seven-class classification is the basis of the analysis in Chapter 6. Their schema is slightly modified for the present research, still with seven-classes: the salariat class (also known as the service class) labelled as Class I+II, IVab to IV, IVc modified to farmers, and VIIa and VIIb combined. For birth-cohort analysis and relative mobility rates, I combine Class V, VI, and VII. For the odds ratios, a collapsed threefold class schema is used.

According to Goldthorpe, the schema provides 'an instrument de travail' rather than 'a definitive map of the class structures of individual societies' (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1993:46). Goldthorpe did not aim to answer to the question of 'How many classes are there?' (Runciman, 1990). As Goldthorpe suggested, the number of classes of the class schema depends on the 'as many as it proves empirically useful to distinguish for the analytical purposes in hand.' (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1993: 46).

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<sup>10</sup> The original Goldthorpe's schema is eleven-class version (I, II, IIIa, IIIb, IVa, IVb, IVc, V, VI, VIIa, and VIIb). In *The Constant Flux* (1992), Erikson and Goldthorpe used a seven-class classification.

Table 3. 2 The class schema for social origin

Class		Seven-class	Four-class	Three-class
I	Professionals and managers, higher grade	I+II		
II	Professional and managers, lower grade; technicians, higher grade		I+II	I+II
IIIa	Routine non-manual employees, lower grade	III		
IIIb	Routine non-manual employees, lower grade		III+IVab	
IVa	Small proprietors and employers with employees	IV		Intermediate class
IVb	Small proprietors and employers without employees		V/VI+VII	
IVc	Farmers and smallholders; other self-employed workers in primary production			Working class
V	Technicians, lower-grade supervisors of manual workers	V/VI		
VI	Skilled manual workers		Farmers	
VIIa	Non-skilled manual workers (other than in agriculture)	VII		
VIIb	Agricultural workers	Farmers		

### *Educational level*

Educational level is one of the social background factors and is also considered as a central factor in the process of class reproduction. There has been a growing interest in the relationship between educational attainments and the employment in sociological research, for understanding how educational systems work and how they relate to the employment system and employment chances after schooling (Braun and Steinmann, 1997; Sharvit *et al.* 2007).

Like most European countries, the educational expansion has been experienced in South Korea in the last three decades. This expansion is more significant at the higher levels than at the elementary and secondary levels and offers a wider range of qualification opportunities. Moreover, distinctive change in education system since 1980s makes Korean case particularly noteworthy for the examination of the effect of educational expansion on equality of opportunity through economic growth and modern industrial production (Park, 2007: 86-8).

In 1981, with increasing social demands for the higher education, a new enrolment regulation was introduced in Korea by setting up graduation quotas which allows a large number of entrants for the more competition to increase the quality of higher education. However, admission quotas came back in 1987. Increasing globalisation in the 1990s encouraged Korean government to reform the educational system which gives autonomy in the higher institutions for diversification and specialisation (Park, 2007: 89-91).

We use the CASMIN schema which is a certificate-oriented educational classification and which serves as the basis of the coding schema for the education level (Brauns & Steinmann, 1997). However, there are some difficulties to adopt the original schema. The structure of Korean education system, which is much simpler than other European countries, consists of 6 years of compulsory elementary school, 3 years of middle school, and 3 years of academic or vocational high school. Two-year junior colleges which aim for practical and occupational skills and four-year universities are the two main types of institutions for the postsecondary level of education. Other institutional types of postsecondary level of education are teacher's college, industrial and technical

colleges. For college and university admission, students must take national entrance examination and get admission with their test scores.

Table 3.3 and 3.4 show the changes from the CASMIN schema. Some of categories in the original CASMIN schema do not exist in Korean education system such as category 1c and 2c and 2c-voc, 2c-gen, 3a-gen<sup>38</sup> and 3b-voc. Moreover, KLIPS data did not distinguish between 2a and 2b.

Table 3. 3 CASMIN educational classifications

Qualification	Description
1a	Inadequately completed general education
1b	General elementary education
1c	Basic vocational qualification or general elementary education and vocational qualification
2a	Intermediate vocational qualification or intermediate general qualification and vocational qualification
2b	Intermediate general qualification
2c	Full maturity certificates <sup>1</sup>
3a	Lower tertiary education
3b	Higher tertiary education

*Note:* Source from Brauns & Steinmann (1997: 3)

Table 3. 4 New CASMIN educational classifications

Qualification	Description
1a	Inadequately completed general education
1b	General elementary education
1c	Basic vocational qualification or general elementary education and vocational qualification
2a	Intermediate vocational qualification or intermediate general qualification and vocational qualification
2b	Intermediate general qualification
2c_gen	General maturity certificate
2c_voc	Vocational maturity certificate/General maturity certificate and vocational qualification
3a	Lower tertiary education
3a_gen38	Lower tertiary education – general diplomas
3b_voc	Lower tertiary education – diplomas with vocational emphasis
3b	Higher tertiary education
3b_low	Higher tertiary education – lower level
3b_high	Higher tertiary education - higher level

Note: Source from Brauns & Steinmann (1997: 28)

For respondent's education level, the CASMIN was modified into three categorisations: lower (1ab), middle (2ab), and higher education (3ab) for the categorical analysis (Table 3.5).

Table 3. 5 Adopted CASMIN scales of educational qualifications

Qualification	Description
1ab = Lower	The elementary education (the level of compulsory education)
2ab = middle	The secondary intermediate level (middle and high school)
3ab = higher	Lower-level tertiary degrees with shorter duration (e.g. college diplomas or C) & the completion of a traditional university education and higher level

Note: Source adopted from Brauns & Steinmann (1997: 33) and Brauns, Gangl & Sherer (1999: 9)

### 3.3.2 Other variables

#### *Cohort*

KLIPS asked the respondents their birth date and coded their age. Four cohorts were constructed to analyse changes of the effect of social origin over time. As the oldest cohort was born before 1951, people attended higher education in this cohort before 1970. Next cohort is made of people born between 1951 and 1960 who attended higher education in the 1970s. Until the mid-1960s, the Korean government did not begin to establish a systematic form of higher education. The third cohort, born between 1961 and 1970, entered higher education in the 1980s with a period of significant increase in the number of colleges. Lastly, the youngest cohort, born after 1970, entered colleges or universities in the 1990s with the blossom of Korean higher education (Shavit *et al.* 2007: 101).

#### *Class schema for respondents*

The respondent's class schema is also based on Goldthorpe's (1992). Table 3.6 shows the class schema for respondents which applies to the statistical analysis in the later chapters. I subdivide Class III into IIIa and IIIb and Farmers (IVc) are included in IV. Soldiers were dropped, following Jackson and Goldthorpe (2007).

Table 3. 6 The class schema for respondents

Goldthorpe's seven-class	Seven-class	Three-class
I+II	I+II	I+II
III	III	
IVab	IV	IIIa+IV
IVc		
V+VI	V/VI	V/VI+VII (+IIIb)
VIIa	VII	

### 3.3.3 Independent variables

Father's education and occupation is used as major independent variables to represent the effect of social origin as father's occupation is believed more stable and remains dominant factor in the family (Goldthorpe, 1983: 469).

#### *Father's class*

In the KLIPS, responses to 'Around the age of 14, what did your father do?' uses unit group (3-digit) code of the KSCO (Korean Standard Classification of Occupation) (see Table 3.7).

These occupational categories were recoded to Erikson and Goldthorpe's seven-class version of schema (see Table 3.1). It was modified to a three-class version: Non-manual workers (I+II+III), Farm workers (IVc+VIIb), and Manual workers (V<sup>11</sup>+VI+VIIab). Due to small number of cases, skilled manual (V+VI) and unskilled manual (VIIab) workers are combined.

<sup>11</sup> No variable on Class V is available. It is not possible to distinguish low-technician from skilled workers.

Table 3. 7 Korean Standard classification of occupation

Occupation Code (2000)
10 'Legislators, senior officials and managers
100 'professionals'
200 'technicians and associate professionals'
300 'clerks'
400 'service workers'
500 'sales workers'
600 'skilled agricultural forestry and fishery workers
700 'craft and related trades workers'
800 'plant, machine operators and assemblers
900 'elementary occupations'
950 'armed forces'
995 'Not employed'
99999 'can't classified' (999 in the case of Job History data)

The 'dominance approach' (Erikson, 1984) is adopted by using father's or mother's class (whichever is higher) as the family class. In this study, the employment status of either father or mother determines family class, depending on which may be regarded as 'dominant' in labour-market participation. Erikson suggested two criteria of dominance: 'work time' and 'work position'. As employment supersedes non-employment, full-time employment supersedes part-time, and higher-level employment should supersede the lower-level (Goldthorpe, 1992: 238- 65). This procedure would better reflect the changing social reality and increased the effective sample sizes for analysis.

#### *Father's education*

KLIPS asked the respondents 'what is the highest school your father attended?' The same list used for respondent's education was provided to identify the educational level. Father's education level was categorised into three: lower (1ab), middle (2ab), and higher education (3ab) (Table 3.8). For the continuous analysis, father's education

is recoded to six-categories: Non (1a), primary (1bc), lower secondary, higher secondary, lower tertiary, and higher tertiary education (Table 3.9). Dominance approach is also adopted by using father's or mother's education (whichever is higher) as the parent's education. Mother's education is incomplete in wave 1 (1998), and only new respondents from wave 4 (2001) answered. For the statistical analyses in later chapters, I used the first (1998) and fourth (2001) waves of the KLIPS.

Table 3. 8 Adopted CASMIN scales of educational qualifications

Qualification	Description
1ab = Lower	The elementary education (the level of compulsory education)
2ab = Middle	The secondary intermediate level
3ab = Higher	Lower-level tertiary degrees with shorter duration (e.g. college diplomas or Certificates) and the completion of a traditional university education and higher level

*Note:* Source adopted from Brauns & Steinmann (1997: 33) & Brauns, Gangl & Sherer (1999: 9)

Table 3. 9 Six-categories of educational qualifications

Qualification	Description
1a = non	Inadequately completed general education
1bc = primary	General elementary education
2a = lower secondary	Intermediate general qualification and vocational qualification
2b = higher secondary	Intermediate general qualification
3a = lower tertiary	Lower tertiary education
3b = higher tertiary	Higher tertiary education

*Note:* Source adopted from Brauns & Steinmann (1997: 33) & Brauns, Gangl & Sherer (1999: 9)

### 3.4 Statistical methods used for analysis

In this section, I provide a brief overview of the analytical techniques that are employed in each empirical chapter. Full details of the statistical models are given in subsequent chapters where they are employed.

#### 3.4.1 Descriptive analysis

In Chapter 4, in order to connect women's education and occupational status with the dynamic social context, I use the frequency to observe the trends, sources are mainly from the Korea National Statistical Office (KNSO) and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology.

##### *Cross-tabulations*

Cross-tabulation, also known as contingency table, are used to explore the relationship between dependent variables and the independent variables. Each variable is in grouped data format and is generally nominal or ordinal level of measurement.

#### 3.4.2 Disparity ratios and Odds ratios

Chapter 5 and 6 look at relative mobility (or social fluidity) using various statistical methods, including disparity ratios and odds ratios.

Disparity ratios are very simply way to represent relative mobility. In 2 X 2 mobility table, one would calculate:

$$\frac{f_{11}}{f_1} \bigg/ \frac{f_{21}}{f_2} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{f_{22}}{f_2} \bigg/ \frac{f_{12}}{f_1}$$

where  $f_{11}$  is the frequency in the 1-1 cell,  $f_1$  the corresponding row marginal, etc. (Goldthorpe, 1987). In using these ratios, the changes in the class structure may have affected the relative chances of respondents of different class origins arriving at specific educational attainment.

In Chapter 5, disparity ratios show how much the changes in the class structure may have affected the chances that respondents of different class origins would have reached specific levels of educational attainment.

Odds represent the relative probability with which different outcomes occur. They can be expressed as:

$$\text{Odds} = \text{probability}/(1 - \text{probability})$$

The basic measure of social fluidity is the odds ratios. Odds ratios are measures of the chance of an individual from one class origins being found in a particular class destination rather than another, relative to those from a different class origins being found in the same class destination rather than another. How the changes of being found in one class, say  $f_{11}$ , differ between people from class origins  $f_{12}$  and  $f_{22}$  the ratio of the frequencies in  $f_{11}$  and  $f_{21}$  among people who originated in C is the odds of being in  $f_{11}$  rather than  $f_{21}$  for people from class  $f_{12}$ . The same ratio involving  $f_{11}$  and  $f_{21}$  can be computed for people from class  $f_{22}$ .

With a 2 X 2 table,

$$\text{Odds ratio} = \frac{f_{11} / f_{12}}{f_{21} / f_{22}}$$

Odds ratios sometimes mean the ‘association’ between origins and destinations (Breen, 2004: 22-3). Odds ratios usually show the quantities from four cells of mobility table. However, Chapter 5 has three classes in origins and three educational attainments as destinations by four cohorts thus we could compute a very large number of odds ratios.

### **3.4.3 Regression analysis**

While cross-tabulations test whether an association exists between two variables, regression analysis furthers our understanding of their relationships by including predictors and variables of theoretical interest in a multivariate model.

In general, a logistic regression model is an alternative approach to regression that allows us to use a binary dependent variable – a variable having only two possible outcomes. The method determines the predicted probability of the outcome based on the combination of explanatory variables. Logistic regression assumes a linear relationship between the logit (logistic transformation) of the independent variables and the dependent variable (it does not require linear relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable).

#### *Logistic regression*

The response variable in a logistic regression is coded 0 (failure) or 1 (success). The basic formula of logistic regression can be expressed as follows:

$$\log \left( \frac{P}{1-P} \right) = \text{logit}(P) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_k X_k$$

where  $P$  is the probability of an event occurring. The ratio  $\frac{P}{1-P}$  equals the odds, which represent the probability with which a particular outcome happens.

#### *Ordered logistic regression*

The ordered logistic regression (also called ordered logit model or proportional odds model) is a regression model for ordinal dependent variables and an extension of the binary response model. Ordinal variables characterise (1) variables that could be measured on an interval or ratio scale such as age and birth cohort or (2) variables that cannot be counted in the ways we count physical quantities such as measurement of an abstract characteristic or concept (the level of schooling completed or political orientation) (Menard, 2010: 195).

#### **3.4.4 Log-linear and log-multiplicative layer effect models**

Log-linear analysis was developed to analyse complex multivariate contingency tables which is simply a table involving two or more categorical variables, in which each cell contains the number of cases having one unique combination of values on two or more variables. Hauser *et al.* give a full description of the use of log-linear models in the analysis of mobility tables (Hauser *et al.* 1975).

In Chapter 7, for the analysis of the overall social fluidity in the relative mobility rates, two statistical models are used: the log-linear model which is subdivided into a conditional independence (or baseline) model, a constant social fluidity (CnSF) and the

log-multiplicative layer effect model, which also called ‘UNIDIFF’ (Uniform Difference) (Goldthorpe, 1987; Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992; Xie, 1992; Breen, 2004; Goldthorpe & Mills, 2008). The model can be written as:

1. The conditional independence model (baseline)

$$\log F_{ijk} = \mu + \lambda_I^O + \lambda_j^D + \lambda_k^C + \lambda_{ik}^{OC} + \lambda_{jk}^{DC}$$

2. Constant social fluidity model (CnSF)

$$\log F_{ijk} = \mu + \lambda_I^O + \lambda_j^D + \lambda_k^C + \lambda_{ik}^{OC} + \lambda_{jk}^{DC} + \lambda_{ij}^{OD}$$

3. UNIDIFF or Log multiplicative model

$$\log F_{ijk} = \mu + \lambda_I^O + \lambda_j^D + \lambda_k^C + \lambda_{ik}^{OC} + \lambda_{jk}^{DC} + \lambda_{ij}^{OD} + \beta_k X_{ij}$$

where O stands for class of origin, D for class of destination, C for cohorts. In the UNIDIFF model,  $X_{ij}$  indicates the general pattern of association between origin and destination, and  $\beta_k$  represents the relative strength of this association specific to a particular age cohort (Li and Devine, 2011). With the conditional independence model, we assume that there is no association between class of origin and class of destination, while the structure of both origin and destination classes alter over time. The CnSF model allows class of origin to be associated with class of destination yet assumes that the strength of association does not vary with a third variable, i.e. birth cohort in the analysis of Chapter 7. With the UNIDIFF model, the association between class of origin and class of destination takes the same pattern in the entire table being compared, but the strength of this association differs between tables (see for full details Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992; Ch.3 and Xie, 1992).

### **3.5 Conclusion**

To sum up, this chapter has introduced the data and statistical methods that are used this study. In the next chapter, I start with the review of the development of the modern educational system in South Korea. Then, I observe the changes in educational attainment and employment status by using the secondary sources from the Korea National Statistical Office and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology.

### Appendix for Chapter 3

Table 3A. 1 KLIPS Questionnaire (selected) (1998)

1. Personal Identification Number

2. Gender male/female

3. Year of birth

4. Age

5. Level of education (schooling and status)

School he/she last finished/dropped out/is in	Last status
1. None	
2. Elementary school	1. Received diploma/degree
3. Middle school	2. Completed course work
4. High school	3. Dropped out
5. Vocational/technical school	4. Now attending
6. College	5. Not enrolled temporarily
7. Master's course	
8. Doctoral course	

6. Father's education

School he/she last finished/dropped out/is in	Last status
1. None	
2. Elementary school	1. Received diploma/degree
3. Middle school	2. Dropped out
4. High school	3. Absent
5. Vocational college	4. Attending
6. College	5. Completed course work
7. University	6. Not sure
8. Not sure	

7. Mother's education

School he/she last finished/dropped out/is in	Last status
1. None	
2. Elementary school	1. Received diploma/degree
3. Middle school	2. Dropped out
4. High school	3. Absent
5. 2yrs college	4. Attending
6. College/university	5. Completed course work
7. Graduate school	6. Not sure
8. Not sure	

8. Father's occupation status (mother if father was absent/ or deceased)

Father's occupation

1. Father or mother	
2. Content of the job	
3. Duty/responsibility	
4. Title or position	
5. Employment status	1. Paid worker (regular/irregular) 2. Employer with employees 3. Self-employed 4. Worker in family business 6. Not employed

9. Respondent's occupation status

Respondent's occupation

1. Questionnaire type	1. Wage workers 2. Non-wage workers 3. Not-working
2. Content of the job	
3. Duty/responsibility	
4. Title or position	

Table 3A. 2 Changes in class in contemporary South Korea (1955-1980) (%)

Class	1955	1960	1966	1970	1975	1980
Bourgeois class	0.4	1.7	0.7	2.4	2.9	3.7
Old middle	70.0	65.6	55.4	47.9	39.1	35.8
New middle	6.2	6.8	9.3	13.5	14.5	17.3
Working class	23.4	24.7	34.6	35.5	43.3	43.3
Not applicable		1.2		0.7		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1

Note: Young Mo Kim's class schema (Kim, 1982: 154)

Table 3A. 3 Changes in class in contemporary South Korea (1985-1995) (%)

Class	1980			1995		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Bourgeois class	3.7	4.2	2.2	6.6	7.7	4.0
Old middle	35.8	41.1	29.7	20.9	21.5	19.4
New middle	17.3	16.0	20.2	30.9	28.6	36.4
Working class	43.3	38.8	47.9	41.6	42.5	40.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Data source: 1995 Population and Housing Census (Kim, 1998: 319)

## **Chapter 4 General Trends of Educational Attainment and Occupational Status in Contemporary South Korea**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The existing literature has termed the rapid expansion of formal education in South Korea an ‘Educational Revolution’ and the transformation of South Korea’s economy in the past three decades an ‘Economic Miracle’ (Seth, 2002; Kim, 1997). Until the early 1970s, South Korea was one of the world’s poorest rural nations. With the successful economic growth and remarkable urbanisation<sup>12</sup>, South Korea became one of the most dynamic manufacturing economies in the world. The expansion of the urban occupation represented increases in new middle and working class populations with the reduction of farming occupations (Hong, 1983).

As Seth (2002) reports, the investment by Korean families in the education of their children has been enormous and schooling is the most important feature in family life. However, it is observed that gender differences in educational attainment have led to the lower occupational status of women in the country’s highly competitive labour market (Kim, 1997; Park, 1993).

For a general understanding of the relationship between educational attainment and employment status in South Korea, I first explore how the modern educational system developed with the social changes and economic growth in the decades after 1945. Then, I examine the changes in educational attainment and employment status.

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<sup>12</sup> With the acceleration of industrialisation, the urban population expanded from about 25 per cent of the total population in 1953 to 89 per cent in 1994 in cities with populations exceeding 100,000 (Chung, 2007:37).

To analyse the trends in education and employment, I use secondary sources the Korea National Statistical Office (KNSO) and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology.

## **4.2 Changes of educational system**

The challenge of Western industrial civilisation in the late nineteenth century<sup>13</sup> resulted in the foundations in Korea of a modern educational system. During the Japanese Colonial period (1910-1945), the main purpose of education was to assimilate and subordinate Koreans in all ways to the Japanese, whose systems were separate from those of the ethnic Koreans. By 1942 almost 40 per cent of ethnic Korean children were enrolled in elementary school. However, only 5 per cent of these advanced to gender-divided middle schools (Sorensen, 1994: 14-15).

At the time of the nation's liberation in 1945, most adult Koreans were illiterate, though literacy classes were provided by a government-initiated programme in response to the needs of the people and of development. The literacy rate was only 22 per cent in 1945, but as a result of the national anti-illiteracy campaigns, it increased to 72.1 per cent in 1960 and reached 96.3 per cent in 1990 (Chung, 1994: 499).

Modern mass primary education began only under the U.S. Military Government (1945-48). In 1948 the Rhee regime<sup>14</sup> established the Education Ministry, which controlled every major aspect of education, including enrolments, teacher supply, curricula, examinations and certification (Jeong & Armer, 1994: 536). The Education

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<sup>13</sup> In this thesis, Korea before 1945 refers to the whole peninsula, but, after 1945, it means only the southern part (Republic of South Korea).

<sup>14</sup> The First Republic 1948-1960: Rhee Seung Man was from an aristocratic ('*yangban*') background and had been in political exile in the United States for more than thirty years (Chun, 1996).

Law passed in 1949 provided 6 years of compulsory free education beginning at age 7, 3 years of non-compulsory middle school, 3 years of non-compulsory high school and 4 years of college. Citizens' Schools (*Kongmin Hakkyo*) were also established for adults who had not received formal education (Sorensen, 1994: 16).

However, owing to the outbreak of the Korean War<sup>15</sup> in 1950, compulsory education did not effectively begin until 1954 and elementary schooling was expanded throughout the 1960s (Lee, 2003; Lee & Jung, 1999; Seth, 2002). As a result of the literacy campaigns and the expansion of primary education, the enrolment ratios of primary school increased dramatically and reached 90 per cent in 1964 and nearly 100 per cent in the early 1970s. Moreover, the percentage of primary students continuing to secondary education was over 50 percentages in the 1970s, with the Park<sup>16</sup> (1961-79) government's policy of expanding secondary and vocational education. However, vocational education had been generally considered less desirable by the public since the Japanese period; its fragmented secondary education system had been created for discriminatory purposes which led students from an early age to different social levels. The enrolment of vocational high schools in 1991 was only about 35 per cent of the total high school population (Sorensen, 1994: 18).

From 1953 on, the government introduced comprehensive entrance examinations for middle and high schools to those who were best prepared to qualify for secondary education. Following the state's expansionary policy, middle-school (lower secondary) entrance examinations were abolished after 1949 to ease the high school (higher secondary) entry qualifications, which in turn influenced the increase of university

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<sup>15</sup> The Korean War (1950-1953).

<sup>16</sup> Military Rule 1961-63: General Park Chung Hee - the 1961 coup was actually planned before the fall of Rhee Seung-man; the Third Republic 1963-1972; the Fourth Republic 1972-1979: Park Chung Hee.

enrolment in the middle of the 1970s (Lee, 1998: 65-6; Jeong, 1994: 537-41). However, for high schools and colleges, entrance examinations remain to this day.

By 1981, lower secondary education had become available to all pupils under the age of 15, while upper secondary education was more diversified. Lower secondary school attendance reached over 90 per cent, with 60 per cent attending upper secondary schools in the 1980s (Lee & Jung, 1999). By 1986, the enrolment rates for secondary schools in South Korea had risen to 95 per cent (Morris, 1996: 101).

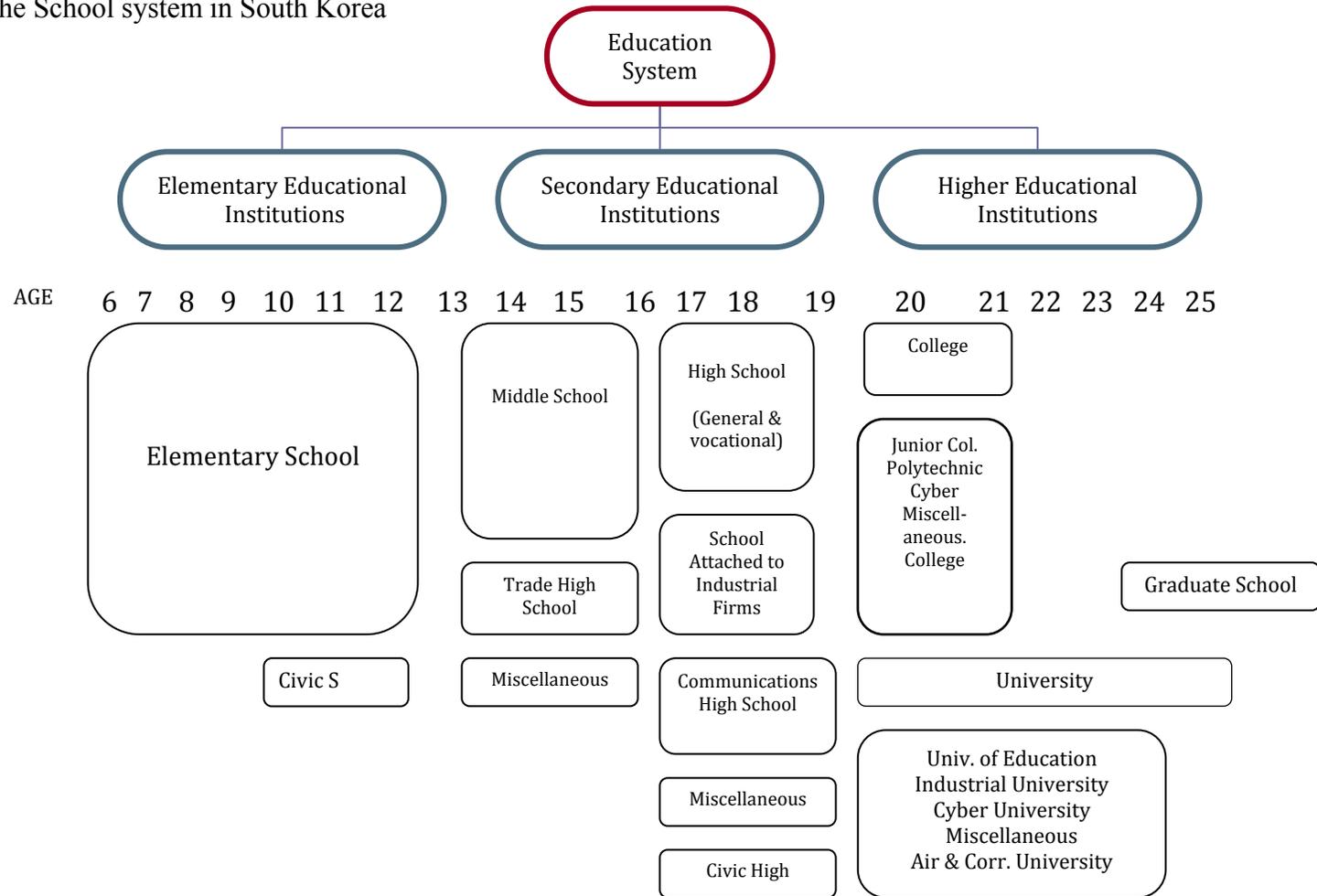
The expansion of tertiary education followed the achievement of high levels of access to secondary education. However, the pattern in tertiary education was different. In 1961, the government took charge of all college entrance examinations and set admission and graduate quotas for each institute. National entrance examination for higher education was introduced in 1968 (Jeong & Armer, 1994: 541). Then, with the sharp increase in tertiary enrolment in the 1980s, the government tried to limit the expansion of tertiary education enrolments due to the rapid growth in student population and intense competition in the college entrance system (McGinn *et al.* 1980: 7-8).

The pattern of educational development began to change from the late 1980s in order to improve the quality of education. In the early 1990s, secondary education became compulsory and opportunities for the higher education were enlarged with the growing national passion for educational attainment (Seth, 2002). Moreover, in pursuit of achieving basic values and high status for education, education policies since 1990 have largely focused on upgrading the education system. The Education Act of 1998 allowed the establishment of various other types of school. Figure 4.1 displays the

framework of the education system in South Korea by age. Between and the 1950s, the school ladder system was reformed by successive laws and became a single track system following a 6-3-3-4 pattern. With the quantitative expansion of student populations and school facilities, added to the intense competition for college places in the 1960s and 1970s, communications and distance learning colleges and high schools were established. Civic schools and civic high schools are aimed at adults who want to receive primary and secondary education. The introduction of new kinds of college and university - polytechnics, distance learning and air correspondence courses - fulfilled the demands of higher education in the 1990s.

The 8th Five-Year Plan for Economic & Social Development (1997-2001) focused on the future production of well-rounded citizens, pursuing efficiency, enhancing independence and building balance to expand education opportunities.

Figure 4. 1 The School system in South Korea



Source: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology

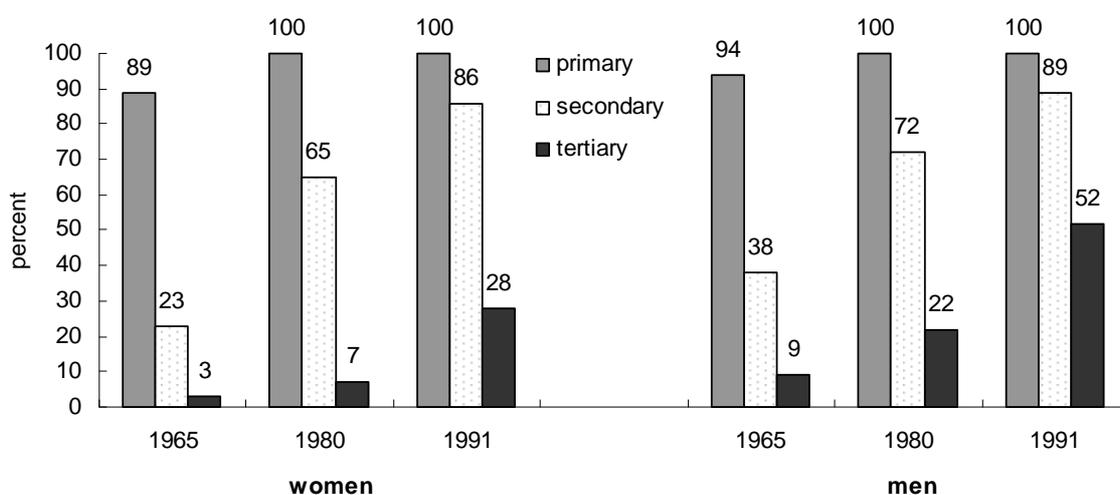
#### **4.2.1 Current inequality in the educational system**

Access to primary and secondary school in South Korea is regulated by residence as well as examination success, to the extent that a systematic inequality of access to education can be predicted in line with residential differences. In particular, the part of Seoul lying to the south of the Han River (Kangnam Ku), where large numbers of professionals and their families live, has better schools. Since 1969, the Korean government has tried to equalise middle and high schools. After the abolition of middle school entrance exams, the government tried in the 1980s to provide nationwide standards for middle schools as well as high schools. However, the quality differences between urban and rural schools and between public and private schools remain, and there is the more serious problem of 'fraudulent school admission'. Some rural parents from all over Korea send their children to relatives in Seoul for better secondary schooling; in the 1980s this was an intractable problem (Sorensen, 1994: 20-1).

#### **4.2.2 Women in the educational system**

Since 1945, the demand for education has exceeded supply, even though Korean enrolment ratios - 100 per cent in elementary and 98.5 per cent in middle schools - reached that of the most developed countries in the world in 1990 (Sorensen, 1994: 22). As in most developing countries, Korean women did not get the same formal education as men, due to poverty and traditional gender discrimination, based on such features as the patriarchal Confucian ideology and the perception that women's sphere role was limited to the home (Lee, 2003: 306). In addition, the state through the educational system has reinforced the Confucian legacy, which emphasizes male supremacy and the division of labour by gender.

Figure 4. 2 Educational enrolment rates (%)



Source: UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook* (Chung, 1994: 500)

Educational opportunities for women began during the Japanese occupation (1910-46). However, Japanese educational policy for Korean women was based on the ideology of “good wife and wise mother” which is a deep-rooted Confucian image of women, current also in Japan at the time. Girls had 1 year less education than boys at the middle level (Cho, 1994: 212-3; Sorensen, 1994: 15). The equal educational opportunity of women was, however, legally guaranteed in the 1950s.

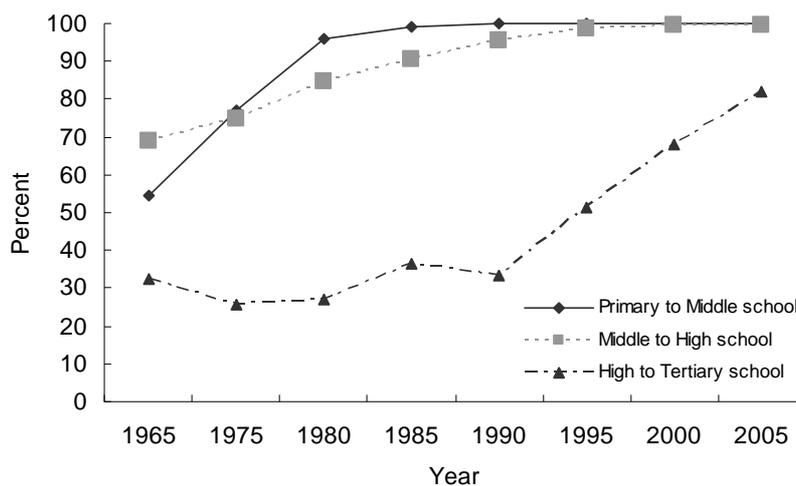
Figure 4.2 shows that gender inequality has been reduced at the primary and secondary levels. Secondary enrolments for women dramatically increased from 23 per cent in 1965 to 86 per cent in 1991. The enrolment rate for women in tertiary education was only 3.2 per cent in 1965, but it increased to 28 per cent in 1991 with the expansion of university education after the 1980s. However, Figure 4.2 reveals that women’s enrolment rates at the higher levels of education were still much lower than men’s. Enrolment rates of women were only one-third those of men in 1965 (3/9) and 1980

(7/22) and were still only half in 1991 (28/52).

### 4.3 Trends in educational attainment

In this section of the analysis, as described in section 4.2, I explore how far the expansion of educational opportunity led to the rapid increases in educational attainment for the period 1965 to 2005. Figure 4.3 illustrates the trends in the advancement rates of school graduates in South Korea from 1965 to 2005.

Figure 4. 3 Advancement rates of school graduates (%)



*Notes:*

1. Rate of Advancements = (Entrants of Number of Graduates/Graduates) × 100

Source: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, *Brief Statistics on Korean Education*, (2005, 2008, Korean Educational Development Institute)

There is no way of distinguishing between men and women in the above graph as these data are missing. The figure is based on the total number of entrants by graduates for each year in succession. Advancement from both primary and middle school reached almost 100 per cent in the mid-1990s, resulting from the rapid expansion of primary education in the 1960s and the start of mandatory lower secondary schooling in the

mid-1980s. The proportion of students who continued their studies in college and university has increased from 32.3 per cent in 1965; by 2000 it had doubled and expanded by 82.1 per cent in 2005. Figure 4.3 illustrates the trends of the advancement rates of school graduates in South Korea from 1965 to 2005. Advancement in both primary and middle school reached almost 100 per cent in the mid-1990s, following the rapid expansion of primary education in the 1960s and the start of mandatory lower secondary schooling in the mid-1980s.

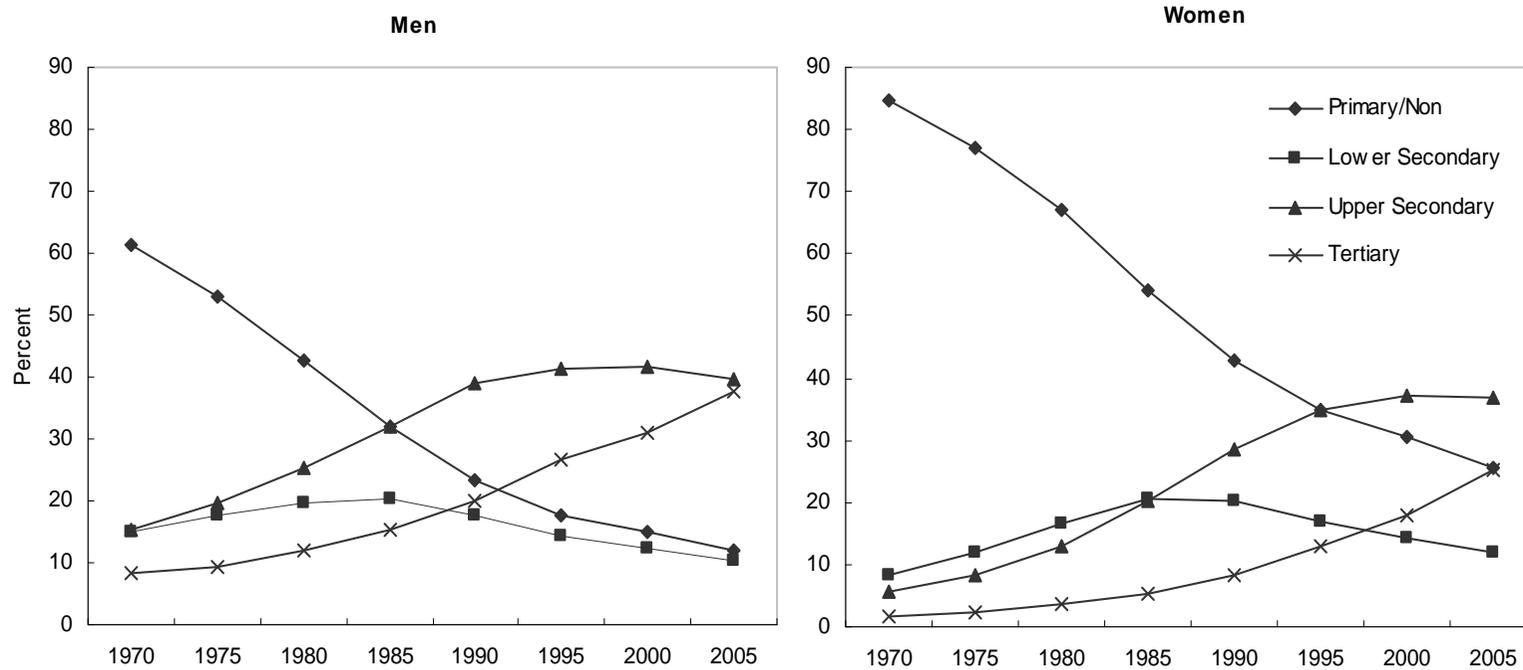
The World Bank's Education Indicators report the expected years of schooling of women and men in the last three decades. Table 4.1 shows that the expected years of schooling of Korean women in 1975 were about 9 years, increasing to 15 years in 2005. Data are not available for men from 1975 to 1985 and in 1995. However, it can be fairly safely assumed that the expected years of schooling of men from 1975-85 were higher than for women, since the expected years of schooling for men in 1991, 2000, 2003 and 2005 were almost 2 years higher than for women.

Table 4. 1 Expected years of schooling

	<b>1975</b>	<b>1980</b>	<b>1985</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2005</b>
<b>Women</b>	9.3	11.1	12.5	12.9	14.1	14.2	14.8	15.0
<b>Men</b>	..	..	..	14.3	..	16.7	17.3	17.6

*Source:* World Bank: Educational Indicators (Household or Labour Force Survey, age 15+)

Figure 4. 4 Highest level of education for men and women aged 25 and over, 1970-2005



Source: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, Korean Educational Development Institute, *Statistical Yearbook of Education*, (1970-2005; Korean Educational Development Institute)

Figure 4.4 shows the trend of educational attainment for people aged 25 and the population for the period 1970-2005. The increase of upper secondary and university educational opportunities for both men and women is remarkable. At the same time, the percentage of primary or non-qualified people dramatically declined. Whereas 5.5 per cent of women completed high school, 15.1 of men had high school qualifications in 1970. Until the mid-1990s, women with tertiary qualification were below 10 per cent of the population. However, with the improvement of opportunities in higher education, the proportion of women with a degree tripled, from 8.3 per cent in 1990 to 25.4 per cent in 2005. Comparing women's educational attainment with men's, the changes for women are the more dramatic.

#### **4.4 Trends in employment**

During the 1950s, more than half the gross domestic product (GDP) came from agricultural products, with small farmers or agricultural labourers forming 82 per cent of the total Korean labour force. During the Park regime, the state controlled the economy, including banking, financing and taxing. In the early 1960s, there were about two million waged workers in South Korea. However, the government repressed labour movements, banning the rights of organisation, collective bargaining and collective action. Under the regime of Chun<sup>17</sup> (1980-87), a government which, like Park's, was created through a military coup, the state still kept hold of central economic planning and the number of wage workers increased to eight million by the mid-1980s (Jeong & Armer, 1994: 533-5; Koo, 2001: 29-35). Moreover, according to the World Development Report published by the World Bank in 1981, South Korea

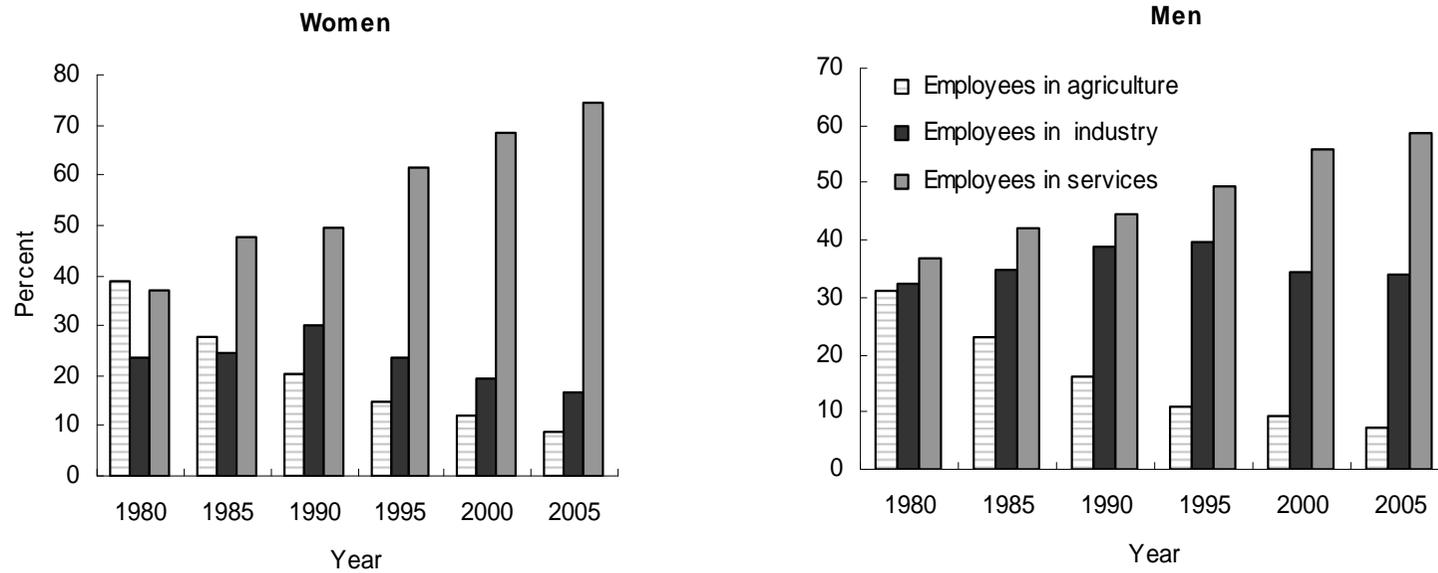
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<sup>17</sup> The Fifth Republic 1980-1987: Chun Doo-Hwan

was credited with the highest rate of growth in manufacturing production and industrial exports of the 124 countries surveyed during the period 1960 to 1979 (World Bank, 1981).

Figure 4.5 indicates the changes in employment by sector between men and women from 1980 to 2005. The percentage of women who were employed in the agricultural sector was 39 per cent in 1980, but dramatically decreased to about 9 per cent in 2005. The proportion of women who worked in the service sector in 1980 was 37 per cent of all working women; by 2005, it had almost doubled. The proportion of men who were employed in the service sector also increased throughout the period; however, the proportion of men workers in the industrial sector decreased from 2000 to the same proportion as in 1985.

Figure 4. 5 Percentage of employment by sectors aged 15 and over, 1980-2005



Source: World Bank Statistics – Household or labour force survey

#### 4.4.1 Women's employment status

Women workers played a significant part in Korea's rapid economic growth with Park's government-directed economic development programme in the 1960s and early 1970s. The economically active female population (aged 15 and over) was 2,835,000 in 1960 (Roh, 1994: 241-2). The rate of women's participation in economic activity continuously increased from 37 per cent in 1963 to 42.8 per cent in 1980, 47.0 per cent in 1990 and 48.6 per cent in 2000. In 2004, almost half the female population (aged 15 and over) were involved in economic activities (Choi, 2006: 191).

However, there were only 182,000 women workers in the manufacturing sectors in 1963. The number of women workers increased to 1.4 million in 1985, while the number of men increased from 428,000 to 2.1 million. Most women factory workers were hired in the textile, garment and electronics industries, which have less need for skills (Koo, 2001: 36). Since the economic boom, female factory workers in Korea have commonly been called '*Kongsuni*' (men are '*Kongdori*'). 'Kong', shorthand for '*Kongjang*' in Korean, means 'factory'. The contribution made by the textile and garment industry to this extraordinarily rapid economic expansion was greater than that of any other single industry in South Korea. Since the early 1970s, women workers in the service sector have increased in accordance with the rapid growth of these industries (Roh, 1994: 245).

However, a gap still exists between industrial development and cultural reaction. The traditional Confucian conception of filial piety was used in the government's drive to force women workers to sacrifice themselves as dutiful daughters to their families, dutiful workers to their employers and dutiful citizens to the nation; the values of hard work and frugality were deeply imbedded in the public mind. On the one hand,

daughters were easily considered temporary members of the family and, on the other, poorer families often sent their daughters to work (Kim, 1997: 57; Robinson, 2007). Korean parents expect to be cared for in old age by their children (usually the eldest son) – the devotion to respect and obey one’s parents is the core of Korean ethics. Since parents look forward to their economic and social dependence on their eldest son, parents make a heavy investment and sacrifice for him. In rural families, it is commonly observed that the sisters and mothers, sometimes even grandmothers, work in the non-skilled manual sector to support the son’s education.

In addition, women workers have been forced to quit their jobs when they marry or give birth to their first child and to retire earlier than men, even though the Constitution of the Republic of Korea stated in 1948 that ‘all citizens are equal before the law and that there shall not be discrimination in political, economic, social, or culture life on account of sex, religion, or social status’ (Palley, 1994: 278). The Economically Active Population Survey<sup>18</sup> by KNSO gives evidence of the general decline of the proportion of Korean women in the workforce at the age of marriage and childbirth (25-34) in Korea.

The educational requirements for employment concentrate on more highly skilled workers, who tend to rise in society. The demands made by the modernising society are met by the expansion of education (McGinn *et al.* 1980: 108). The contribution of higher education to Korea’s economic development is significant. In the 1970s, the government increased the number of new students in higher education to meet the demand in the emerging market economy (Park, 2000: 126-8). National studies

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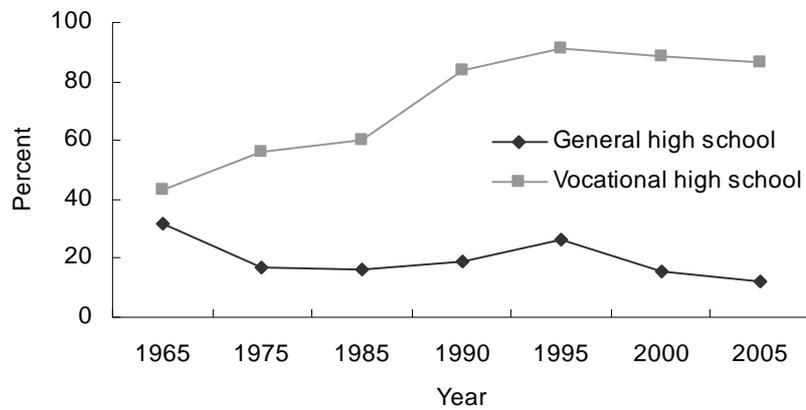
<sup>18</sup> Monthly survey by KNSO since 1963: Statistics on Employment- its main purpose is to examine the characteristics of national economic activity and to provide basic data for macro-economic analysis.

showed that college graduates earned twice as much as high school graduates and three times as much as primary or middle school graduates (Sorensen, 1994: 22-3). The correlation between educational success and socioeconomic status is a crucial factor in understanding social mobility in Korea. However, it is said that the level of educational attainment does not always match the rate of employment.

The idea of achieving upward mobility through schooling nowadays dominates the lives of South Korean parents and children from middle school on, with tutoring and extracurricular lessons. Therefore, it is not surprising that education is regarded as the only entrance to success and high status.

Figure 4.6 shows the changes in employment rates with the increase in upper secondary qualifications from 1965 to 2005. The expansion of vocational education, which during the rapid economic development of the 1970s focused on technical skills, resulted in higher employment status for the people who gained vocational qualifications. In 1995, over 90 per cent of students who obtained employment had vocational educational qualifications. In contrast, the employment rate of the general upper secondary qualification dropped by half in 2000.

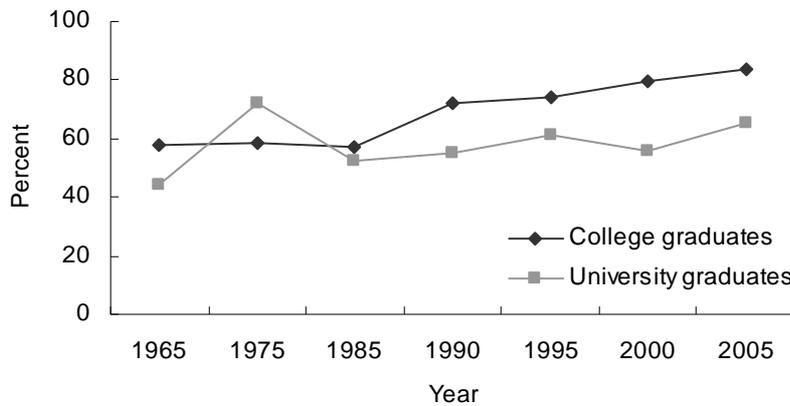
Figure 4. 6 Employment rates of high school graduates, 1965-2005 (%)



Source: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, *Brief Statistics on Korean Education*, (2005, Korean Educational Development Institute)

As we can see from Figure 4.7, higher educational attainment influenced the status of employment. The percentage of employed persons with college qualification gradually increased. Though 71.8 per cent of university graduates were employed in 1975, there was a drop of almost 20 per cent in 1985. In 1975, 33,610 students graduated from university and 19,635 graduates were employed. As a result of the growth of opportunities for university education in the 1980s, the number of graduates dramatically increased to 118,584 in 1985, but only 48,552 university graduates were employed (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2005: 51-2). This implies that the decline in the proportion of employed persons with university degrees in 1985 was mainly due to the increase in the number of university graduates.

Figure 4. 7 Employment rates of higher education graduates, 1965-2005 (%)



*Notes:*

1. Rate of employment = (number of employed/number of graduates - (number of continuing studies + no. on military service)) x 100

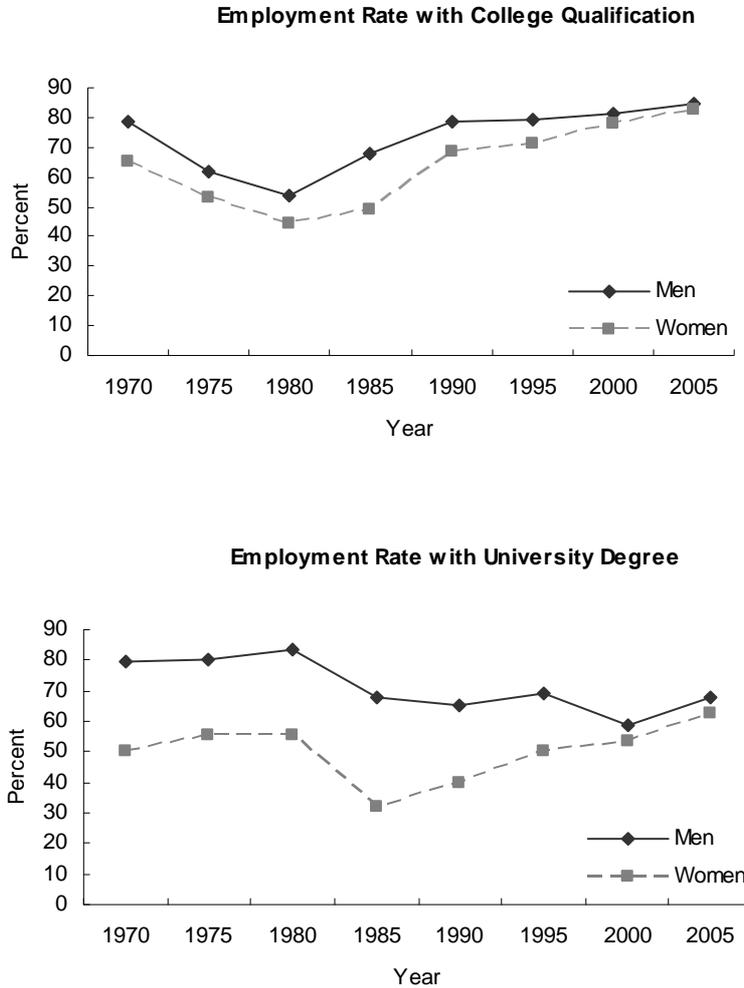
*Source:* Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, *Brief Statistics on Korean Education*, (2005, Korean Educational Development Institute)

The economic crisis in 1997 reduced the employment rate of students with university degrees. By contrast, the college graduates were not affected by the economic crisis through the late 1990s: the percentage of them in employment increased to 83.5 per cent in 2005.

Figure 4.8 gives some idea of the relationship of educational attainment to employment patterns of both men and women from 1970 to 2005 in South Korea. The pattern of employment for both sexes with college qualification has been similar throughout the last three decades. The employment rate of college-qualified persons declined until the early 1980s. In contrast, the employment rate of holders of university degrees slightly increased in the last few decades. Comparing women to men, Figure 4.8 shows that women with university degrees still had a lower percentage of employment status than men between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s, but the

differences between men and women almost ceased after 2000.

Figure 4. 8 Employment rates of college and university graduates, 1970-2005 (%)



Source: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, *Statistical Yearbook of Education* (1970-2005, Korean Educational Development Institute)

One of the significant features of Figure 4.8 is again that the economic crisis in 1997 saw a dramatic decline in the employment rate of men with university degrees, but its effect on women with degrees was weaker and their rate of employment actually increased. The economic crisis has moderated the fascination with ‘economic miracles’ and provoked a search for the causes of the meltdown of the Korean economy. The South Korean economy in fact recovered from the crisis faster than every economist

had predicted (Koo, 2001).

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

South Korea has experienced a more rapid expansion of education than other developed countries have and the pattern of educational expansion differs from that found in most Western countries.

The expansion of primary and secondary education in South Korea can be considered an example of educational expansion driven by the state. Tertiary education has also expanded through meritocracy, examinations and predetermined admission and graduate quotas. Educational opportunities for women have gradually improved and attitudes towards women's roles at home and in society have changed through the social and economic participation of women in the country.

In this chapter, I discussed how the modern educational system in South Korea developed in line with social changes and described the general trends in educational attainment and employment status. The chapter has shown that the advancement rates of school graduates in South Korea, from 1965 to 2005 in both primary and middle school, reached almost 100 per cent in the mid-1990s. This followed the rapid expansion of primary education in the 1960s, and the start of mandatory lower secondary schooling in the mid-1980s. The expected years of schooling for men have for decades been higher than for women. However, with regards to the improvement of higher education, the changes for women were more dramatic, when comparing women's educational attainment with men's.

This chapter also showed that the rate of Korean women's participation in economic activity continuously increased from the 1960s to 2004. Since the early 1970s, numbers women workers in the service sector have increased with the rapid growth of these industries. However, a gap still existed between industrial development and traditional Confucian culture in Korea. Women workers have been forced to sacrifice themselves as dutiful daughters to their families, dutiful workers to their employers, and dutiful citizens to the nation, even forced to quit their jobs with their marriage or pregnancy. Moreover, it is commonly observed that women work in the non-skilled manual sector to support the education of sons in rural families.

The expansion of higher education contributed significantly to Korean economic development. It was shown that the higher educational attainment enhanced the employment status of both men and women. However, women with University Degrees still had a lower percentage of employment status than men, until the mid-1990s, but the differences between men and women almost ceased after 2000.

One of the significant features was that the economic crisis in 1997 influenced the dramatic decline in the employment rate of men with degrees, but its effect on women with degrees was weaker and their rate of employment actually increased.

For the next chapter, I have looked through the changes in women's educational attainment and employment since the Liberation in 1945; the chapter deals with the relationship between social origins and educational attainment and social mobility, focusing on women in South Korea.

If the Korean zeal for education is understandable, does intensive pressure from parents to study make children keen to do well? Is social status in the 21<sup>st</sup> century mostly achieved rather than inherited? Is the amount of education really a determinant of social status and economic success? The next two chapters examine whether the expansion of the education system in the last three decades has contributed to reducing inequalities of educational opportunity between social classes and whether the relationships between social origin and social class have been weakened through the rapid industrialisation and globalisation in South Korea.

## **Chapter 5 Changes of the Relationship between Origins and Educational Attainment in Contemporary South Korea**

### **5.1 Introduction**

It is generally agreed that educational attainment is influenced by family background (Halsey *et al.* 1980; Werfhorst *et al.* 2003). Halsey and his colleagues argue that the education of the child tends to resemble that of the parent (Halsey *et al.* 1980: 39). Sullivan and Heath (2002) also report that children of higher social backgrounds attain a higher level of education (Sullivan & Heath, 2002). Whilst this general association holds between social origin and children's educational attainment, it is also the case that some parents who regret not having a better education themselves are passionate about their children's education and encourage their children to take more educational opportunities.

During the 20th century, one of the most debated research questions was whether inequalities in educational attainment according to social origins had diminished, or had remained more or less unchanged. Some researchers argued that the influence of the social status of parents on their children's educational attainment had declined (Featherman & Hauser, 1978; Grusky & DiPrete, 1990; Hauser & Featherman, 1976; Hout, 1988; Breen, Luijkx, Muller & Pollak, 2006, 2007). In contrast, other studies found that the influences of social origin on educational attainment had not diminished and class differentials had not changed (Shavit & Blossfeld, 1993; Halsey, Heath & Ridge, 1980; Heath & Clifford, 1990).

However, as Breen and Josson (2005) note, many countries share the trend towards a

decreasing association between social origin and educational attainment, but there are some exceptions.

Yet most studies agree that there has been a massive increase in the levels of attainment in formal education and that gender differences in education have declined and, in some cases, disappeared or even reversed.

In the first section of this chapter, I briefly review the theoretical arguments on gender and class differentials and previous researches in Korea. Following the review, I present data on educational attainment by birth cohort, to evaluate whether there is a significant association between them. Then I move on to look at the relationship between educational attainment and social origin in contemporary South Korea to see that father's class clearly affects educational attainment. Finally, I use disparity ratios and odds ratios to analyse trends in the country's educational attainment.

The data for this chapter are mainly based on the first wave (1998) and fourth wave (2001) of the Korean Labour and Income Panel Survey (KLIPS); the detailed construction of the variables and the reason why these two waves are used in this analysis was discussed in Chapter 3. All the figures and tables display data for women and men separately.

## **5.2 Literature review**

Class differentials in educational attainment are among the most debated questions in sociological research. In traditional liberal theories, education could change the child's class and class differentials in educational attainment would decline as the influence of

cost on parents' educational decision-making weakened (Goldthorpe, 1996: 492). The liberal argument helps to explain the general rise in educational levels, but it neglects the self-maintaining character of class inequalities.

However, cultural reproduction theorists argue that class differentials in attainment are created via the unequal endowments of the relevant 'cultural capital' that children bring with them into the educational system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Bourdieu, 1973; Willis, 1977). They see the educational system as an agent of social control. Bourdieu (1984) argues that children from less advantaged social origins perform less well due to the lack of resources. However, Halsey, Heath and Ridge (1980) have argued against Bourdieu in that their evidence does not show the concept of cultural capital as an exclusive means for the social classes to be culturally reproduced. Moreover, they argue that educational expansion means 'not the reproduction of 'cultural capital' but rather 'its very significant growth' (Halsey, Heath & Ridge, 1980).

In the case of gender differentials in educational attainment, what emerges from recent research (Shavit & Blossfeld, 1993) is that, in the course of the decades of expansion, these differentials have shown a marked decline across virtually all advanced societies. Parents and their daughters have come to reach more positive cost-benefit evaluations of education for women in the light of changing gender relations and labour market conditions.

Korea has seen a slight decline in gender differentials in educational attainment since the 1970s. Chung (1994) examines gender inequality in education, and she argued that the Confucian culture, strong patriarchal values in particular, influenced gender

inequality. She used the Korea Statistical Yearbook (1991) and found that the expansion of primary and secondary education influenced the narrowing of gender inequality (Chung, 1994: 500). She also argued that women benefited less than men from the formal educational system, and a gender difference in higher education was more apparent (ibid. 505).

Chang discusses issues of class and gender differentials in educational attainment (2001, 2004, 2006, 2009)<sup>19</sup>, and Chang (2001) focuses on family effects across educational transitions. He reported the effects of the father's class as declining across lower transitions, and increasing significantly in the transition from higher secondary, to tertiary education, while the effects of father's education steadily diminished across transitions. However, he did not look into the gender differentials due to data limitations. One of the significant findings of Chang's research (2004) is the gradual increase in influence of social origin for women, and effects of the father's education on women's higher educational attainment during the past few decades.

However, he points out that the decline of gender differentials in educational attainment has not meant less inequality between social classes (Chang, 2004). Chang (2006) examines patterns and changes of the association between social origins and women's opportunity to reach higher education in Korea, using the first wave (1998) of the Korean Labour, and Income Panel Study (KLIPS)<sup>20</sup>. In this research, he

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<sup>19</sup> He adopted Treiman's (1977) 'Standard International Occupational Prestige Scales (SIOPS)' for the first occupational status and used class schema of Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero (EGP) for the first class status of respondents and father's class. He divided educational attainment into three categories: below/ lower secondary school (1ab), higher secondary school (2abc), college (3a) and university (3b)<sup>19</sup>. For cohort analysis, he constructed two cohort groups: aged 45-64 for cohort 1, 25-44 for cohort 2 in 1995 (Chang, 1998: 761-2).

<sup>20</sup> He coded father's education into four categories: primary, middle school, high school, and university and father's class into 5 categories following EGP class schema: I+II, IIIab, IVab, IVcd+VIIb, and V+VI+VIIa. He divided birth cohort into three categories: 1934-53, 1954-63, and 1964-73.

confirms that while gender differentials in higher education have dramatically decreased, class differentials among women in higher education have increased over time (Chang, 2006: 146-8).

Bang & Kim's research (2002)<sup>21</sup> supports the claim that the father's occupational position and economic status steadily influences higher educational attainment. In particular, they focused on the qualitative differences in higher education advances. Bang & Kim (2003)<sup>22</sup> used the cohort OLS regression analysis to look for the historical changes on whether parents' social class is reproduced through children's educational stratification. They discovered that quantitative differentials in educational opportunity in South Korea have decreased, but qualitative differentials are increasing (Bang & Kim, 2003: 30). Moreover, they conducted comparative study between Korea and Japan<sup>23</sup> to examine whether the effects of social origins declined across age cohorts, and observed that social origins differentials have not changed over time in Korea, and concluded that different educational pathways in the school system lead to different conditional probabilities for entering higher education in Korea (Bang & Kim, 2005).

On the other hand, Kim (2004) analyses the effect of parental social and economic status to the individual's entrance to every educational level and reports that the familiar social class is getting less effective in advancing to higher educational level.

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<sup>21</sup> Their analysis is based on the KLIPS 1998-2000 and subsample of young people under 30 as of year 2000.

<sup>22</sup> They used the fourth wave (2001) of KLIPS. They adopted the Standard International Socioeconomic Index of Occupation (Ganzeboom, De Graaf & Treiman, 1992) for the father's occupation. They divided their age cohort into four categories: before 1953 (50 years old), 1954-63 (41-50 years old), 1962-71 (31-40 years old), after 1972(30 years old).

<sup>23</sup> They used 2002 KLIPS and the 2002 Japanese General Social Survey (JGSS).

Kim & Lee (2005a<sup>24</sup>, 2005b<sup>25</sup>, 2006) examine what effects a parent's social status and social capital in the household could have on the educational achievement of high school students. While previous studies exempted the mother's social background, they included the mother's education and occupational status. According to Kim & Lee (2005b), while there is no significant social background effect on the boy's educational achievement, the mother's social background influences girl's educational achievement. Interestingly, they show that there is a negative effect on the daughter's academic achievement when the mother's higher educational status and non-economic activity status are combined (Kim & Lee, 2005b). This observation, however, is in contrast to the finding of Jeong & Yoo<sup>26</sup> (2002), who conclude that the mother's waged-work does not have statistically significant effect on children's academic performance, aspiration, and peer relationship.

Kim and Byun<sup>27</sup> (2007) also examined the effects of social background, in particular, effects of the father's class and education on academic performance, and find them very important factors in South Korea. The great concern of parents regarding education and private tutoring in South Korea can explain the peculiar aspects of the effects of social origin.

From the limited review of literature addressing issues of class and gender inequality on educational attainment, the general conclusion we can draw is that although a

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<sup>24</sup> They used 2004 Korean Education and Employment Panel (KEEP) data. KEEP is a longitudinal research study in which a total of 6,000 samples were selected as the target (2,000 middle school 3rd graders, 2,000 high school seniors and 2,000 vocational and technical high school 3rd graders).

<sup>25</sup> They used 1998, 2001, 2003 KLIPS. They adopted 416 individuals (220 of boys and 196 of girls) who got their high school grade.

<sup>26</sup> They used Lee's (2000) data which were collected from 745 middle and high-school students through self-administered questionnaire survey in spring of 2000.

<sup>27</sup> They used the first (2004), second (2005), and third (2006) wave data from the Korean Education and Employment Panel (KEEP).

decreasing tendency was found in several studies, the class and gender differentials in educational attainment is still persistent in contemporary South Korea.

### **5.3 Changes in educational attainment by birth cohorts**

Following the discussion of Korean educational changes in the previous chapter, the construction of four birth cohorts is based on the changes of government's educational policy and the expansion of educational participation. As the oldest cohort was born before 1951, its members attended higher education before 1970. The next cohort is made up of people born between 1951 and 1960 who, with the substantial expansion of student populations, school facilities and the intense competition in the college entrance system in the 1960s and 1970s, attended higher education in the 1970s. The third cohort, born between 1961 and 1970, entered higher education in the 1980s, a period of significant increase in the number of colleges. Lastly, the youngest cohort, born between 1971 and 1980, entered colleges or universities in the 1990s, when secondary education became compulsory and the opportunities for higher education had been enlarged with the national zeal for educational attainment.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2<sup>28</sup> present the proportion of each of the five educational attainments by gender across the birth cohorts. We can see a distinct association between higher education and cohorts. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show that in the oldest cohort the proportion of lower/no educational attainment is greater than for other educational attainments (70.1 per cent for women and 35.5 per cent for men). In the second cohort, the proportion of higher secondary educational attainment dramatically increases compared with the first cohort (from 12.1 per cent to 39.7 per cent for women and

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<sup>28</sup> Based on the data from Tables 5A.1 and 5A. 2 (see Appendix).

from 27.8 per cent to 45.6 per cent for men). The percentage of higher secondary educational attainment is still large in the third and last cohorts for both women and men. There is a dramatic increase in the degree level across the female cohorts. For women in the last cohort the rate is more than ten times the rates found for women who were born before 1951 (3 per cent to 31.9 per cent), while the rates of increase for men are rather smaller (15.4 per cent to 35.4 per cent).

When secondary education became compulsory in the 1990s, the proportion of lower secondary and primary/no education in the last cohort significantly dropped for both sexes (2.1 per cent for women and 3.4 per cent for men). Moreover, the increasing opportunity to enter higher education resulted in a slight decline in higher secondary education figures for the two most recent cohorts.

Figure 5. 1

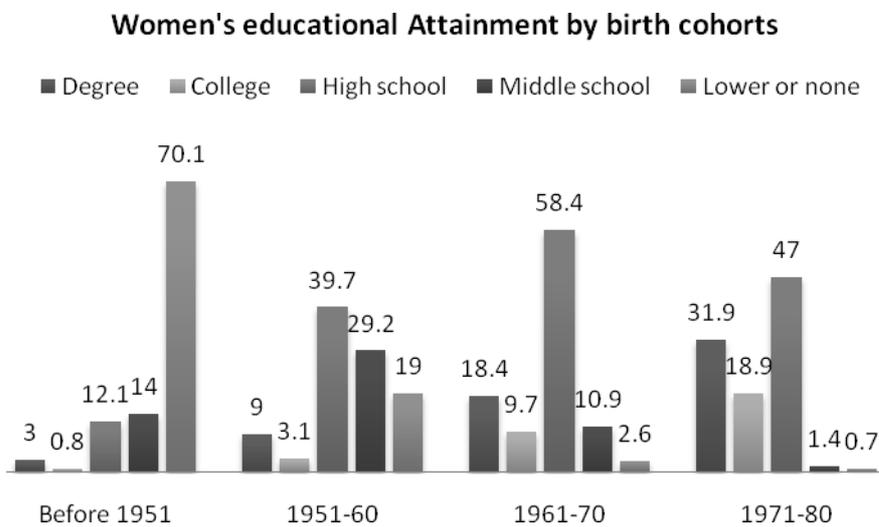
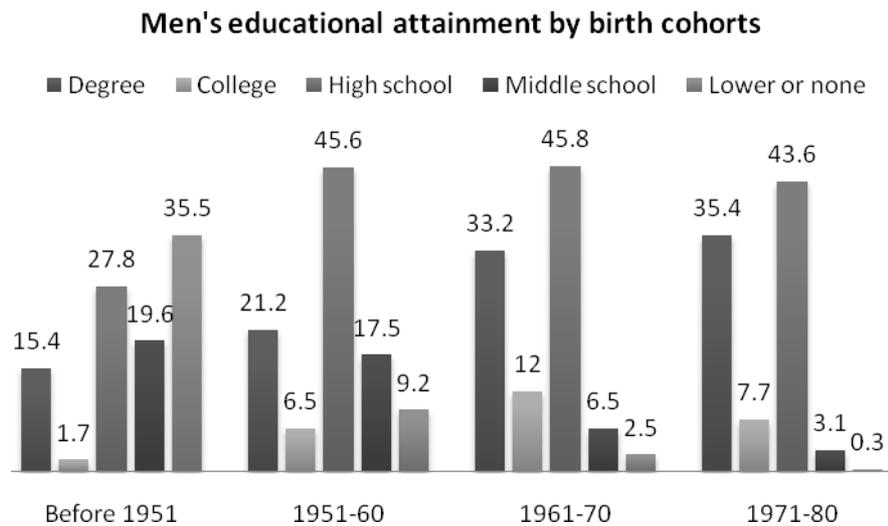


Figure 5. 2



Comparing women's educational qualification with men's, we find that, generally, the changes for women are greater than those for men. There is an impressive increase in the level of higher education, at college level in particular, across the female cohorts. However, gender inequality in educational achievement is still apparent. The proportion of the oldest male cohort with degrees was 15.4 per cent, which is five times as high as that for women in the same cohort, at 3 per cent. Moreover, while 70.1 per cent of women who were born before 1951 had only lower/no educational qualifications, almost 50 per cent of men received secondary education in the same periods. In the youngest cohort, the proportion of higher educational attainment (university + college) for women is slightly higher than for men (50.8 per cent and 43.1 per cent respectively).

In the mid-1990s, high school enrolment rates were over 50 per cent and in 2001 almost 70 per cent (OECD, 2001). Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show that over 50 per cent of the two most recent cohorts of both men and women completed high school. Despite the increasing proportion of women who have degrees, the overall proportion of men

with degrees is higher. This pattern results from the rapid increase in the number of colleges and universities in the 1980s and 1990s. While women in the younger cohort show a great increase in higher education take-up, men show even a slight decrease in the proportion of those in lower tertiary education.

In sum, we may say that across the cohorts, the gender differentials in educational attainment dramatically decreased. However, women are less likely to have a university education than men across the cohorts, while college-educated women have caught-up with men.

#### **5.4 The effects of parents' education on children's educational attainment**

In this section of the analysis we assess whether there is a significant association between parents' education and children's educational attainment. Figures 5.3 and 5.4<sup>29</sup> present the proportions in women and men respondents' educational attainment by parents' education. Parental educational level was measured in three categories: lower/ none, secondary and tertiary level. The highest level of either parent was taken as the measure of parental education (the dominance approach – see Chapter 3).

In Figures 5.3 and 5.4, we see that the level of the parents' education is positively associated with children's educational attainment. Children from highly educated families show higher levels of educational attainment. Figures 5.3 and 5.4 show that the proportion of children from parents with tertiary education who obtained a degree or over is significantly higher than that of children whose parents had other educational levels (48.2 per cent for women and 53.8 per cent of men). Moreover, the

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<sup>29</sup> Based on the data of Table 5A.3 and 5A.4 (see Appendix).

difference of proportion between tertiary origin and lower/no educational origin for daughters who got a degree or over is higher than for sons (43.9 per cent for daughters and 39.6 per cent for sons).

At the same time, children from the lowest educational backgrounds are less likely to get degrees and the percentage for them is lower than for their peers in secondary education (4.3 per cent for women and 14.2 per cent for men). These two figures suggest that children follow their parents' level of education.

Figure 5. 3

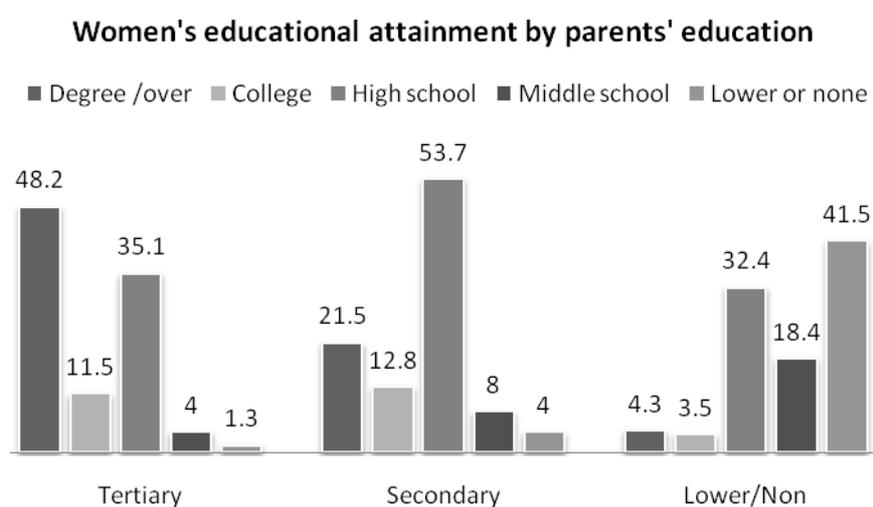
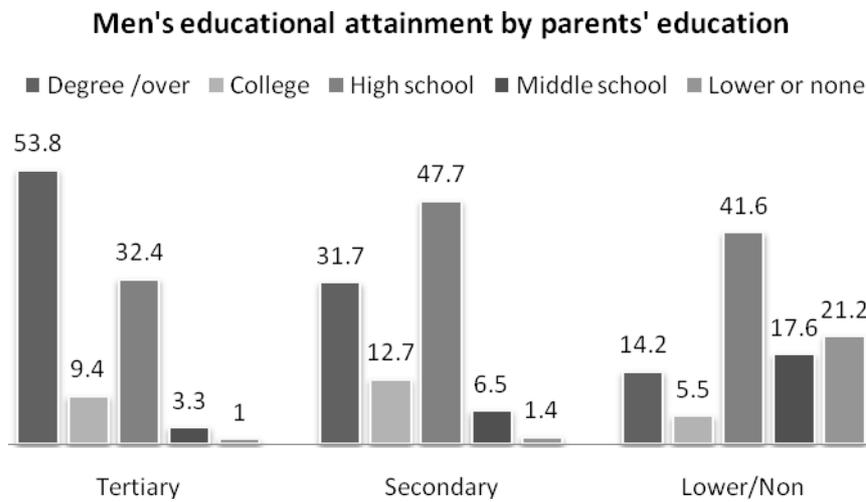


Figure 5. 4



Differences in gender are also shown in Figures 5.3 and 5.4. At each level of parental education, men are more likely to achieve degrees than women. In particular, men from a lower/no educational background are three times as likely to get degrees as the equivalent women (14.2 per cent for men vs. 4.3 per cent for women). Moreover, although 19.7 per cent of sons from lower/no educational origin completed higher education (colleges + degrees), only 7.8 per cent of equivalent daughters did so. Yet parents with lower/no educational origin send a higher proportion of their daughters to lower secondary and primary/no educational level than their sons (59.9 per cent for women vs. 38.8 per cent for men). Parents who completed secondary schooling, conversely, sent more sons to higher education than daughters (44.4 per cent vs. 34.3 per cent).

Figures 5.3 and 5.4 also show that women form a slightly higher proportion of college graduates from higher educational origins than men do. Overall, the major patterns of respondents from higher educational origin are similar for both sexes. Parents with a modern education try to reproduce their class status among their children. However,

the evidence of Figure 5.4 shows that the traditional Korean parents' investment in sons is not diminished yet.

### **5.5 Social origin and educational attainment**

In this section, I analyse in more detail the relationship between social origin and educational attainment in South Korea. The data are shown in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. The class schema is based on that of Goldthorpe (1987) but with some modification to suit the Korean situation as noted earlier. In order to clarify the figures, I separate the farmers from Class IV and divide the father's class into eight categories (see Chapter 3). It is difficult to distinguish the lower technicians and supervisors of manual workers from skilled manual workers, so I combined Classes V and VI. For the educational level of respondents, I collapse 5-way to 3-way, for ease of presentation.

In these tables, it can be observed that respondents of professional and routine non-manual origin have considerably higher educational attainments on average than those from the manual working class. Respondents of Class I origin have the highest proportion in higher education, while farmers' children have the lowest proportion on the same educational level. Men from the farming class are ten times as likely to get a degree as the equivalent women (59.1 per cent vs. 6.4 per cent). However, as we see from Tables 5.1 and 5.2, a large proportion of respondents whose fathers were farmers of lower secondary educational attainment or lower (61.5 per cent for women and 41 per cent for men). In higher secondary education, respondents from Class VI backgrounds get the highest rates, 57.6 per cent for women and 55.5 for men).

Table 5. 1 Women's educational attainment by father's class (% by row)

	College/degree	Higher secondary	Lower secondary/ below	(N)
Father's class				
I	59.1	29.3	11.6	(273)
II	40.7	44.5	14.9	(298)
III	39.3	46.1	14.6	(527)
Iva	42.6	43.7	13.7	(535)
IVb	26.0	46.5	27.5	(830)
V/VI	27.7	57.6	14.7	(272)
VII	25.9	54.3	19.7	(437)
Farmers	6.4	32.1	61.5	(3,260)
All	20.6	39.1	40.3	(6,432)

Table 5. 2 Men's educational attainment by father's class (% by row)

	College/degree	Higher secondary	Lower secondary/ below	(N)
Father's class				
I	63.4	30.6	6.1	(270)
II	49.0	46.3	4.7	(271)
III	53.6	37.6	8.8	(507)
Iva	51.7	49.8	8.5	(470)
IVb	34.6	48.1	17.3	(806)
V/VI	31.2	55.5	13.3	(344)
VII	30.0	53.3	16.8	(505)
Farmers	19.8	39.2	41.0	(2,866)
All	31.8	42.3	25.9	(6,049)

Comparing women to men, on the evidence of Tables 5.1 and 5.2, 59.1 per cent of women and 63.4 per cent of men whose father is in the higher salariat class completed tertiary education. The proportion of male respondents who obtained higher education is greater than that of women from all class origins. From the percentages shown in the tables, it appears that the men of petit bourgeois background who completed college or university education outperform the women with the same origin (51.7 per cent vs. 42.6 per cent in Class IVa and 34.6 per cent vs. 26.0 per cent in Class IVb). In addition, the men from Class III origin were 14.3 percentage points higher than women in achieving college or university qualification. These more than triple the rates for

degrees found among men of farming origin compared with the equivalent women (19.8 per cent vs. 6.4 per cent).

Women from a manual working class background show a similar proportion of college or university education to their male counterparts (27.7 per cent in Class VI and 25.9 per cent in VII). Still, a large proportion of women of farming origin received lower secondary education or below (61.5 per cent), which is 20.5 percentage points higher than the equivalent men. However, we can see the highest proportion of high school qualifications for respondents of Class V/VI origin (57.6 per cent for women vs. 55.5 per cent for men). 32.1 per cent of women from a farming background finished high school, which is still a bit lower than the percentage of men (39.2 per cent).

To observe the trend over time, Tables 5.3 and 5.4 present the educational attainment of women and men in the four birth cohorts from their origins (father's occupation when respondent was 14 years old). For Tables 5.3 and 5.4, I use a fourfold version of the class schema for fathers: I collapse Classes I and II, representing the higher and lower division of the service class, Classes III and IVab, the intermediate class, and Classes V/VI and VII, representing the working class and farmers.

Tables 5.3 and 5.4 considered together show a number of significant trends. First, there is a fairly clear tendency, for the proportion of both women and men in higher education of all class origins who were born after 1961 to increase with the expansion of the educational system and opportunity since the 1970s in South Korea. Second, a drastic decline in lower secondary and below educational attainment appears for both women and men farming origin.

Table 5. 3 Women's educational attainment by class of father and birth cohort

Father's class	Birth cohort	College/ Degree	Higher secondary	Lower secondary/below	(N)
I+II	Before	19.8	29.7	50.6	(91)
	1950	41.7	40.6	17.7	(96)
	1951-60	65.0	32.5	7.0	(120)
	1961-70	75.0	24.5	0.5	(196)
	1971- 80				
III+IVab	Before	10.9	26.6	62.5	(331)
	1950	23.2	48.6	28.2	(358)
	1951-60	41.7	51.3	7.0	(470)
	1961-70	57.7	40.6	1.7	(577)
	1971-80				
V/VI+VII	Before	6.7	15.0	78.3	(60)
	1950	9.5	44.1	46.4	(84)
	1951-60	27.2	59.9	12.9	(147)
	1961-70	40.3	56.1	3.6	(335)
	1971-80				
Farmers	Before	1.0	7.7	91.3	(1,504)
	1950	4.0	34.9	61.1	(796)
	1951-60	11.3	67.7	21.0	(657)
	1961-70	29.4	68.2	2.5	(286)
	1971-80				
All	Before	3.7	12.1	84.2	(1,986)
	1950	12.2	39.6	48.2	(1,334)
	1951-60	27.8	58.3	13.9	(1,394)
	1961-70	50.1	47.7	2.2	(1,394)
	1971-80				

Table 5. 4 Men's educational attainment by class of father and birth cohort

Father's class	Birth cohort	College/ Degree	Higher secondary	Lower secondary/below	(N)
I+II	Before	48.1	33.8	18.2	(77)
	1950	64.0	31.5	4.5	(89)
	1951-60	74.8	25.2	0.0	(107)
	1961-70	68.8	30.2	1.1	(189)
	1971- 80				
III+IVab	Before	29.3	37.2	33.4	(317)
	1950	39.5	46.9	13.6	(351)
	1951-60	60.1	35.1	4.8	(456)
	1961-70	59.0	39.1	1.9	(478)
	1971- 80				
V/VI+VII	Before	17.4	33.2	48.8	(86)
	1950	22.6	48.1	29.3	(106)
	1951-60	36.5	50.0	13.6	(214)
	1961-70	43.2	54.4	2.5	(322)
	1971- 80				
Farmers	Before	11.9	25.4	62.6	(1,298)
	1950	16.8	47.7	35.6	(751)
	1951-60	32.6	54.4	13.0	(614)
	1961-70	45.3	47.5	7.3	(179)
	1971- 80				
All	Before	16.9	28.3	54.8	(1,778)
	1950	26.9	46.4	26.7	(1,321)
	1951-60	45.4	45.2	9.4	(1,391)
	1961-70	54.1	43.2	2.7	(1,168)
	1971- 80				

These two tables show important cohort effects. The proportion of tertiary educational attainment of women from the salariat class increased by 55 percentage points from the oldest cohort to the youngest (19.8 per cent to 75 per cent). Moreover, among those of intermediate class origin, the proportion of women with tertiary educational attainment increased by nearly 47 percentage points from the first cohort to the last (10.9 per cent to 57.7 per cent). Here, too, the proportion of daughters with working class fathers also increased about 34 percentage points from the oldest cohort to the

youngest (6.7 per cent to 40.3 per cent).

In contrast, Table 5.4 shows that rate of increase in tertiary educational attainment of men of service class origin from the oldest cohort to the youngest is much lower than that of women (20.7 percentage points for men vs. 55.2 percentage points for women). However, the rate of increase in the proportion of men from farmer origins who obtained degrees from the oldest cohort to the youngest is slightly higher than that for women (33.4 percentage points for men vs. 28.4 percentage points for women).

On the other hand, the rate of increase in the proportion of farmers' daughters who obtained higher secondary education from the oldest cohort to the youngest is impressively higher than that for sons (60.5 percentage points for women vs. 22.1 percentage points for men).

The proportion of lower secondary educational attainment and below dramatically decreased across cohorts, whatever their in social origin. The proportion was over 90 per cent of women from the farming class in the oldest cohort, dropping to 2.5 per cent in the youngest. There was a slight decline in the proportion of female high school graduates from Class I+II in the two most recent cohorts. This result relates to secondary education becoming compulsory in the 1990s and the increase of advancement to higher education.

Regarding the status of women in the oldest cohort, when only 1 per cent of daughters of farmers got a degree, men from the same origins and birth cohort got a much higher proportion, 11.9 percentage points. However, the differences between women and men who went on to higher education in the 1980s to 1990s steadily decreased. The

reduction in the proportions of both women and men in the youngest cohort from all class origins who are found in higher education, may simply mean that in 1998 many members of this cohort were still in the process of earning a degree.

It is also found that, among those who were born between 1961 and 1970, a higher proportion of women than of men from Classes III and IV and the working class had higher secondary education qualifications (51.3 per cent vs. 35.1 per cent/ 59.9 per cent vs. 50 per cent). In the case of lower secondary and lower educational attainment, the proportion of women from Classes I to IVab is still much higher than men over the period, except the fourth cohort, which shows a slightly lower tendency; this resulted from the start of mandatory lower secondary schooling in the mid-1980s. However, over the four birth cohorts there is a remarkable increase in higher educational attainment by daughters, both of working class and farming origins, whereas a steady increase is found on that of men of the same origins.

As described in Chapter 4, the convergence in the number of years of schooling for women and men (12.9 years vs. 14.3 years in 1991) and the steady decline of class differentials and gender differentials in higher education may be confirmed by the increase of high school completion rates shown in Tables 5.3 and 5.4.

## **5.6 Disparity ratios**

In this section, I look further to find the relative pattern of educational attainment by class of origin in the form of disparity ratios between outflow percentages. Using these ratios shows how much the changes in the class structure may have affected the chances that respondents of different class origins would have reached specific levels

of educational attainment.

Table 5.5 and 5.6 show what changes have occurred in the likelihood of a respondent from any of the classes having an educational attainment in a farmer's-class position, relative to the chances of the respondents' educational attainment if they originated in other classes. Tables 5.5 and 5.6 present each set of disparity ratios, derived from the data of Tables 5.3 and 5.4.

Table 5. 5 Disparity ratios showing relative chances, by class of father, of being found in each educational level (chances of daughters of farmers origins set at 1)

Father's class	Birth cohort	College/University	Higher secondary	Lower secondary/ Below
I+II	Before 1950	19.80	3.86	0.55
	1951-60	10.43	1.16	0.29
	1961-70	5.75	0.48	0.33
	1971-80	2.55	0.35	0.20
III+IVab	Before 1950	10.90	3.45	0.68
	1951-60	5.80	1.39	0.46
	1961-70	3.69	0.76	0.33
	1971-80	1.96	0.59	0.68
V/VI+VII	Before 1950	6.70	1.95	0.86
	1951-60	2.38	1.26	0.76
	1961-70	2.41	0.88	0.61
	1971-80	1.37	0.82	1.44
Farmers	Before 1950			
	1951-60			
	1961-70		(set at 1)	
	1971-80			

*Note:* based on adjusted data from Table 5.3

Table 5. 6 Disparity ratios showing relative chances of being found in each educational level (chances of sons of farmers with origins set at 1)

Father's class	Birth cohort	College/University	Higher secondary	Lower secondary/ below
I+II	Before 1950	4.04	1.33	0.29
	1951-60	3.81	0.66	0.13
	1961-70	2.29	0.46	0.0
	1971-80	1.51	0.63	0.15
III+IVab	Before 1950	2.46	1.46	0.53
	1951-60	2.35	0.98	0.38
	1961-70	1.84	0.65	0.37
	1971-80	1.30	0.82	0.26
V/VI+VII	Before 1950	1.46	1.31	0.78
	1951-60	1.35	1.01	0.82
	1961-70	1.12	0.92	1.05
	1971-80	0.95	1.14	0.34
Farmers	Before 1950			
	1951-60			
	1961-70		(set at 1)	
	1971-80			

*Note:* Based on adjusted data from Table 5.4

As regards access to higher education, the obvious pattern emerges from Table 5.5 when we consider the chances of daughters from service class origins (I+II) relative to those from farmer's-class backgrounds. In the oldest cohort, daughters with Class I+II origins were almost twenty times as likely to get a degree as those from farmer's-class origins, while sons from the service class origins were about four times as likely to get a degree than the sons of farmers. However, the disparity ratios decrease through the cohorts. In the youngest cohort, women from service class families were 2.6 times as

likely to be found in higher education as women who were the daughters of farmers. A broadly similar pattern is observed in the chances of access to higher education of women from Classes III and IVab, in relation to those of farmer's-class origin.

However, Table 5.6 shows the major differences in disparity ratios for men from all classes, by indicating the relative chances of being found in a higher educational level than that of women. The ratios tend to decrease steadily across cohorts. Unlike the results from the oldest cohort of women, the sons of Class III and IVab parents were twice as likely to be found in tertiary education as the sons of farmers. However, when similar patterns in higher education are revealed of the working class sons in all cohorts, relative to those from the farmer class, women from working class appear to have about seven times as many chances to access tertiary education in the oldest cohort as women of the farmer class and the chances decline to almost the same for daughters from the farmer class in the youngest cohort.

Regarding higher secondary educational attainment, a steady decline of chances is evident across the four cohorts for both women and men from all classes. The disparity ratios decrease to one in six in the oldest cohort to the youngest, for women from Class I+II who finished high school. Moreover, the relative chances of both the daughters and sons of Class I to VII parents of receiving primary and middle school education are much lower than those of the daughters of farmers.

In sum, in terms of relative chances of educational attainment, Tables 5.5 and 5.6 show that the higher educational attainments were obtained by those of higher social origins of both sexes over all cohorts. The finding from this cross-tabulation is that social class and gender differentials in educational attainment still exist in South Korea.

## **5.7 Odds ratios**

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 show the relative chances of gaining one kind and avoiding another kind of educational attainment by both women and men (shown separately) of different class origins, across four birth cohorts. These tables present each set of odds ratios, derived from the data of Tables 5.13 and 5.14 (see Appendix). For the odds ratios, I use a threefold version of the class schema for origins: I collapse Classes I and II, representing the higher and lower division of the service class, Classes III and IV, the intermediate class and Classes VI, VII and Farmers, representing the working class. In addition, in Table 5.8, some cells have a zero value in the cells, because there is no one in the original data from Class I and II origins who finished lower secondary education or below.

In general, Tables 5.7 and 5.8 show some quite large differences between cells in the magnitude of the odds ratios. In the oldest cohort, women from the service class were 37 times as likely to reach degree level rather than lower secondary level or below, compared with women from working class families. For the youngest cohort, the odds ratios were reduced to 12.76. However odds ratios over 12 are still extremely high.

Table 5. 7 Odds ratios for women by birth cohort

Pairs of original classes	Birth cohort	Pairs of last educational attainment 'competed for'		
		Degree/Higher secondary	Degree/Lower secondary or below	Higher S /Lower S or below
I+II vs. INT	Before 1950	1.65	2.29	1.38
	1951-60	2.17	2.86	1.33
	1961-70	2.46	4.37	1.84
	1971-80	2.15	4.41	1.96
I+II vs. WC	Before 1950	4.40	37.00	7.25
	1951-60	8.50	33.57	3.81
	1961-70	9.52	36.11	3.83
	1971-80	5.36	12.76	2.38
INT vs. WC	Before 1950	2.66	17.00	5.25
	1951-60	3.91	11.70	2.86
	1961-70	3.85	18.05	2.07
	1971-80	2.49	2.89	1.21

*Note:* based on adjusted data from Table 5A.5 (see Appendix)

Table 5. 8 Odds ratios for men by birth cohort

Pairs of origin classes	Birth cohort	Pairs of last educational attainment 'completed for'		
		Degree/Higher secondary	Degree/Lower secondary or below	Higher S /Lower S or below
I+II vs. INT	Before 1950	1.82	3.03	1.66
	1951-60	2.41	4.91	2.02
	1961-70	1.72	0.00 (a)	0.00 (a)
	1971-80	1.52	2.06	1.36
I+II vs. WC	Before 1950	3.02	13.89	4.51
	1951-60	5.63	28.52	5.10
	1961-70	4.68	0.00 (a)	0.00 (a)
	1971-80	2.71	6.19	2.29
INT vs. WC	Before 1950	1.65	4.57	2.70
	1951-60	2.33	5.80	2.51
	1961-70	2.71	4.88	1.80
	1971-80	1.78	2.99	1.68

*Notes:*

1. Based on adjusted data from Table 5A.6 (see Appendix)
2. (a) In father's classes I+II, there is no respondent who was born between 1961 and 1970 with educational attainment of lower secondary school or below.

Still, it is not quite clear that there is any systematic tendency for class differences to increase or decrease over time, in any cohort apart from the youngest, many of whom had not completed their education at the time of the survey. However, in Table 5.7, across the three older cohorts, the trends emerge in the three upper cells in the table and in the three cells below it. The odds ratios of gaining a qualification at degree level rather than at higher secondary level and at lower secondary level or below are increased for daughters from the service class by comparison with those from the intermediate class. Similarly, the odds ratios of gaining a higher secondary

qualification to a lower secondary qualification or below are also increased. While the odds of getting a degree to a higher secondary qualification are increased for the daughters of Class I and II parents, compared with those from the working class, the odds ratios of having a higher secondary qualification to a lower secondary qualification or below are decreased. For the daughters of intermediate class parents, compared with those of working class origins, the odds ratios of gaining a qualification of higher secondary rather than lower secondary or below are also decreased from 5.3 to 2.1 across the three older cohorts.

However, Table 5.8 tells a different story. The odds ratios across the cohorts of gaining a degree rather than a lower secondary qualification or below for sons are significantly smaller than those of daughters from the service class compared with those from the working class. Moreover, trends can be observed only in the bottom right and left cells in the table. It is difficult to find trends with zero values within the cells. The odds ratios of gaining a qualification at degree level to higher secondary level are increased for sons of intermediate class parents compared with those from the working class in the three older cohorts. At the same time, the odds ratios of gaining higher secondary qualification to a lower secondary qualification or below are decreased for the sons from intermediate class parents by comparison with those of working class origin.

In sum, Tables 5.7 and 5.8 confirm that father's social class has a significant effect on gaining a qualification at degree level. Women are more likely to obtain a qualification, at degree rather than a lower level, if they are from higher class backgrounds than men are.

## **5.8 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I briefly went through the literature on class and gender differentials in educational attainment in the West: Bourdieu, Boudon, Goldthorpe, in particular, the arguments supporting the persistent influence of class differentials on educational attainment and some previous studies on those issues in contemporary South Korea. In general, although the decreasing tendency was found in several studies, the class and gender differentials in educational attainment were still persistent in contemporary South Korea.

Then I observed how social background influences the educational attainment of both women and men and examine whether class and gender differentials persist in contemporary South Korea. First, there is distinctive association between higher educational attainment and birth cohorts for women. Basically, the figures tell us that the changes for women are greater than those for men, but the proportion of men with a higher educational attainment is greater. There was an impressive increase in the tertiary level across the female cohorts, while men showed a slight decrease in the proportion of those in the lower tertiary level. This pattern resulted from the remarkable expansion of tertiary education in the 1990s. In the youngest cohort, the proportion of higher educational attainment for women was slightly higher than that for men. Following Bang & Kim (2003), and Sandefur & Park (2007), these figures confirmed that Korean women achieved significant gains not only in the quantitatively, but also in the qualitative aspect of educational development.

Next, we saw the positive association between parents' education and children's educational attainment. In particular, the figures showed that children of parents with a

higher educational background had higher educational attainment than children of parents with a lower educational background. Moreover, gender differentials are shown in statistics which indicate that men are more clearly able to achieve higher educational attainment than are women.

Moreover, it is confirmed that one's father's social background has a marked effect on higher educational attainment across cohorts in South Korea. The tables (5.3 and 5.4) show that both women and men from a higher social background are more likely to gain a qualification at degree level. There is a dramatic decrease of the proportion of lower secondary educational attainment and below for both women and men, however, the rate of decrease in the proportion of women is greater than that for men.

On the other hand, there was a remarkable increase in higher educational attainment by daughters of farming origin across cohorts. It is also observed that across cohorts there is a slight decrease of class and gender differentials in higher educational attainment, which is different from the findings of previous studies (Bang & Kim, 2002; Chang, 2004, 2006).

In terms of relative chances for degree attainment (see Table 5.5), it is particularly noteworthy that women from Classes I and II in the oldest cohort, relative to those from the farmer class, are twenty times as likely to get a degree. Unlike the oldest cohort of women, men from Classes I and II are about four times as likely to gain a qualification at degree level as those from the farmer class. The disparity ratios show the decreasing tendency through the cohorts, but class and gender differentials in tertiary educational attainment are still observed.

Finally, like the findings in the earlier analysis, family background has a positive effect on the likelihood of gaining a qualification at degree level. We saw that in the oldest cohort the odds ratios of gaining a qualification at degree level rather than lower secondary or below level are 37 times higher for women from social Classes I and II, compared to those from the working class. However, as we see from the results of the odds ratios, the opportunities for educational attainment are still influenced by one's class origin.

The general conclusion we can draw is that, first, access to education is still influenced by social background; and second, that although the disparities between men and women become narrower, the gender and class gap in general educational attainment still applies to South Korea.

To analyse the strength of association between social origins and destinations, in the following chapter we observe the trends of relative mobility and patterns of social fluidity in South Korea today.

## Appendix for Chapter 5

Table 5A. 1 Women's educational attainment by cohort (% by row)

	Degree	College	Higher secondary	Lower secondary	Lower or none	(N)
<b>Cohort</b>						
Before 1951	3.0	0.8	12.1	14.0	70.1	(2,092)
1951-60	9.0	3.1	39.7	29.2	19.0	(1,414)
1961-70	18.4	9.7	58.4	10.9	2.6	(1,480)
1971-80	31.9	18.9	47.0	1.4	0.7	(1,505)
All (%)	14.5	7.5	36.8	13.7	27.4	(6,491)

Table 5A. 2 Men's educational attainment by cohort (% by row)

	Degree	College	Higher secondary	Lower secondary	Lower or none	(N)
<b>Cohort</b>						
Before 1951	15.4	1.7	27.8	19.6	35.5	(1,860)
1951-60	21.2	6.5	45.6	17.5	9.2	(1,409)
1961-70	33.2	12.0	45.8	6.5	2.5	(1,483)
1971-80	35.4	7.7	43.6	3.1	0.3	(1,296)
All (%)	25.4	8.8	39.8	12.4	13.7	(6,048)

Table 5A. 3 Women's educational attainment by parents' education (% by row)

	Degree /over	College	Higher secondary	Lower secondary	Lower or none	(N)
<b>Parents' education</b>						
Higher tertiary	48.2	11.5	35.1	4.0	1.3	(647)
Secondary	21.5	12.8	53.7	8.0	4.0	(2,133)
Lower/No	4.3	3.5	32.4	18.4	41.5	(3,943)
All	13.9	7.2	39.4	13.7	25.7	(6,723)

*Notes:*

(1) Parent's education: Father's education (wave 1) + Mother's education (wave 4)

(2) Parents' education: Secondary = high school + middle school

Table 5A. 4 Men's educational attainment by parent's education (% by row)

	Degree /over	College	Higher secondary	Lower secondary	Lower or none	(N)
<b>Parents' education</b>						
Higher tertiary	53.8	9.4	32.4	3.3	1.0	(608)
Secondary	31.7	12.7	47.7	6.5	1.4	(2,109)
Lower/No	14.2	5.5	41.6	17.6	21.2	(3,537)
All	23.8	8.3	42.7	12.6	12.7	(6,354)

Table 5A. 5 Women's educational attainment by class of father and by cohort

Father's class	Birth cohort	College/ University	Higher secondary	Lower secondary/below	(N)
I+II	Before 1950	19.8	29.7	50.6	(91)
	1951-60	41.7	40.6	17.7	(96)
	1961-70	65.0	32.5	2.5	(120)
	1971- 80	75.0	24.5	0.5	(196)
INT	Before 1950	10.9	26.6	62.5	(331)
	1951-60	23.2	48.6	28.2	(358)
	1961-70	41.7	51.3	7.0	(470)
	1971- 80	57.7	40.6	1.7	(577)
WC	Before 1950	1.2	8.0	90.8	(1,564)
	1951-60	4.6	35.8	59.7	(880)
	1961-70	14.2	66.3	19.5	(804)
	1971- 80	35.3	61.7	3.1	(621)
All	Before 1950	3.7	12.1	84.2	(1,986)
	1951-60	12.2	39.6	48.2	(1,334)
	1961-70	27.8	58.3	13.9	(1,394)
	1971- 80	50.1	47.7	2.2	(1,394)

Table 5A. 6 Men's educational attainment by class of father and by cohort

Father's class	Birth cohort	College/ University	Higher secondary	Lower secondary/below	(N)
I+II	Before 1950	48.1	33.8	18.2	(77)
	1951-60	64.0	31.5	4.5	(89)
	1961-70	33.6	25.2	0.0 (a)	(107)
	1971- 80	68.8	30.2	1.1	(189)
INT	Before 1950	29.3	37.2	33.4	(317)
	1951-60	39.5	46.9	13.6	(375)
	1961-70	60.1	53.3	4.8	(456)
	1971- 80	59.0	51.9	1.9	(478)
WC	Before 1950	12.3	25.9	61.8	(1,384)
	1951-60	17.5	47.7	34.8	(857)
	1961-70	33.6	53.3	13.2	(828)
	1971- 80	43.9	51.9	4.2	(501)
All	Before 1950	16.9	28.3	54.8	(1,778)
	1951-60	26.9	46.4	26.7	(1,321)
	1961-70	45.4	45.2	9.4	(1,391)
	1971- 80	54.1	43.2	2.7	(1,168)

*Note:* (a) No respondent of classes I+II who was born between 1961 and 1970 has a father with the educational attainment of lower secondary or below.

## **Chapter 6 Intergenerational Mobility in Contemporary South Korea**

### **6.1 Introduction**

Since its liberation from colonial rule, South Korea has experienced unprecedented urbanisation in the process of economic development and political disturbance (Kwon, 1990: 242-7). Moreover, South Korea has undergone a major shift in its occupational and class structure since the 1960s in the course of its modernisation and economic development. The social mobility of individuals between occupations in capitalist industrial societies, as well as in state socialist societies, runs from generation to generation and lasts throughout people's own working lives. In Korean society occupational mobility has been caused for the most part by such structural factors as sudden political upheavals, industrialisation, urbanisation and the advance of science and technology (Hong, 1980).

In this chapter, I explore the patterns of intergenerational mobility in contemporary South Korea, based on a class schema developed by Goldthorpe (1987). In the first section of this chapter, I briefly review the existing theories and studies on social mobility in the West and in contemporary South Korea. Second, following the review, I present data on class distribution by cohort. Then I move on to look at the effect of class origin on children's class destinations in South Korea at present. Third, I use the disparity ratios and odds ratios to analyse the trends of the country's class mobility.

The data for this chapter are based on the first wave (1998) of the Korean Labour and Income Panel Survey (KLIPS). The detailed construction of the variables is discussed above in Chapter 3. All the figures and tables are displayed for women first, followed by those for men.

## **6.2 Literature review**

To deal with the general trend of social mobility, both the classical liberal theories (Parsons, 1951 and 1961) and the recent postmodernist theories (Giddens, 1990 and 1991 and Castell, 1996) suggest that the processes of industrialisation, technical change and economic expansion have brought enormous changes to the occupational structure, with a huge expansion of the middle class in particular and a sharp decline of the manufacturing and the agricultural sectors. With the development of science and technology, society requires a more complex division of labour. Liberal scholars expected to find in it increasing upward mobility and more equal opportunities for people of all social origins (Lipset and Bendix, 1959).

However, as general guidance for the social mobility research within modern industrial societies, three theses on the patterns of social mobility in the industrial society have been put forward: the closure thesis (associated with, for example, Giddens, 1973; Bottomore, 1964; Miliband, 1969), the buffer-zone thesis (associated with Parkin, 1971; Giddens, 1973; Bottomore, 1964; Westergaard & Resler, 1975) and the counterbalance thesis (associated with Westergaard & Little, 1967; Westergaard, 1972; Westergaard & Resler, 1975; and Parkin, 1971). First, the closure thesis mainly argues that those who hold the superior positions (service class) tend to construct and reserve their privileged positions for themselves and for their children. The buffer-zone thesis basically argues that occupational mobility takes place mainly across divisions between manual and non-manual. For example, downwardly mobile people from the non-manual sector often end up in the skilled manual class, while upwardly mobile people from the manual class usually end up in the non-manual class. Third, the main issues of the counterbalance thesis are that the chances of intergenerational mobility

have increased but the chances of intra-generational mobility have declined, with people who were downwardly mobile in their earlier careers moving back into superior positions similar to their original ones (Goldthorpe, 1987: 43-58).

Mobility research generally uses two measurements (absolute mobility and relative mobility) in the study of social mobility across industrial societies. Absolute mobility is understood as movement between class origins and class destinations (the class of the respondents' occupation at the time of the survey) in absolute terms and is used to observe the general trends of people moving between classes and of class formation, while relative mobility, also known as social fluidity, is concerned with comparing people of different class origins who are found in one class destination rather than another (Breen, 2004: 3-5; 17-35).

Traditionally, two quite different approaches are taken by sociologists to the question of social fluidity in industrial societies. One approach depends upon a distinction made between 'structural' mobility and 'exchange' mobility (Heath, 1981). Structural mobility is defined as that part of the observed mobility which is directly attributable to changes in the structure of objective mobility opportunities and exchange mobility as that part which is not associated with such changes. The other approach to assessing the extent of mobility which allows for structural influences also rests upon a conceptual distinction between absolute and relative mobility rates (Goldthorpe, 1987: 74-5). To analyse class mobility trends, Goldthorpe uses disparity ratios and odds ratios. The latter is the foundation stone for the more refined log-linear models used for measuring social fluidity (For further details, see Heath, 1980, Appendix).

Some empirical studies on social mobility in South Korea have already been conducted (Shin, 1994, 1998; Shin, et al 2005; Park, 1996; Chang, 1999, 2002, 2003; Sandefur & Park, 2007; Jang, 2008). Shin (1994) focuses on the patterns of intergenerational mobility for men and women in contemporary South Korea. He finds it important to understand its social inequality by studying class inequality through the interaction with cohorts. Shin<sup>30</sup> (1998) discovered four differences in class mobility between women and men: the wider distribution of women's entrance age into the labour market than those of men, women in intergenerational mobility are remarkably fewer than men, the difficulty of upward mobility in capitalist systems for women, and the necessity of different analysis for women's mobility (731-2).

Bang and Lee (1996) compare the patterns of intergenerational social mobility in between Taiwan and South Korea. Chang (2002) analyses the cultural reproduction of social class in South Korea. Chang (2003), for his part, finds that the immobility rates are higher for South Korea than for other countries and that the work life stability of the service class and manual class are lower.

On the other hand, Shin (2004) analyses job mobility based on work-history between 1998 and 2001 after the economics crisis in 1997 in Korea, with the Korea Labour Income Panel survey (KLIPS) data. He reports that the significant difference in the likelihood of job mobility by class and gender no longer exists, and the likelihood of job mobility is affected more by organisational and institutional factors than individual factors (Shin, 2004).

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<sup>30</sup> Shin used the data from the Economic Activity and Life Survey in 1991. He slightly modified class schema of Wright (1995). He divided his class into six categories: Capitalist, Urban petit bourgeoisie, and Rural petit bourgeoisie for the bourgeoisie, Employer, Professional, and workers for the proletariat.

Chang (1999) and Sanderfur & Park (2007) examine the relationship between educational attainment and the first occupational status. Chang (1999) uses the pooling data from Research on Inequality and Equity in 1990 and National Survey on Equity in 1995<sup>31</sup>. He reports that it is difficult to determine the effect of educational attainment to the first occupational status; however, educational attainment influenced social mobility.

On the other hand, Sandefur & Park<sup>32</sup> (2007) divide the sample into three labour market cohorts, 1960-79, 1980-89, and 1990-98. They conducted an OLS regression and multinomial logit models to examine the first occupational status<sup>33</sup> on educational attainment. The results of their analyses indicate the strong effect of educational qualification on occupational attainment for both men and women (Sandefur & Park, 2007). They also show that the effect of a university degree on occupational status was stronger for women than men among the oldest cohort. Moreover, they confirm that the effects of higher education on first occupation have declined across cohorts for women, but not for men (ibid.).

Jang (2008) also examines determinant factors of Korean college graduates' transition to the labour market, analysing data from the Graduates Occupational Mobility Survey (GOMS)<sup>34</sup>. He observes that parents' education and occupations show negative effects

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<sup>31</sup> He coded age cohort into two categories, 45-64 and 25-44 in 1995.

<sup>32</sup> They used the first wave (1998) of the Korean Labour and Income Panel Study (KLIPS).

<sup>33</sup> They used Treiman's (1977) SIOPS for the first occupation and divided into six categories: professional and managerial, clerical, service and sales, agricultural and fishery, skilled workers and unskilled workers and combined skilled and unskilled occupations for women in their analysis (Sandefur & Park, 2007: 313). They coded educational attainment into six categories: primary, middle, vocational high school, academic high school two-year junior college, and four-year university and combined college and university for women (ibid.).

<sup>34</sup> The Graduates Occupational Mobility Survey (GOMS) is the largest short-term panel survey of a representative Korean graduates. The GOMS is conducted annually by Korea Employment Information Service (KEIS) since 2006.

which can be understood as ‘delayed effect’<sup>35</sup> (Jang, 2008). He also reports that family backgrounds influence school-to-work transition, but its results may differ by the circumstances of concerned children or by the labour market situation (ibid.).

### **6.3 The changes of class distribution of respondents by birth cohort**

In this section, I consider whether there is a significant association between respondents’ class distribution and birth cohort. Tables 6.1 and 6.2 present the proportion of six classes (defined by the respondents) in the current and last main jobs by gender across birth cohorts. The data show that the proportion of Class IV is greater than that of the other classes in the oldest cohort (42 per cent for women and 34.6 per cent for men). During the 1950s, over 80 per cent of the total Korean labour force consisted of small farmers or agricultural labourers (Ogle, 1990). In the second cohort, the proportion of non-skilled working class women (Classes VII+IIIb) is higher than of Class IV women (37.5 per cent and 30.6 per cent respectively), while the proportion of Class IV is still large for men. South Korea was credited in 1990 with the highest rate of growth in manufacturing production and industrial exports of all 124 countries surveyed during the two decades 1960 to 1979 (Ogle, 1990). Moreover, in 1970 there were some 600,000 female workers in the light manufacturing sector, most of whom were employed in the textile and garment industry; by 1980 this figure had risen to well over one and a half million (Ogle, 1990).

There has been a dramatic increase in the higher grade routine non-manual sector for women. It is more than ten times the rate found for women in the youngest cohort than

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<sup>35</sup> When parent’s educational and occupational attainments are higher, the expectation of children for an elevation of socio-economic status through the first job upon graduation is higher (Jang, 2008: 166).

for women born before 1951 (4 per cent to 45 per cent), while the rate of increase for men in this part of the sector are smaller (6.7 per cent to 15.5 per cent).

Table 6. 1 Women's class by cohort (% by row)

	Women's current and last main class						(N)
	I	II	IIIa	IV	V/VI	VII+IIIb	
<b>Cohort</b>							
Before 1951	3.0	3.8	4.0	42.0	5.3	41.9	(1,385)
1951-60	6.2	8.1	12.7	30.6	4.9	37.5	(1,121)
1961-70	9.8	14.5	29.1	16.1	3.4	27.1	(1,231)
1971-80	7.7	15.3	45.0	3.0	1.6	27.4	(913)
All	6.5	9.9	20.8	24.7	4.0	34.1	(4,650)

Table 6. 2 Men's class by cohort (% by row)

	Men's current and last main class						(N)
	I	II	IIIa	IV	V/VI	VII+IIIb	
<b>Cohort</b>							
Before 1951	7.2	10.6	6.7	34.6	12.6	28.3	(1,726)
1951-60	7.8	15.3	9.0	32.8	13.9	21.2	(1,290)
1961-70	7.6	15.0	16.6	20.9	17.8	22.2	(1,252)
1971-80	4.0	10.6	15.5	6.2	19.0	44.7	(548)
All	7.1	13.0	10.9	27.3	15.0	26.7	(4,816)

In general, we find two distinctive trends in Tables 6.1 and 6.2. There is a steady increase in white-collar jobs (Classes I to IIIa) except for the youngest cohort in Class I, while the proportion of the petit bourgeoisie across cohorts for both women and men decreased. As regards the youngest cohort, respondents who were born between 1971 and 1980 entered higher education in the 1990s and many of them may not have

entered the labour market by 1998; while many of those who are in the labour market are in the early stages of their career and are predominantly in the unskilled working class, the men in particular.

Women workers played a significant role in Korea's rapid economic growth during Park's government-directed economic development programme in the 1960s and the early 1970s. However, the influence of gender on class is still clear. The proportion of the oldest male cohort who were in higher service class was 7.2 per cent, which is twice as high as it is for women in the same cohort, at 3 per cent. Overall, men in the oldest cohort are more likely to be found in the service class (Classes I+II) than are women (17.8 per cent for men vs. 6.8 per cent for women). Tables 6.1 and 6.2 also show that women in the youngest cohort occupy a slightly higher proportion of the lower service class than men (15.3 per cent for women vs. 10.6 per cent for men).

#### **6.4 Absolute mobility rates**

The analysis now turns to the actual description of the link between class distribution and social background. First, I look at the general inflow rates of class composition of respondents by class origins and ask whether a marked 'closure' exists between the occupational hierarchy and the class structure in contemporary South Korea. Second, I look at the outflow rates which tell us where the children of each class go, to find whether there is a 'buffer-zone' restriction in the extent of mobility across the division between manual and non-manual occupations. As this thesis is not concerned with worklife mobility, I do not discuss the counterbalance thesis.

#### **6.4.1 General inflow rates**

Tables 6.3 and 6.4 present the inflow rates of women and men respondents, which demonstrate the distribution of respondents of class origins within each class destination. An ‘inflow’ mobility matrix is used to find whether the closure thesis can be applied to Korean society. The respondent’s class schema is based on Goldthorpe’s (1987).

Following Goldthorpe, I subdivide Class III into IIIa and IIIb. The occupations most commonly found in Class IIIb are very largely held by women (lower grade sales and services), while IIIa typically contains secretaries, clerks and other routine administrative personnel (Goldthorpe, 1993). For this chapter, I combine Classes I and II for both the respondents and their fathers. Farmers (IVc) are included in IV for respondents’ class. I also drop soldiers, following Jackson and Goldthorpe (2007).

In terms of inflow rates into the service class (Classes I and II), about 19 per cent of female respondents are from the same class background and about 26 per cent of them come from farm origins, while about 13 per cent of male service class respondents are from the same class background and about 43 per cent of them come from farming stock. From the percentages in the tables we can see that both women and men with farming origins make up the largest proportion in each class destination. The only exception is found from the women’s inflow into the service class (Classes I and II): the women from petit bourgeois families make up 32 per cent of the whole service class, which is about 6 per cent higher than the proportion of women with farming origins. Class IV with a farming origin shows the highest rate for respondents, both female (74.5 per cent) and male (66.5 per cent), which may result from having included farmer respondents in Class IV.

Table 6. 3 Women's class destination by father's class (% by column)

	Women's class destination					
	I+II	IIIa	IV	V/VI	VII+IIIb	All
Father's class						
I+II	18.5	10.7	3.9	4.0	4.0	7.7
III	13.6	11.9	3.3	1.7	6.6	7.8
IV	32.1	26.9	13.6	13.1	19.4	21.3
V/VI	3.4	7.1	1.5	2.8	3.8	3.8
VII	6.3	10.0	3.2	4.6	6.5	6.3
Farmers	26.1	33.4	74.5	73.9	59.7	53.2
(N)	(713)	(899)	(1,108)	(176)	(1,490)	(4,386)

Table 6. 4 Men's class destination by father's class (% by column)

	Men's class destination					
	I+II	IIIa	IV	V/VI	VII+IIIb	All
Father's class						
I+II	13.0	10.6	4.2	4.2	3.8	6.6
III	11.9	11.0	4.6	4.2	6.5	7.2
IV	22.8	22.4	18.1	17.3	19.5	19.8
V/VI	3.7	5.2	2.6	6.0	4.5	4.1
VII	5.9	7.6	4.1	9.0	8.9	6.8
Farmers	42.8	43.2	66.5	59.4	56.8	55.5
(N)	(917)	(500)	(1,252)	(670)	(1,210)	(4,549)

People of the petit bourgeois class background contribute to the second largest proportion of each class destination. A certain proportion of the children of farmers, men in particular, successfully move up and find jobs in other sectors.

The main point is that for both men and women, a large proportions of service class or 'middle class' in general (I-IV) are drawn from farmer origins; therefore the closure thesis is not substantiated in the Korean case.

#### **6.4.2 General outflow rates**

The inflow tables (Tables 6.3 and 6.4) show where the respondents of each class come from, while the outflow tables (Tables 6.5 and 6.6) tell us where the children of each class go. In this section, I ask whether the buffer-zone thesis can be supported in the Korean case. I first examine the extent of differences in outflow patterns between the genders, if their fathers were skilled manual workers and if their fathers were manual workers. Then I discuss other classes outflow patterns, first for women and then for men.

The results (from Tables 6.5 and 6.6) show that the rates of self-inheritance of manual working class for both female and male respondents are higher than in other occupations. Moreover, as I combined farmers in Class IV, about 35 per cent of the daughters and 33 per cent of the sons of farmers are found in Class IV. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the increase of participation of women workers in manufacturing industries and the notable urbanisation drove women into the labour market.

From Table 6.5, of women respondents of skilled manual working class origin, about 34 per cent move down to the unskilled manual working sectors and agricultural sectors and about 14 per cent are found in the service class (Classes I+II). Similarly, of the women respondents from the unskilled manual working class, 35 per cent move down to the agricultural sector and only about 3 per cent become skilled manual

workers. However, 49 per cent in total of the daughters of unskilled manual workers found better jobs in the service class and non-manual sectors.

Table 6. 5 Women's class of destination by father's class (% by row)

	Women's class destination					(N)
	I+II	IIIa	IV	V/VI	VII+IIIb	
Father's class						
I+II	39.1	28.4	12.7	2.1	17.8	(338)
III	28.4	31.3	10.8	0.9	28.7	(342)
IV	24.5	25.9	16.2	2.5	30.9	(934)
V/VI	14.4	38.3	10.2	3.0	34.1	(167)
VII	16.4	32.9	12.8	2.9	35.0	(274)
Farmers	8.0	12.9	35.4	5.6	38.2	(2,331)
All	16.3	20.5	25.3	4.0	34.0	(4,386)

Table 6. 6 Men's class destination by father's class (% by row)

	Men's class destination					(N)
	I+II	IIIa	IV	V/VI	VII+IIIb	
Father's class						
I+II	40.0	17.8	17.5	9.4	15.4	(298)
III	33.1	16.7	17.6	8.5	24.0	(329)
IV	23.3	12.5	25.1	12.9	26.3	(899)
V/VI	18.3	14.0	17.2	21.5	29.0	(186)
VII	17.4	12.2	16.4	19.3	34.7	(311)
Farmers	15.5	8.6	33.0	15.8	27.2	(2,526)
All	20.2	11.0	27.5	14.7	26.6	(4,549)

From Table 6.6 of the outflow rates for men respondents, among those of skilled manual working class origin, 29 per cent move down to a lower level of the manual working sector and the sales and service sector. In terms of upward mobility, about 32 per cent of the sons of skilled manual workers enter the service and non-manual

sectors. We can see a higher proportion of women from skilled manual working origins entering Classes I to III than enter Classes VII and IIIb; the buffer-zone thesis, therefore, is not supported for men who originate from Classes V/VI.

The outflow of petit bourgeoisie found in the unskilled manual-working class is 31 per cent (women) and 26 per cent (men). Moreover, the male respondents of self-employed origin are found more likely than women to either follow in the footsteps of their fathers in the same class (25 per cent for men vs. 16 per cent for women) or find jobs in the manual working class (skilled and unskilled). Significant rates of upward mobility to salariat and routine non-manual classes (Class I+II and IIIa) are found for both genders with this class origin: 50 per cent for women and 36 per cent for men.

Male respondents of service class origin are slightly more likely than female respondents to find jobs in the same class (40 per cent for men vs. 39 per cent for women). The major outflow of women of service class origins is found in the routine non-manual class: compared with about 18 per cent of service class sons, 28 per cent of service class daughters moved down to the class of routine non-manual workers. In contrast, about 25 per cent of men from service class origins became manual workers, whereas the corresponding proportion for women is around 20 per cent.

In general, higher rates of self-inheritance are found for men from all class background. In contrast, only the routine non-manual class of women end in the same class. The daughters of service and petit bourgeoisie class origin are more likely to move down to the unskilled manual-working sector the sons are. The implication is that, on the basis of Tables 6.5 and 6.6, the idea of a buffer-zone is not substantiated in contemporary South Korea, being not applicable to either women or men.

### **6.4.3 Class distribution by class of father and birth cohort**

The results of the inflow and outflow rates of social mobility in Korea show that there is no clear evidence that social ‘closure’ or a ‘buffer-zone’ exist, whether for women or men. To pursue the enquiry further, I use birth-cohort analysis to find whether any significant trends can be observed in the class mobility of either sex.

To begin with, Tables 6.7 and 6.8 demonstrate the complete up- and downward mobility rates of women and men over four birth cohorts. For Tables 6.7 and 6.8, I used a fourfold version of the class schema for father and a threefold version of the class schema for respondents: Classes I and II represent the service class, Classes III and IVab, the intermediate class and Classes V/VI and VII represent the manual working class and farmers.

From Tables 6.7 and 6.8, we see that both upward and downward mobility rates have been increasing across cohorts for both genders. Overall, the outflow rates from farm origin to service class are found to have increased for both sexes, the youngest cohorts apart. From Table 6.7 we observe that, for the first three cohorts, the outflow rate of men from farming origins to a service class destination are about four times greater than of women: the outflow rate for men stays around 16 per cent for the first three cohorts, then drops slightly to 14 per cent for the youngest cohort, while for women, the rates are much lower, about 4 per cent in the first cohort and about 8 per cent in the second cohort.

Table 6. 7 Class distribution by cohort for women (1998) (% by row)

Father's class	Birth cohort	Women's class destination			(N)
		I+II	IIIa+IV	V/VI+VII (+IIIb)	
I+II	Before 1950	24.6	42.6	32.8	(61)
	1951-60	36.3	43.8	20.0	(80)
	1961-70	47.2	37.7	15.1	(106)
	1971- 80	42.1	43.2	14.8	(88)
III+IVab	Before 1950	15.3	37.2	47.5	(223)
	1951-60	23.2	39.1	37.7	(297)
	1961-70	31.4	45.9	22.7	(405)
	1971-80	27.8	43.9	28.3	(346)
V/VI+VII	Before 1950	15.4	25.6	58.9	(39)
	1951-60	8.8	45.6	45.6	(68)
	1961-70	20.9	48.1	31.0	(129)
	1971-80	14.9	51.0	34.2	(202)
Farmers	Before 1950	3.6	50.1	46.4	(987)
	1951-60	7.5	45.0	47.6	(614)
	1961-70	15.0	45.8	39.2	(520)
	1971-80	12.9	56.0	31.1	(209)
All	Before 1950	6.9	46.8	46.3	(1,310)
	1951-60	14.2	43.3	42.6	(1,059)
	1961-70	24.3	45.3	30.3	(1,160)
	1971-80	22.5	48.5	29.0	(845)

In terms of outflow from farming origins to the intermediate class, both genders show rather similar trends. In the case of women, there is first a slight decrease from 50 per cent from the oldest cohort to almost 46 per cent for the third cohort and then an increase to 56 per cent for the youngest cohort. In contrast, an increasing trend is found for men from farming origins to the manual sector. It increases from 42 per cent for the oldest cohort to 68 per cent for the youngest cohort, while for women the rate declines from 46 per cent to 31 per cent. However, as mentioned earlier, many from the

youngest cohort are at the beginning of their careers and not have completed their education and can be expected to gain access to service class positions in the course of their working lives.

Table 6. 8 Class distribution by cohort for men (1998) (% by row)

Father's class	Birth cohort	Men's class destination			(N)
		I+II	IIIa+IV	V/VI+VII (+IIIb)	
I+II	Before 1950	39.4	31.0	29.6	(71)
	1951-60	50.0	36.9	13.1	(84)
	1961-70	40.0	37.8	22.2	(90)
	1971- 80	26.0	36.0	38.0	(50)
III+IVab	Before 1950	24.0	38.9	37.2	(296)
	1951-60	30.4	41.9	27.8	(346)
	1961-70	28.4	38.0	33.6	(387)
	1971-80	16.7	22.8	60.6	(193)
V/VI+VII	Before 1950	19.2	32.1	48.7	(78)
	1951-60	19.4	34.4	40.2	(93)
	1961-70	21.5	32.8	45.8	(177)
	1971-80	11.7	22.1	66.2	(145)
Farmers	Before 1950	14.7	43.4	41.9	(1,204)
	1951-60	16.6	43.2	40.2	(692)
	1961-70	16.3	39.9	43.9	(552)
	1971-80	14.0	17.8	68.2	(107)
All	Before 1950	17.7	41.5	40.8	(1,649)
	1951-60	23.1	41.7	35.2	(1,215)
	1961-70	22.9	38.0	39.1	(1,176)
	1971-80	15.6	22.8	61.6	(495)

Women with a manual-working origin are more likely to move out of the manual class than men in every cohort, except the oldest. The outflow from the manual class to the service class, in the case of women, is not at a steady rate across cohorts. In contrast,

for men, the rate gradually increases from 19 per cent to about 22 per cent in the first three cohorts and falls to almost 12 per cent in the youngest cohort.

In Table 6.7, the rate for women of intermediate class origin moving to service class increases from 15 per cent to 28 per cent across cohorts. However, for men, it increases from 24 per cent to 30 per cent in the first two cohorts, followed by a sharp drop to almost 17 per cent for the youngest cohort. The daughters of the intermediate class among the two younger cohorts are still more likely than the sons to find service class job (31 and 28 per cent for daughter vs. 28 and 17 per cent).

Nevertheless, with regard to the trend for women, the downward mobility from intermediate class origins to the manual sector shows a decrease from about 48 per cent to 28 per cent across cohorts; conversely, for men, it shows an even sharper increase from 37 per cent to about 61 per cent. Men of intermediate class origins in the youngest cohort are more likely than women to find a job in the manual sector.

Tables 6.7 and 6.8 show the slowly increasing or steady trend across cohorts of outflow from service class origin to the intermediate sector. For men, it increases steadily from 31 to 36 per cent across cohorts. For women, it shows 0.6 per cent of difference between the oldest and the youngest cohorts.

By contrast, we find a dramatic decrease of outflow rate for women from all origins who find themselves in working class positions. It declines from almost 33 to 15 per cent from the oldest cohort to the youngest. Yet for men, the outflow rate increases from about 30 to 38 per cent.

To summarise, the outflow for those of farming origins to service class shows an increased rate of upward mobility. Women are more likely to move out of the manual working class than men. Increasing trends are found in upward mobility to the service class for men. A higher downward rate to the manual sector is found for men in the youngest cohort. By contrast, upward mobility to the service class shows a sharp decline for men. Women are more likely than men to move in as well as move out of the intermediate class.

The outflow rates of the labour force from service class origins to the intermediate class has been increasing for both genders across cohorts. Women of service class origins are more likely to find a non-manual job, while men are more likely to enter the manual work sector.

## **6.5 Disparity ratios**

In this section, I explore in more detail the question of trends in class mobility in contemporary South Korea. To express relative mobility rates, disparity ratios between outflow percentages are used.

Tables 6.9 and 6.10 present a set of disparity ratios, derived from Tables 6.7 and 6.8. As regards access to the service class, the clearest pattern emerges from Table 6.9 when we compare the chances of daughters of service class origins with those of farming origins. In the oldest cohort, the daughters of service class origins were almost seven times as likely as daughters of farming origins to be found in service class positions, while sons of service class fathers were about three times more likely than the sons of farmers to be found in service class positions. A steady decline in the

inequality of chances is also evident across cohorts. The disparity ratios are in fact roughly halved from the oldest cohort to the youngest. These disparity ratios are from cohort tables (such as Table 6.7) which show the very small percentage of farmers' daughters in the two oldest cohorts in the service class (3.6 per cent and 7.5 per cent).

Table 6. 9 Disparity ratios showing relative chances, by class of father and birth cohort, of being found in Class I+II (chances of daughters of farmers origins set at 1)

Father's class	Birth cohort	Relative chances of being found in Class I+II	Relative chances of being found in Class IIIa+IV	Relative chances of being found in Class V/VI+VII(IIIb)
I+II	Before 1950	6.83	0.85	0.71
	1951-60	4.84	0.97	0.42
	1961-70	3.15	0.82	0.39
	1971-80	3.26	0.77	0.48
III+IVab	Before 1950	4.25	0.74	1.02
	1951-60	3.09	0.87	0.79
	1961-70	2.09	1.00	0.58
	1971-80	2.16	0.78	0.72
V/VI+VII	Before 1950	4.28	0.51	1.27
	1951-60	1.17	1.01	0.96
	1961-70	1.39	1.05	0.79
	1971-80	1.16	0.91	1.10
Farmers	Before 1950			
	1951-60			
	1961-70		(set at 1)	
	1971-80			

Note: based on adjusted data from Table 6.7

Table 6. 10 Disparity ratios showing relative chances, by class of father and birth cohort, of being found in Class I+II (chances of sons of farmers origins set at 1)

Father's class	Birth cohort	Relative chances of being found in Class I+II	Relative chances of being found in Class IIIa+IV	Relative chances of being found in Class V/VI+VII(IIIb)
I+II	Before 1950	2.68	0.71	0.71
	1951-60	3.01	0.85	0.33
	1961-70	2.45	0.95	0.51
	1971-80	1.86	2.02	0.56
III+IVab	Before 1950	1.63	0.90	0.89
	1951-60	1.83	0.97	0.69
	1961-70	1.74	0.95	0.77
	1971-80	1.19	1.28	0.89
V/VI+VII	Before 1950	1.31	0.74	1.16
	1951-60	1.17	0.80	1.00
	1961-70	1.32	0.82	1.04
	1971-80	0.84	1.24	0.97
Farmers	Before 1950			
	1951-60			
	1961-70		(set at 1)	
	1971-80			

*Note:* based on adjusted date from Table 6.8

However, Table 6.10 shows the marked differences in disparity ratios between men and women from all the main classes in terms of their relative chance of being found in service class positions. The disparity ratios for men are not wide and there is even a tendency for the disparities to decline from one birth cohort to the next. Unlike the results from the youngest cohort of women, the relative chances of the sons of service class origins were about twice as great of being found in service class positions than of men who were the sons of farmers.

A broadly similar pattern is also apparent when one considers the chances of access to the service class, for women of farm origins, compared with women originating in the intermediate classes. Conversely, the sons of working class origins for the youngest cohort have fewer chances than those with farm origins to be found in service class positions.

In sum, in terms of relative chances to be found in the service class, Tables 6.9 and 6.10 show that those of both sexes with higher social origins have more chances, whatever the cohort. Owing to a male dominant society and Confucianism, sons are more likely than daughters to be found in the labour market in contemporary South Korea. The results of this analysis show that social class and gender differentials in class mobility exist in contemporary South Korea.

## **6.6 Odds ratios**

A set of odds ratios is considered a most useful sociological tool to interpret the outcome of a series of ‘competitions’ between men of different class origins to achieve one rather than another location within the class structure (Goldthorpe, 1993:78). Odds ratios represent relative chances for individuals from one particular class of origin rather than the other to access one particular class of destination rather than the other. For each odds ratio, the corresponding origin and destination are treated as both classes of origin and classes of destination being competed for, while the ratio indicates the relative chance of individuals from one of the two origin classes rather than the other being found in one of the two destination classes rather than the other.

Tables 6.11 and 6.12 present each set of odds ratios, derived from the data of Tables 6.13 and 6.14 (see Appendix). For the odds ratios, a collapsed threefold class schema is used for respondents and their fathers.

Table 6. 11 Odds ratios for women by birth cohort

Pairs of origin classes	Birth cohort	Pairs of destination classes 'competed for'		
		I+II/ IIIa+IV	I+II/ V/VI+VII(IIIb)	IIIa+IV/ V/VI+VII(IIIb)
I+II vs. INT	Before			
	1950	1.41	2.34	1.67
	1951-60	1.41	2.94	2.11
	1961-70	1.84	2.27	1.24
	1971-80	1.56	2.91	1.88
I+II vs. WC	Before			
	1950	7.25	8.33	1.24
	1951-60	4.88	11.38	2.31
	1961-70	3.57	7.28	2.03
	1971-80	3.77	6.63	1.78
INT vs. WC	Before			
	1950	5.12	3.56	0.74
	1951-60	3.47	3.88	1.10
	1961-70	1.94	3.21	1.64
	1971-80	2.42	2.28	0.95

*Note:* based on adjusted data from Table 6A.1

Overall, Tables 6.11 and 6.12 show some substantial differences in the magnitudes of the odds ratios between cells, while the differences between odds ratios within the same cell across cohorts are relatively modest. Women with service class origins were around eight times as likely to find themselves in service class positions as working class women to be found in these positions and to avoid being found in working class positions. In the case of daughters who were born between 1951 and 1960 to service class families, the odds ratios were increased to 11.38, while for the youngest cohort, the odds ratios were reduced to 6.63.

Table 6. 12 Odds ratios for men by birth cohort

Pairs of original classes	Birth cohort	Pairs of destination classes 'competed for'		
		I+II/ IIIa+IV	I+II/ V/VI+VII(IIIb)	IIIa+IV/ V/VI+VII(IIIb)
I+II vs. INT	Before 1950	2.05	2.05	1.00
	1951-60	1.86	3.50	0.88
	1961-70	1.41	2.12	1.50
	1971-80	0.99	2.52	2.50
I+II vs. WC	Before 1950	3.63	3.69	1.04
	1951-60	3.40	9.32	1.29
	1961-70	2.30	4.50	1.98
	1971-80	1.14	3.58	3.17
INT vs. WC	Before 1950	1.77	1.81	1.04
	1951-60	1.83	2.66	1.47
	1961-70	1.63	2.12	1.31
	1971-80	1.16	1.42	1.27

*Note:* based on adjusted data from Table 6A.2

But there is no clear evidence in the two tables to show any systematic tendency for the odds ratios to increase or decrease over the cohorts, apart from the youngest, many of whom are still in education. However, in Tables 6.11, across three older cohorts, the trends show up in the three upper cells in the table and in the three other cells below it. The odds ratios to stay in service class positions rather than downward to intermediate class positions are increased for daughters with service class origins by comparison with those of intermediate class origins. Similarly, the odds ratios to stay in intermediate class positions rather than move downward to working class positions are increased for daughters of intermediate class origins by comparison with those who return to the working class position in which they originated.

We see a different tendency from Tables 6.12. The odds ratios to stay in service class positions rather than move downward to a position in the intermediate class are lower

for sons of service class families than for those from intermediate class families. Moreover, no trend can be observed in the bottom cells in the tables. In sum, Tables 6.11 and 6.12 confirm that father's class has a significant effect on their children's social destination.

## **6.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I briefly reviewed the existing theories and studies on social mobility in the West, Goldthorpe's three theses on the patterns of social mobility in industrial society: the closure thesis, the buffer-zone thesis and the counterbalance thesis and Breen's two measurements (absolute mobility and relative mobility), together with some previous studies on those issues in contemporary South Korea.

Then I observed how social origins influence respondents' class destination, whichever their gender. First, there is a distinct association between class destination and birth cohort for women. There is a remarkable increase in white-collar jobs from the oldest cohort to the second youngest cohort for women, while the proportion of the petit bourgeoisie for those cohorts for women decreased. Overall, it can be said that the changes for women are greater than those for men.

Regarding the absolute mobility rates in contemporary South Korea, from the inflow rates of both genders and from the percentages in the tables, we see that both women and men of farming origin make up the largest proportion of each class destination. Then, from the results in the outflow tables, higher rates of self-inheritance are found for men from all class backgrounds, while daughters of service class parents and the

petit bourgeoisie are more likely than sons to move down to the unskilled manual-working sector.

In terms of social closure, high-status fathers were not necessarily able to secure high-status occupations for their daughters in South Korea. Moreover, for both men and women, large proportions of the service class or 'middle class' in general (Classes I-IV) are drawn from farming origins, making the closure thesis untenable in the Korean case. It is also clear that the buffer-zone thesis does not hold good in the Korean case for either women or men.

While the results of the inflow and outflow rates of social mobility in Korea did not present clear evidence, the cohort analysis shows that women are more likely to move out of the manual work sector than men, and are more likely to move in as well as move out of the intermediate class than men. The outflow for those of farming origin to service class shows an increased rate of upward mobility. However, in terms of outflow from farming origins to the intermediate class, both women and men show rather similar decrease trends. In contrast, it observed increase trends for men from farming origins to the manual sector, while the rate declined for women. With regard to the trend for women, the downward mobility from intermediate class origins to the manual sector shows a decrease, while there is a rather sharp increase for men.

In terms of relative mobility rates, the results from the disparity ratios show that the social class and gender differentials in class mobility still exist in contemporary South Korea. As discussed in Chapter 4, in the traditional Confucianist culture male dominant society, women are less likely to be found in the labour market than men. However, for chances of access to the service class, both women and men with higher

social origins have more chances whatever the cohort. Moreover, the results of the odds ratios confirm that social origin has a significant effect on children's social class destination.

In the following chapter, I will discuss the association between origins, education and destinations for men and women at greater length, and investigate on social fluidity in Korea.

## Appendix for Chapter 6

Table 6A. 1 Women's class distribution by class of father and by cohort

Father's class	Birth cohort	Class of destination			(N)
		I+II	IIIa+IV	V/VI+VII(IIIb)	
I+II	Before 1950	24.6	42.6	32.8	(61)
	1951-60	36.3	43.8	20.0	(80)
	1961-70	47.2	37.7	15.1	(106)
	1971- 80	42.1	43.2	14.8	(88)
INT	Before 1950	15.3	37.2	47.5	(223)
	1951-60	23.2	39.1	37.7	(297)
	1961-70	31.4	45.9	22.7	(405)
	1971- 80	27.8	43.9	28.3	(346)
WC	Before 1950	4.0	49.1	46.9	(1,026)
	1951-60	7.6	45.0	47.4	(682)
	1961-70	16.2	46.2	37.6	(649)
	1971- 80	13.9	53.5	32.6	(411)
All	Before 1950	6.9	46.8	46.3	(1,310)
	1951-60	14.2	43.3	42.6	(1,059)
	1961-70	24.3	45.3	30.3	(1,160)
	1971- 80	22.5	48.5	29.0	(845)

Table 6A. 2 Men's class destination by class of father and by cohort

Father's class	Birth cohort	Class of destination			(N)
		I+II	IIIa+IV	V/VI+VII(IIIb)	
I+II	Before	39.4	31.0	29.6	(71)
	1950	50.0	36.9	13.1	(84)
	1951-60	40.0	37.8	22.2	(90)
	1961-70	26.0	36.0	38.0	(50)
	1971- 80				
INT	Before	24.0	38.9	37.2	(296)
	1950	30.4	41.9	27.8	(346)
	1951-60	28.4	38.0	33.6	(387)
	1961-70	16.6	22.8	60.6	(193)
	1971- 80				
WC	Before	15.0	42.8	42.3	(1,282)
	1950	16.9	42.2	40.9	(785)
	1951-60	17.6	38.1	44.4	(699)
	1961-70	12.7	20.2	67.1	(252)
	1971- 80				
All	Before	17.7	41.5	40.8	(1,649)
	1950	23.1	41.7	35.2	(1,215)
	1951-60	22.9	38.0	39.1	(1,176)
	1961-70	15.6	22.8	61.6	(495)
	1971- 80				

## **Chapter 7 Social Fluidity and the Changing Relationship between Origins, Education and Destinations in Contemporary South Korea**

### **7.1 Introduction**

As discussed in the introductory chapter, this thesis seeks to examine the relationship between social origins and gender differences in attainment in higher education and the occupational attainment. As noted previously, existing literature suggested that gender differences in degree achievement and participation are, to a large extent, due to social and cultural factors, expectations, personal belief systems and confidence levels. Social class, parental education and parents' interests in the child's education and types of school have been found to be influential in relation to children's achievement at school.

In Chapter 5, we saw that, access to education is still influenced by social background. The expansion of education systems in South Korea, both at the upper secondary and the tertiary levels of education, has given young women an opportunity to attain a higher level of education than their parents. However, women were less likely to gain a degree compared with men and the gender gap in general educational attainment still applies to South Korea.

For the majority of the population, educational qualifications provide a gateway to the labour market. The results from the previous chapter (Chapter 6) showed that the social class and gender differentials in class mobility still exist in contemporary South Korea. It was observed that there is a distinct association between educational attainment and class destination for women and the differences between men and women in their educational attainment influence gender differences in subsequent

occupational attainment.

Although the gap in the occupational attainment between men and women narrows among tertiary-educated individuals, the occupational attainment of women is far below that of men at all levels of education.

In this chapter, I will discuss the association between origins, education and destinations for men and women at more length (O-E, E-D, and O-D). In the following investigation on social fluidity, we wish to find out whether, social fluidity is constant in South Korea and whether trends of social fluidity are similar between men and women.

In the next section, I will present exploratory analyses of variables used as outcomes in subsequent statistical modelling. Then, preliminary analysis will be shown on the association between origins and education, between education and destinations, and between origins and destinations for men and women. After that, I will present the coefficients from the ordered logistic regression analysis which I have explained in Chapter 3 and which models the impact of a range of factors on educational attainment and class destination. Following the ordered logit regression analysis, I will observe trends in relative mobility by examining the changing association between the class of origin and destination across four cohorts by applying Constant Social Fluidity Model (CnSF) and Common Social Fluidity Model (CmSF) to 1998 KLIPS data. Moreover, I further conduct a UNIDIFF model of social fluidity for South Korea. The results are also compared between men and women.

## **7.2 Variables**

### **7.2.1 Dependent variables**

There are two types of dependent variable I will discuss in this chapter, educational attainment and respondent's class destinations.

#### *Educational attainment*

For the analysis, respondent's educational attainments in this chapter are divided into five categories: (1) Degree or higher, (2) college, (3) high school, (4) middle school, and (5) no/primary. According to Becker (1964), women who have higher educational qualifications are more likely to participate in labour market than their counterparts without such qualification due to their relatively high earning capacity and high productivity in the workplace.

#### *Class destinations*

In this thesis, respondent's class destinations are measured by reference to their employment status and occupation at time of interview. Respondent's class destinations are divided into six categories: (1) Class I, (2) Class II, (3) Class IIIa, (4) Class IV, (5) Class VI, and (6) Class IIIb+VII (Class V is not available; see the Chapter 3). Table 7.1 and 7.2 show the characteristics of the respondents in different types of educational attainment and class status. The next section introducing the independent variables will discuss their characteristics in detail.

### **7.2.2 Independent variables**

This section introduces the independent variables used to address their impacts on the outcome variables- respondent's education and class.

### *Sex*

In this chapter I include both men and women in the analysis.

### *Birth cohort*

Respondent's birth cohorts in this chapter are divided into four categories: (1) before 1950, (2) 1951-60, (3) 1961-70, and (4) 1971-80.

### *Father's social class*

As we have seen in previous chapters, the impact of social origins on education is significant. Generally, people from higher social origins have higher educational attainment. As Rudd (1987: 346) says 'the percentage of school-leavers entering higher education is highest for Social Class I (i.e. high grade professional and managerial occupations) and lowest for Class V (unskilled manual workers)'. All analysis in the following conducted for men and women separately.

## **7.3 Preliminary analysis**

In many countries, men and women do not have the same level of educational attainment. It is observed that women often had fewer opportunities to attend higher levels of education. However, in more recent times, the education gap between men and women has narrowed significantly, and has even been reversed in some cases, among young people (Breen *et al.* 2009). Educational mobility is strongly associated with the expansion of education Goldthorpe (2000) also somewhat agreed that the general upward educational mobility has been enlarged as a result of the educational expansion.

Educational mobility is linked to the strength of the relationship between parents' education and children's education. Table 5A. 3 and 5A 4 (see Appendix for Chapter 5) showed that students whose parents have higher levels of education are more likely to enter tertiary education.

In this section, I will present findings from the preliminary analysis to see the changing patterns in the relationship between origins, education and destinations in absolute term.

Table 7.1 shows that the origin-education (OE) association by sex and cohorts (oldest and youngest). Firstly, for men, the proportion with lower secondary or below qualifications became dramatically smaller in the youngest cohort. This is shown in the rows for 'all'. In the oldest cohort, 55 per cent of men had lower secondary and below level qualifications which fell to 3 per cent in the youngest cohort (a decline of 52 percentage points). Correspondingly, the proportion of men with higher secondary-level education achievement increased from 28 per cent to 43 per cent (an increase of 15 percentage points) and the proportion of men with tertiary-level qualifications rose, more sharply, from 17 per cent to 54 per cent (an increase of 37 percentage points).

Table 7. 1 The origin-education (O-E) association by sex and cohort (% by row)

	Oldest Cohort (before 1950)			Youngest Cohort (1971-80)		
	College/ University	Higher secondary	Lower secondary/below	College/ University	Higher secondary	Lower secondary/below
<b>Men</b>						
I+II	48.1	33.8	18.2	68.8	30.2	1.1
INT	29.3	37.2	33.4	59.0	51.9	1.9
WC	12.3	25.9	61.8	43.9	51.9	4.2
All	16.9	28.3	54.8	54.1	43.2	2.7
<b>Women</b>						
I+II	19.8	29.7	50.6	75.0	24.5	0.5
INT	10.9	26.6	62.5	57.7	40.6	1.7
WC	1.2	8.0	90.8	35.3	61.7	3.1
All	3.7	12.1	84.2	50.1	47.7	2.2

*Note:* based on adjusted data from Table 5A.5 and 5A.6

On the other hand, the class differences are noticeable in the oldest cohort. 48 per cent of men from Class I+II families had tertiary levels of education but only 12 per cent of men from working class families had tertiary education, with a gap of 36 percentage points. In other words, 62 per cent of men from working class families had only lower secondary or below level qualifications while 18 per cent of men from Class I+II families had lower secondary and below level qualifications (a gap of 44 points). A clear trend of declining class inequality in education is in evidence. The gaps between the top and the bottom in tertiary education narrowed from the oldest cohort to the youngest cohort, by 11 points  $((48-12)-(69-44)=36-25=11)$  for men and the reductions in lower secondary or below qualifications went even further, falling by 39 points  $((62-18)-(4-1)=44-3=39)$ .

Turning to women, the proportion with lower secondary or below qualification became more dramatically smaller in the youngest cohort. This is shown in the rows for 'all'. In the oldest cohort, 84 per cent of women had lower secondary or below level qualifications which fell to 2 per cent in the youngest cohort. This is a decline of 82 percentage points and 30 points more than men. Respectively, the proportion of women with higher secondary-level education achievement increased from 12 to 48

per cent (an increase of 36 percentage points and 21 points more than men). The proportion of women with tertiary-level qualifications increased from 4 to 50 per cent which is a 46 points increase (and 9 point more than men).

The class differences are noticeable for women in the oldest cohort too. In the oldest cohort, 20 per cent of women from Class I+II families had tertiary levels of education but only 1 per cent of women from working class families had tertiary education. This is a gap of 19 percentage points and 17 per cent less than the gap between men from the two origin classes. In other words, nearly 91 per cent of women from working class families had only lower secondary or below level qualifications while 51 per cent of women from Class I+II origins had this level of qualifications. The gap here is 40 points, which is 4 points lower than the gap between men. As with men, a clear trend of declining class inequality in education is also in evidence. The gaps between the top and the bottom in tertiary education narrowed from the oldest cohort to the youngest cohort, by 21 points  $((20-1)-(75-35)=40-19=21)$  for women (5 points more than men). The reductions in lower secondary or below level qualifications went even further, falling by 38 points  $((91-51)-(3-1)=40-2=38)$  (3 points more than men).

In summary, Table 7.1 shows the continued improvements in educational attainment and the significant upgrade in levels of educational attainment, especially at tertiary level, for women. However, class differences are still considerable and the relationship between class origins and educational attainment remains.

Table 7. 2 The education-destination (E-D) association by sex and cohort (% by row)

	Oldest Cohort (before 1950)			Youngest Cohort (1971-80)		
	I+II	IIIa+IV	V/VI+VII(IIIb)	I+II	IIIa+IV	V/VI+VII(IIIb)
<b>Men</b>						
College/ University	62.6	25.6	11.8	27.3	26.4	46.3
Higher secondary	17.6	45.9	36.5	5.4	19.2	75.4
Lower secondary/below	3.5	44.1	52.4	8.3	8.3	83.3
All	17.8	41.3	40.9	14.6	21.7	63.7
<b>Women</b>						
College/ University	66.7	25.0	8.3	41.2	38.8	20.1
Higher secondary	16.6	37.3	46.2	8.0	57.2	34.8
Lower secondary/below	2.3	48.4	49.4	0.0	16.7	83.3
All	6.8	46.0	47.2	23.0	48.0	29.0

Table 7.2 shows the association between educational attainment and occupational destination (ED) by sex and cohorts (oldest and youngest). 63 per cent of men with tertiary qualifications were found in Class I+II in the oldest cohort in sharp contrast to only 4 per cent of men with lower secondary or below qualifications to be found in such positions (a gap of 59 percentage points). On the other hand, 52 per cent of men with lower secondary or below qualifications were found in Class VI+VII (IIIb) positions while 12 per cent of men with tertiary level education were found in such positions (a gap of 40 percentage points). The effect of education on destination in the youngest cohort is not comparable, as the youngest cohort has not fully developed their careers in labour market yet. But we can also see the clear differences in the educational effect.

There is a similar pattern for women. 67 per cent of women with tertiary qualifications were found in class I+II in the oldest cohort in sharp contrast to only 2 per cent of women with lower secondary or below qualifications to be found in such positions (a gap of 64 percentage points). On the other hand, 49 per cent of women with lower

secondary or below qualifications were found in Class VI+VII (IIIb) while only 8 per cent of women with tertiary qualifications were found in such positions. As in the case of men, the figure cannot fully show the effect of education on destination in the youngest cohort.

In sum, educational attainments play a critical role in determining occupational destinations and the role remains, but there is no evidence that the association between education and destination has strengthened over time.

Table 7.3 shows that the association between origin and destination (OD) by sex and cohorts (oldest and youngest). Firstly, as shown in the rows for 'all', 18 per cent of men occupied Class I+II positions in the oldest cohort which fell to 16 per cent in the youngest cohort (2 percentage point decline). The proportion of men in Class IIIa+IV positions also fell from 42 to 23 per cent (a 19 point decline). On the other hand, the proportion of men in the Class V/VI+VII (IIIb) increased from 41 to 62 per cent (a 21 point increase).

In the oldest cohort, 40 per cent of men from class I+II families were found in Class I+II but just 15 per cent were from working-class families, with a gap of 25 percentage points. To put it another way, 42 per cent of men from working-class families were found in Class V/VI+VII (IIIb) while 30 per cent from class I+II origins were found in such positions (a gap of 12 points). This association is also evident in the youngest cohort. 26 per cent of men with Class I+II origins were found in class I+II positions in contrast to only 13 per cent of men with working-class origins to be found in such positions (a gap of 13 percentage points). On the other hand, 67 per cent of men with working-class origins were found in Class V/VI+VII (IIIb) positions while 38 per cent

of men with class I+II origins were found in such positions (a gap of 29 percentage points). The class lead of the Class I+II over working-class families for men fell 24 to 13 percentage points, a fall of 11 points  $((39-15)-(26-13)=24-13=11)$ .

Table 7. 3 The origin-destination (O-D) association by sex and cohort (% by row)

	Oldest Cohort (before 1950)			Youngest Cohort (1971-80)		
	I+II	IIIa+IV	V/VI+VII(IIIb)	I+II	IIIa+IV	V/VI+VII(IIIb)
<b>Men</b>						
I+II	39.4	31.0	29.6	26.0	36.0	38.0
INT	24.0	38.9	37.2	16.6	22.8	60.6
WC	15.0	42.8	42.3	12.7	20.2	67.1
All	17.7	41.5	40.8	15.6	22.8	61.6
<b>Women</b>						
I+II	24.6	42.6	32.8	42.1	43.2	14.8
INT	15.3	37.2	47.5	27.8	43.9	28.3
WC	4.0	49.1	46.9	13.9	53.5	32.6
All	6.9	46.8	46.3	22.5	48.5	29.0

*Note:* based on adjusted data from Table 6A.1 and 6A.2

Women are more likely to be found in higher positions in the youngest cohort than in the oldest cohort. In the oldest cohort, 46 per cent of women occupied Class V/VI+VII (IIIb) positions, which fell to 29 per cent in the youngest cohort (27 point decline). On the other hand, the proportion of women in Class IIIa+IV positions increased from 47 to 49 per cent (a 2 point increase) and the proportion of women in Class I+II also increased from 7 to 23 per cent (a 16 per cent increase). Women are more likely (7 points more likely) to be in Class I+II positions than men in the youngest cohort. The relationship between class origins and destinations for women is stronger than men. In the oldest cohort, 25 per cent of women with class I+II origins were found in Class I+II positions but only 4 per cent from working-class origins were found in such positions, with a gap of 21 percentage points. To put it another way, 47 per cent of women of working-class origins were found in Class V/VI+VII (IIIb) destination and 33 per cent of women from Class I+II families were found in such positions (a gap of 14 percentage points). This association is also distinct in the youngest cohort.

Working-class daughters secured greater access to Class I+II between the oldest cohort and the youngest cohort, rising from 4 to 14 per cent (a rise of 10 points). At the same time, the class lead of the Class I+II over working-class families for women 21 to 18 percentage points, a fall of 3 per cent  $((25-4)-(42-14)=21-18=3)$ .

In sum, Table 7.3 shows the continuing association of origins on destinations and confirms the upgrading of the occupational structure. Moreover, the table shows the association between class origins and occupational destinations has declined over the period. However, as we saw in the effect of education on destination, the effect of origins on destination in the youngest cohort is also not comparable, as the youngest cohort has not fully developed their careers in the labour market yet.

#### **7.4 Regression analyses**

To begin with, I present the results from ordered logistic regression analysis that model the impact of a range of factors on educational attainment and class destinations. Before moving on to the findings, I provide a brief description of methods that are used in the modelling. For a fuller discussion of statistical methods used in this thesis, see section 3.4.3 in Chapter 3.

In this section, I use ordered logistic regression analysis (reversed the categories in the dependent variables so that higher values indicate higher positions). The data in Tables 7.4 and 7.5 show the coefficients from the ordered logit regression on the educational attainment and class status for men and women respectively. The coefficients from Tables 7.4 and 7.5 can be understood as the extent to which people from certain class

origin obtain more advantaged and avoid more disadvantaged positions in education and class positions.

Table 7. 4 Ordinal logit regression coefficients on educational attainment for men and women

	Model 1	Model 2	
		Men	Women
Sex (men=ref)			
Women	-0.912***		
Father's class (farmer=ref)			
I	2.556***	2.232***	<b>2.962***</b>
II	1.547***	1.420***	<b>1.815***</b>
III	1.580***	1.476***	<b>1.783***</b>
IVab	1.094***	0.944***	<b>1.316***</b>
VI	0.473***	0.375***	<b>0.709***</b>
VII	0.467***	0.380***	<b>0.644***</b>
Cohort (Before 1951=ref)			
1951-60	1.580***	1.101***	<b>2.128***</b>
1961-70	2.654***	1.926***	<b>3.536***</b>
1971-80	3.010***	1.938***	<b>4.222***</b>
Intercept 1	-0.218***	-0.597***	1.168***
Intercept 2	0.852***	0.415***	2.399***
Intercept 3	3.314***	2.600***	5.255***
Intercept 4	3.884***	3.091***	5.941***
Log likelihood	-31967770	-16571098	-14869415
N	11,766	5,658	6,108

\* p<0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001

Note: Coefficients for women that are significantly different (at 5% or above) from those for men in bold.

Table 7.4 presents the direct effects of origins on educational attainment (O-E) for men and women over cohorts. First of all, Model 1 in Table 7.4 shows that both gender and family background have significant effects on educational attainment. The effect of social class is apparent with those from a higher social class being more likely to have a higher educational attainment.

From Model 2 in Table 7.4, we can see the stronger origin effects on educational attainment both men and women. Men from Class I families 9.3 times as likely to attain higher educational qualification as those from farmer's origin ( $e^{2.232}=9.32$ ). Moreover, we find that the youngest cohort effects on educational attainment for men were 1.938 (in terms of odds) but 1.101 for the oldest cohort.

Turning to the data for women, we find that, there was a significant origin effect for all origin categories. Women from Class I origin had much more favourable chances of obtaining higher educational qualifications than those from farmers 2.962 (in terms of odds). For women, the cohort effect was significantly increased from the oldest to the youngest, from log odds of 2.128 to 4.222.

Comparing men's and women's patterns, we find some similarities and some difference. The coefficients were higher for women than for men at each of the corresponding origin categories and all cohorts.

The table for the effect of educational attainment on occupational attainment see the Appendix for Table 7.2 Model 3 (ED).

Table 7.5 shows the coefficients from the ordered logit regressions on the origin effects on class destination (Model 1- OD) and origin effects on class destinations controlling for education (Model 2 - OED).

Table 7. 5 Ordinal logit regression coefficients on class destinations for men and women

	Model 1 (OD)		Model 2 (OED)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
F class (farmer=ref)				
I	1.541***	1.833***	0.465***	0.601***
II	0.913***	1.167***	0.210***	0.463***
III	0.744***	0.865***	-0.004	0.144***
IVab	0.331***	<b>0.584***</b>	-0.069***	0.097***
VI	0.110***	0.201***	0.018***	-0.092***
VII	-0.031***	0.194***	-0.161***	-0.010***
Cohort (Oldest=ref)				
1951-60	0.228***	0.245***	-0.079***	-0.140***
1961-70	0.230***	<b>0.995***</b>	-0.524***	<b>-0.027***</b>
1971-80	-0.654***	<b>1.158***</b>	-1.335***	<b>-0.156***</b>
Education (Lowest=ref)				
Degree or higher			3.023***	3.268***
College			2.050***	<b>2.857***</b>
High school			0.745***	<b>1.120***</b>
Middle school			0.073***	-0.103***
Intercept 1	-0.818***	0.036***	-0.520***	0.039***
Intercept 2	-0.133***	0.215***	0.228***	0.230***
Intercept 3	1.060***	1.402***	1.706***	1.574***
Intercept 4	1.669***	2.679***	2.502***	3.143***
Intercept 5	2.898***	3.753***	3.976***	4.400***
Log likelihood	-16992310	-14806176	-15650500	-13804126
N	4535	4374	4535	4373

\* p<0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001

Note: Coefficients for women that are significantly different (at 5% or above) from those for men are bold.

With regard to the data for men as shown in Table 7.5, we find two main features. There is a clear family class gradient in occupational attainment (as shown under the Model 1 OD column). For example, men from Class I origin were nearly 4.7 times as likely to attain higher and avoid lower class positions ( $e^{1.541}=4.67$ ) as those equally qualified men from farmer's origin. When origin effects were taken into account, as shown under the Model 2 OED columns, there were no significant changes in any of the educational categories. Even after controlling for education, coming from more advantaged families were still associated with more favourable class positions.

On the other hand, with regard to the Model 1's OD link, there was an overall declining class effect for women, although non-significant for any of the origin categories. Women from Class I origin had much more favourable chances of obtaining higher class position than those from farmer, with the odds being ( $e^{1.83}=6.23$ ). The cohort effect increased significantly increased from the third to the youngest, from log odds of 0.995 to 1.158.

Comparing men's and women's patterns (under the OD column) we find that only Class IVab effect was different for women than men, from log odds of 0.584. The coefficients were higher for women than for men at each of the corresponding origins and cohorts categories. Moreover, after controlling for education (under the OED column), the cohort effects were also significantly decreased for women than men at the third and the youngest cohort, from log odds of -0.027 and -0.156.

It is notable that while the class effects were of a similar degree for men and women in education and class destination, education was obviously playing a more significant role on class destination for women than for men for college and high school.

To sum up, our analysis shows that the origin class effects upon educational attainment and occupational destination were not dramatically decreased, but there were significant changes for women.

### **7.5 Log-linear and log-multiplicative layer effect models**

In this section, I investigate the trends in relative mobility by examining the changing association between the class of origin and destination (educational attainment and class status) across four cohorts.

I first fit a conditional independence model to both men and women samples as the baseline model. The conditional independence model assumes that the distributions of both origins and destinations vary by birth cohorts but there is no association between them. In other words, all the odds ratios or relative chances defining origin and destination classes are equal at a value of one.

Secondly, to test whether the association between class of origin and destination does not change across cohorts, I applied the constant social fluidity model (CnSF) to male and female samples separately. The CnSF model includes the coefficients of the main effects and all two-way interactions of class of origin, destination and cohorts, and omits the three-way interaction of origin by destination by cohorts. Like CnSF model, I applied the common social fluidity (CmSF) model to assess whether and to what extent the association between class of origin and destination does not differ across gender.

Thirdly, the Uniform difference (UNIDIFF) model further allows for a uniform movement, where the association between origins and destinations takes the same pattern in all the tables being compared, but the strength of this association differs between tables (Li and Devine, 2011: 13-4; Goldthorpe and Mills, 2008: 91-2; Breen, 2004: 34-5).

Table 7.6 shows results fitting the CmSF and UNIDIFF models in examining gender disparity in educational attainment. The CmSF model greatly improves the fit of the baseline model. The results show that by using up 24 degrees of freedom, the  $G^2$  is reduced by 97.5 per cent. Although the CmSF model does not meet the conventional 5 per cent p-value criterion, the lack of fit indicated by values of the DI measure is very small, 2.5 per cent of cases are misclassified. However, the results do not show a good fit of the CmSF model, nor do the UNIDIFF model, but the latter does show a significant improvement.

Table 7. 6 Results of fitting the conditional independence, common social fluidity (CmSF) and UNIDIFF models to the educational attainment by sex

Model	$G^2$	df	p	r $G^2$	DI	BIC
<i>(N=12481)</i>						
1. Cond. Ind.	2866.4	48	0.00	0.0	19.1	2413.6
2. CmSF	71.4	24	0.00	97.5	2.5	-155.0
3. UNIDIFF	49.7	23	0.00	98.3	2.0	-167.2
2. – 3. ( $\beta = 0.0434$ )	20.7	1	0.00			

Note: r $G^2$  = Percentage reduction in  $G^2$  achieved; DI = Percentage of cases misclassified

Results from fitting the UNIDIFF model show that with the further loss of one degree of freedom, the model is significantly improved, with only 2 per cent of the case misclassified. According to the positive values of  $\beta$  parameters, the association between origins and educational attainment is significantly stronger for women than men.

Overall, these findings are in line with the previous research in the literature regarding gender inequality in educational attainment (Chang, 2004, 2006; Bang & Kim, 2002, 2003; Kim & Byun, 2007).

By applying the model (Cond.ind.), which assumes no association between origin and educational attainment, Table 7.7 shows the results of applying the three models to the class, education and cohort association for men and women separately. The baseline model fits the data poorly with  $G^2$  being equal to 589.7 for 84 degrees of freedom for men. For women,  $G^2$  is equal to 1013.4 for 85 degrees of freedom. This allows me to reject the null-hypothesis that there is no association between origins and educational attainment.

Table 7. 7 Results of fitting conditional independence, constant social fluidity (CnSF) and UNIDIFF models to the educational attainment by birth cohort

Model	$G^2$	df	p	$rG^2$	DI	BIC
<i>Men (N=5,658)</i>						
1. Cond. Ind.	589.7	84	0.00	0.0	12.0	-136.1
2. CnSF	55.7	60	0.63	90.5	3.2	-462.7
3. UNIDIFF	46.7	57	0.83	92.1	2.6	-445.8
2. – 3.	9.0	3	0.00			
<i>Women (N=6,108)</i>						
1. Cond. Ind.	1013.4	85	0.00	-0.0	14.5	272.5
2. CnSF	101.2	61	0.00	90.0	3.4	-430.5
3. UNIDIFF	99.4	58	0.00	90.2	3.3	-406.2
2. – 3.	1.8	3	0.00			

Notes:

1.  $rG^2$  = Percentage reduction in  $G^2$  achieved; DI = Percentage of cases misclassified
2. The coefficients for the UNIDIFF models will be shown in Figure 7.1.

I proceed to fit the CnSF model with the association of origin and destination included.

The improvement in the  $G^2$  and p-value in CnSF model are shown in the second row of the panels of male and female respondents, from which it can be seen that by using up 24 degrees of freedom, we are able to reduce the  $G^2$  ( $rG^2$ ) by about 90 per cent for both

men ( $G^2$  is reduced to 55.7) and women ( $G^2$  is reduced to 101.2). Goodness-of-fit statistics show that the CnSF model holds only for men. The CnSF model is to some extent, however, a rather preliminary test of the association between origin and educational attainment. In order to test the hypothesis of whether educational opportunities are becoming more equal in Korean society, it is necessary to apply the UNIDIFF model.

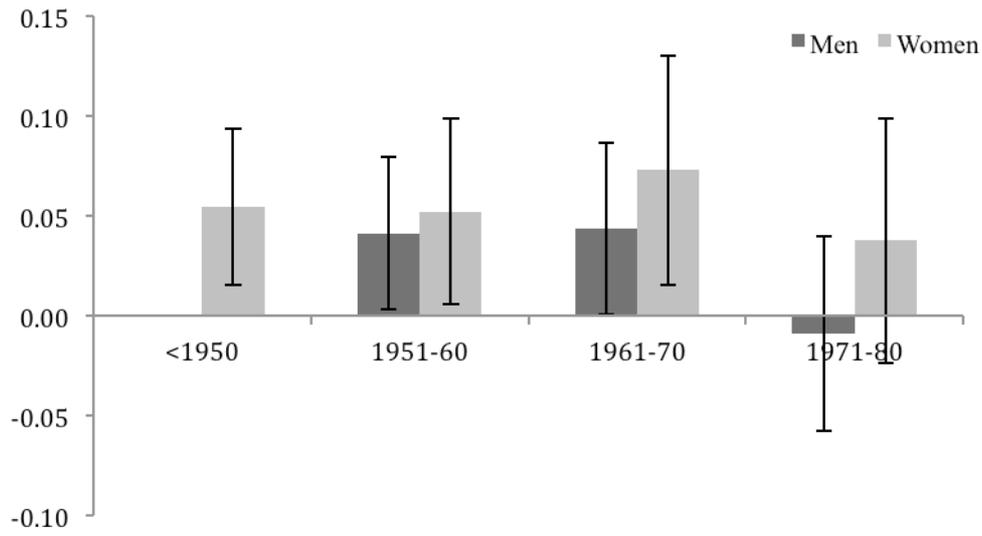
By applying the UNIDIFF model, I try to test whether the association between origin and educational attainment has significantly changed for men from the oldest to the younger cohorts. From the results of the Table 7.7, we find that the UNIDIFF model does show a significant improvement in fit over the CnSF model.

In Figure 7.1, UNIDIFF parameters of Table 7.7 are shown together with confidence intervals around the point estimates. The estimated value of the UNIDIFF parameter clearly evidences that of women as more unequal: setting the value for men to 0, women's estimated value is about 0.05, and, as testified by the 95 % confidence interval, this value significantly differs from men's baseline value (See appendix Table 7A.2 for Figure 7.1 for details).

The coefficient for the youngest cohorts of men displays a negative sign (-0.009 with SE being equal to 0.025). For women, firstly the coefficient shows a negative sign for the second cohort (-0.002 with SE being equal to 0.024), followed by -0.016 (with SE being equal to 0.031) for the youngest cohort. From the results, we can see that of the youngest cohort, men enjoy a slightly but non-significantly higher level of openness in social fluidity. However, there is no strong evidence on the increasingly weakening

ties between class of origin and educational attainment for men and women across the cohorts.

Figure 7. 1 UNIDIFF parameter estimates and confidence intervals: education by cohort



Overall, we find that despite the differing pattern of results in Table 7.7, we do in fact reach much the same conclusion for women as for men: namely, that from the oldest cohort (before 1950) through to the youngest cohort (1971-80), no very great or consistent change occurred in the net association between class origins and educational attainment for both men and women.

Table 7.8 presents results fitting the CmSF and the UNIDIFF models in examining gender disparity in social fluidity. The CmSF model gives an improvement over the baseline model. The results show that by using up 30 degrees of freedom, the  $G^2$  is reduced by 89.2 per cent, although the CmSF model does not meet the 5 per cent p-value criterion.

Table 7. 8 Results of fitting the conditional independence, common social fluidity (CmSF) and UNIDIFF models to class destination by sex

Model	$G^2$	df	p	$rG^2$	DI	BIC
<i>(N=8,935)</i>						
1. Cond. Ind.	1053.0	60	0.00	0.0	13.2	507.1
2. CmSF	113.8	30	0.00	89.2	4.4	-159.1
3. UNIDIFF	78.9	29	0.00	92.5	3.5	-185.0
2. – 3. ( $\beta=0.0451$ )	34.9	1	0.00			

*Note:*  $rG^2$  = Percentage reduction in  $G^2$  achieved; DI = Percentage of cases misclassified

Results from fitting the UNIDIFF model show that with the further loss of one degree of freedom, we are able to improve the  $G^2$  by 3.3 per cent. Neither the CmSF nor the UNIDIFF model fits the data need but the latter gives a significant improvement in fit over the former.

Table 7.9 shows that by applying the baseline model, which assumes no association between origin and class destination, the model fit the data poorly with  $G^2$  being equal to 320.7 for 118 degrees of freedom for men. For women,  $G^2$  is equal to 538.1 for 109 degrees of freedom. The improvement in the  $G^2$  and p-value in CnSF model are shown in the second row of the panels of men and women, from which it can be seen that by using up 30 degrees of freedom, we are able to reduce the  $G^2$  ( $rG^2$ ) by about 72 per cent for both men ( $G^2$  is reduced to 89.1) and 73 per cent for women ( $G^2$  is reduced to 147.7). Goodness-of-fit statistics show that the CnSF model holds for men, where the p-value is equal to 0.45, not for women, where the p-value is equal to 0.00.

Table 7. 9 Results of fitting conditional independence, constant social fluidity (CnSF) and UNIDIFF models to Class destination by birth cohort for men and women

Model	$G^2$	df	p	r $G^2$	DI	BIC
<i>Men (N=5,658)</i>						
1. Cond. Ind.	320.7	118	0.00	-0.0	8.5	-672.8
2. CnSF	89.1	88	0.45	72.2	4.3	-651.8
3. UNIDIFF	83.1	85	0.54	74.1	4.3	-632.6
2. – 3.	6.0	3	0.00			
<i>Women (N=4,374)</i>						
1. Cond. Ind.	538.1	109	0.00	0.0	11.3	-375.7
2. CnSF	147.7	79	0.00	72.6	5.3	-514.6
3. UNIDIFF	139.2	76	0.00	74.1	5.1	-498.0
2. – 3.	8.5	3	0.00			

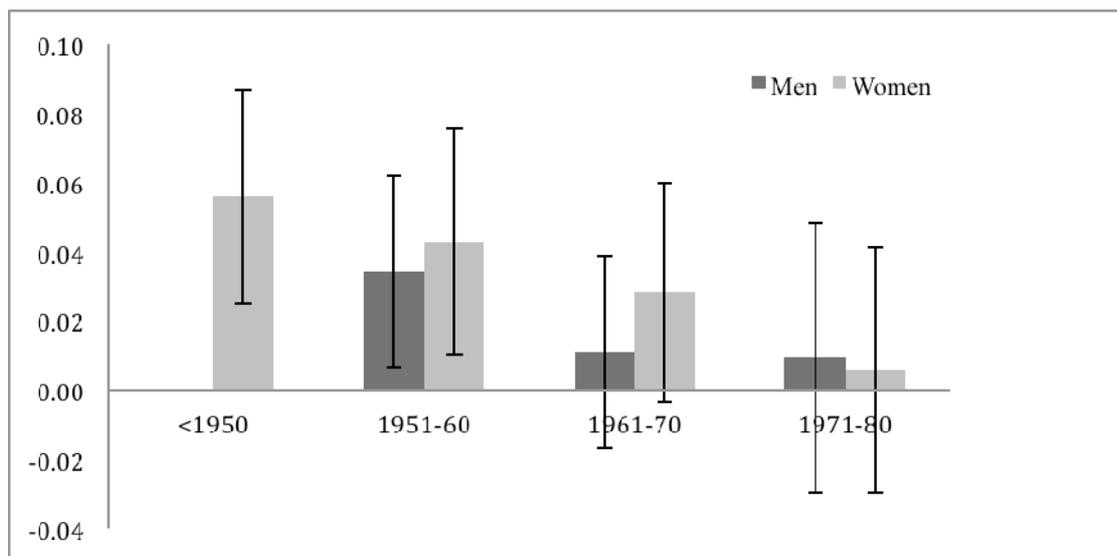
Note: r $G^2$  = Percentage reduction in  $G^2$  achieved; DI = Percentage of cases misclassified

By applying UNIDIFF model, we can see whether the association between origin and class destination is declining over cohorts. From the results of Table 7.9, we find that the UNIDIFF model is a significant improvement in fit over the CnSF model for men but not for women. When large negative values of the BIC measure indicate a good model fit, the results of Table 7.9 show that both CnSF and UNIDIFF models do not fit for men, and only CnSF model fits for women. However, the model with the lowest BIC is not always chosen.

We show the UNIDIFF parameters and their confidence intervals for Table 7.9 in Figure 7.2. The estimated value of the UNIDIFF parameter clearly evidences that women are more unequal: setting the value for men to 0, women's estimated value is about 0.06, and, as testified by the 95 % confidence interval, this value significantly differs from men's baseline value (See appendix Table 7A.3 for Figure 7.2 for details).

The coefficient for the second cohort of men displays a significant increase (.0342) but no increase for the third and the fourth cohort. For women, the coefficient for the oldest cohort shows significant inequality as compare with men in the oldest cohort. But for the third and the fourth cohort, there is no significant difference with men.

Figure 7. 2 UNIDIFF parameter estimates and confidence intervals: class by cohort



However, from the results, we can see that there is clear evidence of the increasingly weakening ties between class of origin and destination for women across cohorts. Overall, it can be said that gender differentials in class destination is decreasing, which confirms the findings of the Chapter 6.

## 7.6 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined the changing relationship between origins, education and class destination. Firstly, we presented variables for the statistical modelling and then we observed the results of the preliminary analysis which shown on the association between origins, education and destinations for men and women (O-E, E-D, and O-D). As I discussed in Chapter 5, for O-E, we found the continued

improvements in educational achievement and the significant upgrade in the tertiary level for women. However, class differences are still considerable and the association between class origins and educational attainment remains, which supports the findings of the previous studies (Chang, 2004, 2006; Bang & Kim, 2002, 2003; Kim & Byun, 2007). We also see the clear differences in the educational effect on destination (O-D), but the figure could not fully show the effect of educational attainment on destination in the youngest cohort, as the youngest cohort has not fully developed their career in labour market yet.

After that, we observed the results of the ordered logit regression model and found that coming from more advantaged families were associated with more favourable educational and class positions. Moreover, the origin effects were of a similar degree for men and women in education and class destination, but education was obviously playing a more significant role on class destination for women than for men. For women, the cohort effect was also significantly increased.

Following the ordered logit regression analysis, we observed trends in relative mobility by examining the changing association between the class of origin and destination across four cohorts by applying Constant Social Fluidity Model (CnSF) and Common Social Fluidity Model (CmSF) and conducted a UNIDIFF model of social fluidity for South Korea. The findings of the log-linear analysis shows no captivating evidence in favour of changes in relative mobility rates, but a stronger link between education and destination for women.

The estimated value of the UNIDIFF parameter clearly evidences that women are more unequal and I observed that men from the youngest cohort enjoy a slightly but non-

significantly higher level of openness in social fluidity. However, it is difficult to see any great or consistent changes occurring in the net association between class of origin and educational attainment for men and women across cohorts.

In terms of gender gap relating to class destination, there is clear evidence of the increasingly weakening ties between class of origin and destination for women across cohorts. Overall, this chapter showed relatively stable social fluidity and persistent inequalities in educational and social mobility in contemporary South Korea.

## Appendix for Chapter 7

Table 7A. 1 Appendix for Table 7.2 Model 3 (ED)

	Model 1 (ED)	
	Men	Women
Cohort (Oldest=ref)		
1951-60	0.084***	0.115***
1961-70	0.557***	0.056***
1971-80	1.437***	0.222***
Education (Lowest=ref)		
Degree or higher	3.057***	3.459***
College	2.971***	3.556***
High school	2.317***	2.279***
Middle school	0.991***	0.498***
Intercept 1	-0.907***	-0.934***
Intercept 2	-0.562***	0.348***
Intercept 3	1.350***	1.917***
Intercept 4	2.813***	3.220***
Intercept 5	3.567***	3.408***
Log likelihood	--16667056	-14700403
N	4833	4661

\* p<0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001

Note: Coefficients in women that are significantly different (at 5% or above) from those in men in bold.

Table 7A. 2 Appendix for Figure 7.1 (Table 7.7)

Education	$\beta$	s.e.
Men	0	0
Women	0.0543	0.02

Beta ( $\beta$ ) parameters for men

Cohort	estimate	s.e.	p-value
1	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
2	0.0412	0.0195	0.0351
3	0.0436	0.0219	0.0466
4	-0.0090	0.0248	0.7158

Beta ( $\beta$ ) parameters for women

Cohort	estimate	s.e.	p-value
1	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
2	-0.0021	0.0237	0.9292
3	0.0185	0.0292	0.5270
4	-0.0164	0.0312	0.5982

Converted: original s.e.\*1.96 (i.e. men 2nd cohort:  $0.0195*1.96=0.03822$ )

Converted	Men		Women	
	$\beta$	s.e.	$\beta$	s.e.
1	0	0	0.0543	0.0392
2	0.0412	0.03822	0.0522	0.046452
3	0.0436	0.042924	0.0728	0.057232
4	-0.009	0.048608	0.0379	0.061152

Table 7A. 3 Appendix for Figure 7.2 (Table 7.9)

Class	$\beta$	s.e.
Men	0	0
Women	0.056	0.0157

Beta ( $\beta$ ) parameters for men

Cohort	estimate	s.e.	p-value
1	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
2	0.0342	0.0142	0.0160
3	0.0110	0.0142	0.4407
4	0.0094	0.0199	0.6379

Beta ( $\beta$ ) parameters for women

Cohort	estimate	s.e.	p-value
1	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
2	-0.0132	0.0167	0.4311
3	-0.0277	0.0162	0.0874
4	-0.0500	0.0181	0.0058

Converted: original s.e.\*1.96 (i.e. men 2nd cohort:  $0.0342*1.96=0.027832$ )

Converted	Men		Women	
	$\beta$	s.e.	$\beta$	s.e.
1	0	0	0.056	0.030772
2	0.0342	0.027832	0.0428	0.032732
3	0.011	0.027832	0.0283	0.031752
4	0.0094	0.039004	0.006	0.035476

## Equations of models being tested in Chapter 7

For educational attainment, the model can be written as:

1. The conditional independence model (baseline)

$$\log F_{ijk} = \mu + \lambda_I^O + \lambda_j^E + \lambda_k^C + \lambda_{ik}^{OC} + \lambda_{jk}^{EC}$$

2. Constant social fluidity model (CnSF)

$$\log F_{ijk} = \mu + \lambda_I^O + \lambda_j^E + \lambda_k^C + \lambda_{ik}^{OC} + \lambda_{jk}^{EC} + \lambda_{ij}^{OE}$$

3. Common social fluidity model (CmSF)

$$\log F_{ijk} = \mu + \lambda_I^O + \lambda_j^E + \lambda_k^S + \lambda_{ik}^{OS} + \lambda_{jk}^{ES} + \lambda_{ij}^{OE}$$

4. UNIDIFF or Log multiplicative model

$$\log F_{ijk} = \mu + \lambda_I^O + \lambda_j^E + \lambda_k^C + \lambda_{ik}^{OC} + \lambda_{jk}^{EC} + \lambda_{ij}^{OE} + \beta_k X_{ij}$$

where O stands for class of origin, E for educational attainment, S for sex, and C for cohorts. In the UNIDIFF model,  $X_{ij}$  indicates the general pattern of association between origin and educational attainment, and  $\beta_k$  represents the relative strength of this association specific to a particular age cohort (Li and Devine, 2011).

For class destination, the model can be written as:

1. The conditional independence model (baseline)

$$\log F_{ijk} = \mu + \lambda_I^O + \lambda_j^D + \lambda_k^C + \lambda_{ik}^{OC} + \lambda_{jk}^{DC}$$

2. Constant social fluidity model (CnSF)

$$\log F_{ijk} = \mu + \lambda_I^O + \lambda_j^D + \lambda_k^C + \lambda_{ik}^{OC} + \lambda_{jk}^{DC} + \lambda_{ij}^{OD}$$

3. Common social fluidity model (CmSF)

$$\log F_{ijk} = \mu + \lambda_I^O + \lambda_j^D + \lambda_k^S + \lambda_{ik}^{OS} + \lambda_{jk}^{DS} + \lambda_{ij}^{OD}$$

4. UNIDIFF or Log multiplicative model

$$\log F_{ijk} = \mu + \lambda_I^O + \lambda_j^D + \lambda_k^C + \lambda_{ik}^{OC} + \lambda_{jk}^{DC} + \lambda_{ij}^{OD} + \beta_k X_{ij}$$

where O stands for class of origin, D for class of destination, S for sex, and C for cohorts. In the UNIDIFF model,  $X_{ij}$  indicates the general pattern of association between origin and destination, and  $\beta_k$  represents the relative strength of this association specific to a particular age cohort (Li and Devine, 2011).

## **Chapter 8 Conclusion**

### **8.1 Introduction**

This chapter summarises and concludes this thesis. First, it offers a review of the research aims set out at the beginning of this thesis. Second, Section 8.2 reviews the main research findings from the individual thesis chapters. Section 8.3 discusses the contributions and limitations of the research. Suggestions for the directions for future research are made in the last section of the chapter.

The thesis originated in response to the changing nature of the educational system and occupational system for women in contemporary South Korea. To recapitulate, the literature about women and education in Korea is extensive, but limited in two respects. On the one hand, many studies focused on questions of the equal opportunity of education and the gender discrimination rather than the occupational attainment of women. On the other, little attention has been paid to the role of women's education in the social mobility.

This thesis aimed to provide a sociological explanation of women's educational and social mobility in contemporary South Korea. Specifically, the thesis set out to answer the following research questions: 1) how much parents' characteristics such as their occupational status and their educational attainment is important to their children's education and class; 2) the roles of educational qualification to occupational attainment in contemporary South Korea; 3) whether South Korea has become a more equal society with improved mobility chances for people of different social origins; and, 4) if there is a general pattern of social mobility and social fluidity in South Korea- and if somehow this is related to the change in the occupational positions of women.

## **8.2 Summary of the findings**

Chapter 2 reviewed the existing literature on issues relevant to this study and provided the theoretical framework for the linkages between women and Korean society. In line with the literature on women in traditional Confucianist society, the role of women was subordination to men; they had to be good wives to their husbands, and wise mothers to their children. The role of education for women in this traditional model was to conform the principle of national cooperation and to enhance womanly virtues and motherly affection. Korean women today still believe that they should be good housewives and mothers in modern Korean society as traditional values from Confucian culture still remained.

Chapter 3 detailed data and the methodological design of the thesis. In examining the theoretical framework and the research questions, KLIPS data in 1998 and 2001 is used to investigate the relationship between women's educational attainment and social mobility in contemporary South Korea.

Chapter 4 described the modern educational system developed with the social changes and economic growth in the decades after 1945 to look at inequality and women in the educational system. It also described the general trends in educational attainment and employment status. To recapitulate this trend was that educational opportunities for women had gradually improved. Women with university degrees still had a lower percentage of employment status than men in the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s, but the differences between men and women almost ceased after 2000. One of the significant finding was that the economic crisis in 1997 caused a dramatic decline in

the employment rate of men with university degrees, but its effect on women with degrees was weaker and their rate of employment actually increased.

In Chapter 5, first I reviewed the theoretical arguments on gender and class differentials and previous researches in South Korea. The decreasing tendency of gender differentials in educational attainment was found in several studies (Chang, 2006; Bang & Kim, 2003, Kim, 2004). Descriptive analysis showed a distinct association between higher educational attainment and birth cohorts. The expansion of the educational system contributed to increasing opportunity to enter higher education. Across the women's cohorts, there is an impressive increase in level of higher education. However, the overall proportion of men with degrees was higher than women. Gender inequality in educational attainment was still apparent.

The chapter also showed the positive association between parents' education and children's educational attainment. In particular, children from parents' with tertiary education achieved degrees than children whose parents had other educational level. It confirmed that children followed their parents' level of education. Moreover, it showed the differences in gender at each level of parental education, even the major patterns of children from higher educational origin were similar for both sexes, men were more likely to achieve degrees than women.

There was a dramatic decrease in the proportion of lower secondary educational attainment and below for both women and men, however, the rate of decrease in the proportion of women was the greater than that for men. On the other hand, there was a remarkable increase in higher educational attainment by daughters of farming origins across cohorts.

The chapter confirmed that father's social class has a marked effect on higher educational attainment across cohorts in South Korea. The chapter also uncovered a slight decrease of class and gender differentials in higher educational attainment unlike the findings of previous studies (Bang & Kim, 2002; Chang, 2004, 2006), but the disparity ratios showed class and gender differentials in higher educational attainment. Overall, a general conclusion we can draw from the analysis in Chapter 5 is that access to education is still influenced by social background, and the gender gap in educational attainment still applies to South Korea.

In Chapter 6, first I reviewed the existing theories on social mobility developed in the context of Western democracies. Specifically, I discussed Goldthorpe's three theses on the patterns of social mobility in industrial society and Breen's two measurements. Moreover, I reviewed some empirical studies on social mobility in South Korea. Then I observed that there was a significant association between social class destination and birth cohort for women.

The descriptive examination of inflow and outflow rates provided details of absolute mobility. From the inflow perspective, both women and men of farming family origin made up the largest proportion of each class destination. This finding was expected given the high number of individuals from farming families. However, it is noteworthy that a large proportion of those who secured employment in the service class or 'middle class' in general were drawn from farming family origins. The results of the outflow analysis showed that higher rates of self-inheritance were found for men from all class origins, while women from the service class origin and petit bourgeoisie were more likely than men to move down to the unskilled manual-working sector. The

results from the inflow and outflow rates confirmed that the closure thesis and the buffer-zone thesis were not substantiated in the Korean case for either women or men.

The results from the cohort analysis showed that women were more likely move out of the manual working class than men and were more likely than men to move in as well as move out of the intermediate class.

In line with the findings of absolute rates, the results from the disparity ratios confirmed that the social class and gender differentials in class mobility still exist in contemporary South Korea and the results of the odds ratios showed that social origin has a significant effect on children's social class destination.

Finally, the first descriptive analysis of Chapter 7 explored the changing relationship between origins, education and class destinations (OE-ED-OD) for men and women. The results of the OE showed that the continued improvement in educational attainment and the significant upgrade in levels of educational attainment for women. However, class differences and the relationship between class origins and educational attainment remained. The results of the ED did not provide the association between education and destination had strengthened over time. The results of the OD confirmed the continuing association of origins on destinations and the upgrading of the occupational structure. Moreover, it showed that the association between class origins and occupational destinations has declined over the period. However, as we saw in the effect of education on destination, the effect of origins on destination in the youngest cohort was also not comparable, as the youngest cohort had not fully developed their careers in the labour market yet.

After that, I observed the results of the ordered logit regression model and found that coming from more advantaged families was associated with more favourable educational and class positions. Moreover, the origin effects were of a similar magnitude for men and women in education and class destination, and education was obviously playing a more significant role on class destination for women than for men.

For the final statistical analyses in Chapter 7, I observed trends in relative mobility by examining the changing association between class of origin and destination (educational attainment and class destination) across four cohort in contemporary South Korea through log-linear analysis. The CmSF and the UNIDIFF models to the educational attainment did not show a good fit of the CmSF more do the UNIDIFF, but the results from fitting the UNIDIFF model showed a significant improvement. These results confirmed that the association between social origins and educational attainment was significantly different for men and women.

After that, I observed the class, education and cohort association for men and women separately. Goodness-of-fit statistics showed that the CnSF model hold for men, not for women. To look at whether educational opportunities become more equal in Korean society, I applied the UNIDIFF model. The results of the UNIDIFF parameters and their confidence intervals in education showed that the youngest cohort, men enjoyed a slightly but non-significantly higher level of openness in social fluidity. However, there was no strong evidence on the increasingly weakening ties between class of origin and educational attainment for men and women, across the cohorts. Moreover, the results showed that the association between class origin and educational destination for women was higher than that for men, indicating greater inequality for women, in the three earliest cohorts. However, for the youngest cohort, the estimates

dropped. Overall, no very great or consistent change occurred in the net association between class origins and educational attainment for both men and women.

On the other hand, the CmSF and the UNIDIFF models to the class destination did not fit the data, but the results from fitting the UNIDIFF model showed a significant improvement. Goodness-of-fit statistics showed that the CnSF model holds for men, not for women. To answer whether the association between origin and class destination is declining over cohorts, the UNIDIFF model was applied. The results showed that the UNIDIFF model was a significant improvement in fit over the CnSF model for men but not for women. The findings confirmed that there was trendless fluctuation and a stronger link between education and destination for women than for men. Overall, this chapter showed relatively stable social fluidity and persistent inequalities in educational and social mobility in contemporary South Korea.

### **8.3 Contributions and limitation**

#### *Contributions*

This thesis has produced some interesting findings that make contributions to the current and general literature of educational and social mobility. As discussed in Chapter 1, traditional research on educational attainment in Korea limited to the issues of equal opportunity and gender differentials. Turning to the existing research on social mobility in Korea, most studies focused on social mobility of men only or were unable to examine the trends in social mobility over time. This thesis is the first systematic effort to analyse the Korean Labour and Income Panel Study for examining educational and social mobility and exploring changes in the patterns of social fluidity in contemporary South Korea.

This thesis has also added empirical evidence to the existing literature on the relationship between social origins and educational attainment in contemporary Korea. As shown in the summary of findings, this thesis has been able to examine some of the findings from the literature on the role of social origins and role of education for women. I found that social origins have a significant effect on educational attainment. Father's social class and parental education contribute to South Korean children's educational achievement. The statistical analysis has shown that father's social class and parental education variables influence educational attainment across cohorts.

In addition to adding to the general knowledge of social mobility, this thesis also contributes specifically to the understanding of social mobility in South Korea. Another contribution of this thesis lies in what it adds to the literature on gender inequality in class mobility by birth cohorts in South Korea. Women are often excluded from mobility research on grounds of methodological concerns and different career trajectories from men (Heath, 1981). This study is an early attempt to incorporate women into research of the relationship between educational attainment and the intergenerational mobility using KLIPS. Overall, the findings indicated that Korean women are less mobile than men and more dependent on the social origins in terms of class mobility across cohorts. More importantly, the gender gap in class mobility is not evenly distributed across origin classes, but is found mainly among the less advantaged social origins and the oldest cohort.

### *Limitations*

In comparison with the literature on educational attainment and social mobility in Western societies, which based on analyses using data covering several years, one

limitation of this thesis is the use of only one wave of panel data. Whilst the aim of the thesis is looking at the cohort changes in the association between family origin and respondent's own educational attainment and social mobility for men and women, which does not necessarily need panel data, a natural extension of this would be to look at the life-course changes based on the panel data and how this relates to family origin and to gender roles. Future research might be able to extend the current analysis along those lines by using all the available waves of KLIPS data to trace the changes of the employment status of women over their life paths.

#### **8.4 Directions for future research**

The thesis has thrown up many questions in need of further investigation.

The thesis has made a point that gaining a degree-level qualification has resulted in women achieving higher occupational positions in contemporary South Korea than they have in the past. More women nowadays pursue their study in higher education. It would be interesting to compare the effects of expectations and confidence on higher educational attainment between cohorts to see if changes in social expectation have resulted in a different impact on gender and higher educational qualification.

Moreover, future research may find it worth to look at whether the effect of single-sex schooling makes a significant effect for women's educational attainment. It is reasonable to assume that the environment of single-sex schools is less of gender divided subject so called boy's subjects. It would be interesting to compare this internationally to the experience of single sex schooling in other countries with single sex education systems such as Saudi Arabia or countries where only some but not all schools are single sexed like the UK (Sullivan *et al.* 2010).

Finally, in addition to the issue of educational and social mobility in South Korea, although it is difficult to obtain equivalent data sets across countries, an international comparison will give an opportunity to look at patterns and trends of educational and social mobility between countries. Of particular interest here would be comparisons between South Korea and other countries influenced by Confucianism such as Mainland China and Taiwan. This would then facilitate a comparison of country groups at a macro country-typology level between, for example, Confucian influenced countries and European liberal democracies (cf. Featherman *et al.* 1975).

To sum up, this thesis has been the first study to closely examine simultaneously social mobility trajectories for both men and women, to investigate patterns of social fluidity in contemporary South Korea and to systematically analyse the impact of father's social class and education for the mobility patterns of men and women across different cohorts. In doing so, the thesis has created a new evidence-base for understanding and theorising social stratification in a Confucian country. The theoretical insights gained from this thesis have shed light on how social mobility models developed for Western democracies are or are not applicable to the context of a very different country. While the country under study here has been South Korea, fruitful future research could further expand on the available comparisons and develop our empirically based theoretical understanding of social mobility trajectories in Confucian-influenced countries.

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