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Glossary of Terminology and Acronyms

SES – Socio-Economic Status

SC – Social Capital

NICs – Newly Industrialised Countries

IMF – International Monetary Fund

UNFPA – United Nations Population Fund

IAEP – International Assessment of Educational Progress

OECD – Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

SNU – Seoul National University

KNSO – Korea National Statistical Office

EOI – Export Oriented Industrialisation

MEHRD – Ministry of Education and Human Resources

RD – Relational Dimension

CD – Cognitive Dimension

SD – Structural Dimension

CPU – Central Processing Unit in computer

PD – Physical Dimension

EA – Educational Achievement

DSC – Dimensional Social Capital

RTC – Reproduction Theory of Culture

FSC – Familial Social Capital

CSC – Community Social Capital

SSCⅠ – School Social Capital

SSCⅡ – Structural Social Capital

NASE – National Scholastic Achievement Examination

RSC – Relational Social Capital

YHS – Yangjae High School

SKY – Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University

DFLHS – Daewon Foreign Language High School

SHS – Sangsan High School

CSAT – College Scholastic Ability Test

M – Mean

Sd – Standard deviation

QS – Questionnaire for Student

QFP – Questionnaire for Father of Parents

QMP – Questionnaire for Mother of Parents

OLS – Ordinary Least Square

ANOVA – Analysis of Variance

MAS – Mathematic Achievement Score

SPSS – Statistical Package for the Social Science

ER – Explanatory power of Regression model

SC – Standardised Coefficients

UC – Unstandardised Coefficients

SE – Standard Error

Sig – Significance

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: SOCIAL CAPITAL AND THE FACTORS SHAPING EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

1.1 INTRODUCTION

> The key to success is [inheritance] from *family*, parents, and the family environment, and *connections and knowing the right people* … (Bowles & Gintis, 2002: 3, own emphasis).

This thesis explores in detail the social factors, conditions, and nexus of relationships, shaping the educational achievement of Korean students. It also examines educational achievement in detail and considers how it impacts on the social standing and social mobility of individuals and groups in society. Understanding the catalysts of high achievement and social mobility are central and very relevant concerns in contemporary *sociology of education* studies in Korea. In the Republic of Korean[1] context education has for a long while been perceived as the strongest medium through which higher social status and social positions could be achieved. For this reason access to the best schools and universities has become a priority of families of all classes and social groups because it is viewed as the route to higher educational achievements and ultimately to social advancement (Shin, 2012; Kim & Lee, 2006).

Socioeconomic status (SES) in the Korean context is viewed as strongly

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[1] Given prevailing conventions, I will refer, in this study, to 'Korea', rather than (but implying) the Republic of the Korea.

contingent upon one's achievements in school and university. It might be that other class factors are critical, but education remains anecdotally the key factor in terms of the national consciousness. In fact, it could be argued that present-day Korean society is structured and 'weighted' in relation to the level of one's educational background. Consequently, Korean parents are highly ambitious about their children's education, regardless of their own SES. Evidence in the general literature suggests that class (or SES) shapes parental perceptions of the value of education and academic achievements - scholastic attainments and abilities are thus for this reason often attributed to differential wealth and life opportunities. Additionally, as in most societies, factors such as physical environment, parent's ability to pay for their children's private education, and the cultural context, determine in varying degrees the level of education a child will attain. Differentiated socio-economic backgrounds do indeed generate educational inequality and achievement in most international contexts (see Bowles & Gintis, 2002), but there are cultural variants, including community resilience and family agency that could potentially invite unexpected results (Kim, 1993; Seo, 2004).

Since one of the most useful predictors of future social mobility in Korea is entry into university, the question of who will be admitted to the Seoul National University[2] is a critical one for Korean parents. A general review of the backgrounds of students in Korea, who proceeded to higher education from 2000 to 2005, reveals class discrepancies and severe under-representation of

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[2] The university ranked 'No. 1' in Korea.

working class or lower income group students. Out of the 1458 first-time students at Seoul National University, 206 (14.1%) came from the top 25% income bracket, while only 39 students (2.7%) came from the bottom 25% income bracket (Choi, 2007: 1). Children with parents who have a higher income and higher educational qualifications appear to be at an advantage, and higher-class positions are consequently largely reproduced and reinforced by the educational system in Korea.

According to Kim (2001: 56), family is the primary source of social capital formation and this in turn is the major influence of children's performance. The gap in university admission rates in Korea (i.e. the gap between 'wealthy' and 'poor'/high parental education and low parental education) has been widening, with admission rates of students from affluent backgrounds (particularly of those residing in the relatively affluent Gangnam 8th school zone of Seoul) steadily increasing. This means that despite the equalisation policy in high school education that was supposed to have offered equal educational opportunities to both the rich and the poor, admissions are heavily biased in favour of the rich (Kim et al., 2004: 3). As a result, the resources or class positions of parents (income, occupation, and educational level) structure life chances and opportunities for their children, like whether or not they are admitted to prestigious universities (Yu, 2006: 96-97). Thus at a general level the common view of scholars is that the present Korean educational system appears to perpetuate rather than rectify patterns of social inequality (Choi, 2007).

The *current research* examines 'academic achievement' by rooting it within mainstream arguments on *social capital*. Arguments and views on social capital will serve as a basis for building the theoretical framework of the study. Although social capital studies have tended to focus on academic prowess to examine educational inequality in many contemporary societies, very few have seriously engaged with explaining the place of social capital in the expanding Korean educational context. This study examines and interrogates the association between *social capital* and *educational achievement* amongst Korean high school students. The intention is to probe whether 'social capital' offers possibilities for shaping educational achievement across class boundaries and to shift or at least destabilise patterns of inequality.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Education is regarded as one of the most important factors in the attainment of socio-economic status (SES) within Korean society (Kim, 1983; King, 1988; Seo, 2004: Yu, 2006; Kim, 2000). Koreans have popularly relied on education as a means to attain social mobility and a life which is deemed to be successful. During the last few decades the Korean economy has made great strides; and, indeed, steady economic growth in Korea has led to the country being defined as one of the most flourishing and upwardly mobile of the twentieth century (Lee & Brinton, 1996; Kim, 1993). Since the end of the Korean War (1953) educational investment has played an extremely important role in the economic growth of the country (Morris, 1996). The rapid economic growth of the newly

industrialised countries in Asia (NICs) – South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan – depends, in particular, on labour-intensive industries which are, in turn, based on human resources in the fields of science and technology. This rapid economic growth is as a result of investment and success in education because education has produced a steady supply of educated people to work in various institutions and fields, including human resources (Clark, 2000: 122).

Education in Korea in the 21st century has become extremely competitive (Lee & Brinton, 1996; Shin, 2012; Sorensen, 1994; Yu: 2006) to the extent that universities fit into a hierarchical structure in which they are strictly classified in order of importance. Accordingly, there is strong competition for entry into the most prestigious universities (those clearly at the top of the hierarchy). When securing admission to the prestigious universities the educational climate has sometimes been likened to a volatile war-zone (Cho, 2004). The stakes are high as it is greatly advantageous to be seen to have graduated from a prestigious university, and a degree from such a university facilitates upward mobility in respect of status, class, and income (Lee & Brinton, 1996: 177). Students from the most prestigious universities are singled out as excellent candidates and are favoured when searching for jobs (Sorensen, 1994; 19). Therefore, admission into a renowned university is much desired as it represents a springboard for a prosperous future.

According to Coleman (1988) social capital (hereafter referred to as SC) is positively linked to both educational *achievement* (grades and test scores) and

educational *attainment* (graduation and college enrolment) (Dika & Singh, 2002; Park, 2004; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Sun, 1998, 1999; An, 2005). Parents play an important role in the financial backing, moral support, and guidance of their children in terms of their everyday conduct. The role of the parent has considerable influence on children, and is at the centre of SC formation (Wright et al., 2001; Lee, 2001b; Park, 2004). In developing countries such as Korea the family is cited as vital in educational outcomes. The relationship between the SES of the family and school achievement is complex because enrolment and attainment are dictated by the economic circumstances of the parents (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001: 82). In this context, the tendency in Korea to attach excessive value to an academic background has even led to an increased tendency to marry a partner with a similar level of education (Jang, 1999: 424). As Bourdieu (1998: 278-280) explains, this represents a marriage strategy essential for social reproduction. Thus, parents from privileged class positions are likely to offer their children valuable support, and also nurture high expectations in respect of their children's educational achievements. In Korea, the role of family, parents, and their status is deemed to play an important role in the short-term and ultimate long-term success of children in their educational achievements. This 'fever' for higher education in Korean society has not come about as a result of a desire for equality of educational opportunity, but rather as a result of the desire for better positions within the socioeconomic structure (Oh, 2000).

SC within the school context presupposes a relationship between members, for example, relationships between teacher and student, relationships between student and student etc., norms in interaction, and expectations of student achievement at university (Coleman, 1988; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987). Social capital entails assistance of the teacher in the student's development and in the planning of the student's future study career (Croninger & Lee, 2001a; 2001b); and it also involves the cultural assets of school, relationships within the network of parents and curricula (Lareau, 1989). Thus, SC within the school context is a vital factor in terms of the student's achievements (Coleman, 1988; Park, 2004; Lee, 2001a; Croninger & Lee, 2001a & 2001b). The Korean government provides financial support to both public and private schools without discrimination. There are also independent private schools in Korea that operate without the financial support of the government. These schools follow an independent curriculum, and manage their own finances. Independent private high schools are argued to have exacerbated the problem of inequality in the outcomes of high schools (Choi & Kim, 1998; 255) with high income earners concentrating their children in these institutions.

Since the International Monetary Fund (IMF) crisis in 1997, Korean society has changed dramatically in terms of its economic policy. For example, according to Kalinowski and Cho (2009), Korea learnt from the IMF crisis that financial liberalisation is important to attract foreign investment: more open markets are needed for investment. A large number of workers were retrenched and many become casual workers in the aftermath of the crisis (Kim & Park. 2006).

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Socioeconomic polarisation and increasing class divisions led to serious societal problems (Haggard & Mo, 2000; Yim, 2002). Education is part of the societal problem – it has become viewed as the core factor in social change and is simultaneously viewed as producing further polarisation and competition between groups (Kim, 2005: 5). According to reports of the Seoul National University (2004), many students of the university came from Seoul, particularly from Gangnam. Special reference is made by the government in Korea to the Gangnam 8th [3] school zone. In terms of the Korean Assemblyman's examination, 28.4% (414 students) of the Seoul National University's successful candidates in 2009 came from the area of Gangnam (Lee, Deahyk, 2009: 1), while 32% (467 students) of Seoul National University's present students (second to fourth year) came from the Gangnam 8th school zone (Lee, 2008b: 134).

The question arises as to what forms and aspects of social capital determine academic achievement, specifically, the *high success* rate of the Gangnam 8th zone students? As a high school teacher in Korea I am very aware that the academic achievements of the students are crucial both for their futures, as well as for their parents. According to Coleman (1988) SC within the community differs from social relationships (bonding and intimate connections within the community) among parents within a residential area. SC is formed between families and communities through mutual interaction in social institutions. If parents have a dense social network and share common values with the

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[3] Gangnam 8th zone consists of Gangnam-gu, Seocho-gu, and Songpa-gu.

members of the community to which they belong they would have special group bonds and share some information in terms of education with other parents. Students will be able to acquire a stronger capital in terms of SC than those students who have not. SC is more ambiguous and more fluid as a concept than that of class. *All socioeconomic groups* might attempt to gain an advantage by drawing on and utilising SC.

One of the foci of this research is SC and its effect on the educational achievements of the current students in Korean high schools, particularly high achieving students in different residential areas between urban and rural. Whilst work has been conducted on the issue of class and educational opportunities there is still a need for more focused research within this field in Korea: specifically to explore the achievements of students in relation to *family*, *school*, and the *community*. This study researches which factors relating to SC have an influence on educational achievement, and it considers the ways in which the gap in educational achievement can be narrowed. In considering SC this study investigates the implications for, and the differences between, children who come from 'public' and 'private' school backgrounds. The study formulates ideas in respect of addressing the problem of educational inequality: the question remains whether it is possible to find a solution to the problem of the educational disparity between high and low achievers?

1.3 Purpose, Research Objectives and Research Questions

1.3.1 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research has been to explore differences in respect of the educational achievements of Korean high school students and to examine these achievements in relation to SC. The research focuses on the educational achievements of Korean 11th grade high school students in three schools regarded as 'achieving schools'. It was not desirable to seek out comparisons between 'achieving' and 'non-achieving' schools because most schools in Gangnam are in fact 'achieving' schools. However, 'high-achieving schools' do have mixed student populations – with minority under-achievers. Thus, the emphasis is on examining the different factors driving achievement in these schools. The identification of various factors which influence high achievement on the part of students might, ultimately, lead to overall improvement in terms of *broadening the base* of educational achievement.

1.3.2 Objectives of the Study

(1) To investigate the social and contextual factors which affect the educational achievement of students and the way in which SC features in respect of these factors.

(2) To ascertain which factors (or aspects) of SC are most influential in shaping student performance in what are viewed as generally 'high achieving schools'.

(3) To theorise about and to probe the 'educational gap' (between low and high achievers), and to formulate solutions for the development and promotion of high educational achievement.

1.3.3 Specific Research Questions

The research questions and sub-questions can be stated as follows:

▪ **Does familial SC exert a significant influence on educational achievement?**

1. What influence does parental SES (income, educational level, and occupation) have on academic achievement?

2. Does the relational dimension - trust, relationships, concern and support, between parents and children - in familial social capital have an influence on the educational achievements of children?

3. Does the structural dimension - family structure, network of parents providing educational information for children - in familial social capital have an influence on the educational achievements of children?

4. Does the cognitive dimension - shared educational goals and parental expectations of children - in familial social capital have an influence on the educational achievements of children?

▪ **Does the school SC exert an influence on educational achievement?**

1. In what ways does contentment with the school in terms of environmental aspects – the indoor school context, the outdoor school

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context etc. affect the educational achievements of the students?

2. In what ways does the relational dimension – relationships between teacher and student - in school social capital have an influence on the educational achievements of children?

3. In what ways does the structural dimension – the staff of the child's school and parent's social group (that shares educational information with other parents) - in school social capital influence the educational achievements of children?

4. In what ways does the cognitive dimension - respect for school teachers, awareness of teacher's influence on students in planning their futures, and policy for college admission - in school social capital an influence on the educational achievements of children?

▪ **Does the SC of the community exert an influence on educational achievement?**

1. Do the environmental conditions - security, adequate festivals, e.g. cultural activities for youth, and sufficient facilities e.g. library and playground in the community - within the community social capital have an influence on educational achievement?

2. Does the relational dimension – interaction among the members e.g. influences in terms of decision-making in the community - in the community social capital have an influence on educational achievement?

3. Does the structural dimension – participation in voluntary services and religious organisations, the different residential districts, and participation

in elections - in the community social capital have an influence on educational achievement?

4. Does the cognitive dimension – perceptions of the importance of the role of the decision makers - in community social capital have an influence on educational achievement?

These questions will be addressed in the course of the study. Some background on the Korean educational system follows.

1.4 SELECTED BACKGROUND ON THE REPUBLIC OF KOREAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND SOCIETY

Geographically the Korean peninsula extends southwards from the mainland between China and Japan. Since 1953 Korea has been divided into North Korea and South Korea. South Korea is officially known as the Republic of Korea. According to a recent report of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) the population of Korea in 2008 was over 48 million (Kim, 2008: 1). Despite the occupation of the Korean peninsula Korea has a longstanding tradition and *t'an-il minjok* (a single-blood race). Its history may be traced back to AD 668 (Clark, 2000; Weidman & Park, 2000).

Traditionally, Korea has maintained a firm belief in the Confucian culture – an ethical-moral system which shapes relationships within the family and within the state (Kim, 2002). Koreans accept bureaucratic authority, while seniority within a

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hierarchical system is the norm because of its professed high moral cause in respect of serving society (Rozman, 2002). Koreans have a strong reverence for their families, familial systems, kin and ancestors. They are also conscious of their mutual duties and obligations to relatives and the need to render assistance when necessary.

The tradition of education in Korea is founded upon the legend of *Dangun* who taught the value of *Hongik-ingan.* In terms of his teachings one must be of benefit to humanity in order to be part of humanity (Choi, 2006: 17). This belief still has currency in the present-day education system in Korea. Over the past few years Korean students have achieved a world-wide reputation for public confidence at international academic contests. In the International Assessment of Educational Progress (IAEP), conducted by the Educational Testing Service, Korean students, aged thirteen years, achieved the highest mean scores out of 19 countries in science and mathematics (Sorensen, 1994: 10). In 2002 their achievement in science, mathematics, and reading ranked 1st, 2nd, and 6th out of 27 OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries (Lee, 2005c). This has been ascribed to the educational "fever" of Korean parents and also to extreme diligence on the part of the students. In order to enter university in Korea all Korean students take an entrance examination – the National Scholastic Achievement Examination. In order to gain entrance to prestigious universities the school lives of Korean high school students follow a specific routine. They attend school from 7:30am, and have 8 periods per day. Their formal schooldays end at 4:30pm after which they have

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supplementary lessons for a further 2 hours. Thereafter they have compulsory self-study at school until 10pm. Other students attend evening *hakgwan* (private institutions where they receive supplementary academic lessons) (Ellinger & Beckham, 1997).

Korean parents are believed to take an active interest in their children's education. They tend to view education as not only a sound investment but also the safest inheritance for their children's future in terms of social success (Chung & Lee, 1989). If poor, Korean parents do not wish to pass their own poor socioeconomic positions onto their children. Nor, if they are wealthy, do Korean parents want their same profitable social positions for their children but they rather want to facilitate higher social positions for their children. These are the reasons why education is regarded as the most effective way in which to move into a higher class within Korean society. The educational system has had to react to the demands of both parents and students to provide upward mobility through education (Sorensen, 1994: 13-14). Most Korean parents are hopeful that their children will enter the Seoul National University in order to attain success in life. Thus, Korean parents bear the heavy burden of expense incurred in paying fees for their children's private tutoring (*Goawoe*), and also in purchasing educational materials. These costs are extremely high (Kim, 1999: 59). Private tutoring of students has increased over the years with 72.6% of all students receiving private tuition in 2003; this number increased to 77% in 2007 (KNOS, 2007). More specifically, 83.1% of elementary school students, 75.3% of middle school students, and 56.4% of general high school students were

reported to have received private tuition in 2003. The private tutoring of elementary and middle school students has also been increasing even though they are not under immediate pressure in respect of university entrance (Lee, 2005c).

The Korean educational system that was established in 1949 is still in effect today. Korean schooling follows a 6-3-3-4 pattern: 6 years of compulsory free education beginning at the age of 7; followed by 3 years of middle school (also compulsory free education); then 3 years of non-compulsory high school) and, finally, 4 years of college and university (Kim, 1999: 56; Sorensen. 1994: 16-17).

Korea's Department of Education is highly centralised. It was run first by General *Chung Hee Park* who seized power through a military coup in 1961. His regime inherited the centralised authoritarian government structure of the previous government, but transformed this inherited structure into a tightly organised and rigid bureaucracy which is responsible for central economic planning and control under presidential governance. Throughout his rule (which ended in 1979) Park promoted an Export Oriented Industrialisation (EOI) policy and he maintained monopolistic control over investment, production, and capital allocation (Jeong & Armer, 1994). His rule has entrenched in Korea a centralised educational system that persists today in 2014. Korea's educational policy is implemented by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (MEHRD) and includes an emphasis on formal and lifelong education and emphasis on academic standards. MEHRD also controls the

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curricula in public and private schools which means that the national school curriculum applies to all schools. In this study, both public and private schools will be referred to.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis consists of six chapters. *Chapter One* introduces the study and outlines the purpose, research questions and objectives. Background information on the Korean educational system and also Korean society is presented. *Chapter Two* offers a detailed literature review on social capital research and theory and lays the foundation for an original approach to the study of social capital in terms of education. *Chapter Three* outlines the research design as well as the selection of research sites and sampling, the selection of method, ethical issues, and data analysis procedures as a methodological approach. *Chapter Four* presents the quantitative data of the research. *Chapter Five* offers the analysis in terms of a Research Model and links the results to the literature which was discussed in Chapter 2. Finally, in *Chapter Six*, recommendations for improving the performance of low achieving students are presented. Here the roles of parents, schools, and the community are outlined, as well as the unique contribution to sociology made by this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a review of relevant literature and a framework for the construction of a theoretical argument for the study. The concept of social capital is complex and compelling and has become increasingly relevant in current local and international contexts (Field, 2008; Farr, 2004; Lin, 2001; Halpern, 2005). Social capital is, therefore, of interest not only to scholars but also to state policy makers, financial planners, economists, and practitioners seeking to make interventions in a range of contrasting arenas (Kim, 2004: 64). It is argued that the concept of social capital originated from the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and James Coleman (1988). However, it was Robert Putnam (1993) who popularised social capital as a relevant focus for research and policy discussion. A number of global players, such as the World Bank, have also placed emphasis on social capital as a useful organising tool.

The chapter focuses largely on the work of the three founding theorists of the social capital concept – Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam. In emphasising the importance of using social capital to understand educational attainment, a link is made to three critical institutional domains: family, school, and community.

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2.2 EXPLORING THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

2.2.1 Historical and Conceptual Social Capital

2.2.1.1 Historical Social Capital

As a concept, social capital came into 'active' use in the 1980s. However, one could argue that the first reference to it was made in the nineteenth century. The French writer, Alexis de Tocqueville, and the sociologist, Emile Durkheim, (Kim, 2005; Field, 2008; Halpern, 2005) discussed the concepts of trust and social solidarity, which refer to coherence and cohesiveness linked to social capital. A number of scholarly works illustrated that the issue of *human relationships* and social connectivity concerned social theorists for a long time. According to de Tocqueville (1832), interaction in voluntary associations serves as a 'social adhesive,' in terms of social trust, which acts to unite individuals in social groups (Kim, 2005). Kim (2005: 195) draws on de Tocqueville (1832) to suggest that voluntary organisations and associational activities generate participation and thus bring into being generalised social trust.

Durkheim was also influenced by a notion of corporatism and later referred to social solidarities that define conditions of reciprocity and cooperation among differentiated elements within the larger social context (Lacapra, 1972). Amongst the earlier twentieth century scholars, social capital arguments were also promoted by Hanifan (1916) who conducted research in "the rural school community centre." He made reference to "the total lack of social capital in rural districts," but did not attempt to substantively build a set of theoretical ideas to

explain clearly his understanding of the term. Although he did not develop the concept and his use of the term social capital is different from the way in which it is currently used, he shifted the focus from *the individual* to *the cooperative organisation* and social networks. In other words, he suggested that community as a whole would benefit from co-operation of all its members and, therefore, an individual could, as a result of organisational associations, gain the advantage of co-support, favour, and friendship (Hanifan, 1916: 130-131).

The concept of social capital is linked to that of social exchange theory (Farr, 2004; Adler & Kwon, 2002; Tsai, 2000) and is a relevant concept in the current field of educational sociology, where schools, school associations and networks engage in competitive, cooperative and socially transformative actions. Interest in the concept was heightened in the 1980s, proliferated in the 1990s (Farr, 2004: 7), and became widely used in all branches of the social sciences by the 2000s (Halpern, 2005). As illustrated in Table 2.1 (below) the term was picked up and made relevant in the 1990s, but, since then, there has been an increase in the volume of literature in which references are made to social capital, with marked growth from the late 1990s, all around the globe (Field, 2008: 4-5).

Table 2.1 References to Social Capital in the Social Science Citation Index

Year	No
1990	0
1991-1995	57
1996-2000	477
2001-2003	762
2004-2006	1,132

Source: Field, 2008

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The term social capital combines the meanings of both 'social' and 'capital' and illuminates the centrality of social relationships. Consequently, as a resource, social capital may be of economic advantage in the long run (Kim, 2001: 55).

2.2.1.2 Conceptual Social Capital

The concept of social capital deals with, ultimately, the issue of relationships (An, 2005; Field, 2008; Lin, 2001; Coleman, 1988). How do scholars understand the concept? It appears that many researchers, despite different points of view, perceive social capital to be a form of resource, and that the core theme is the nature of social relationships. It alludes to structural constraints and opportunities as well as actions and choices on the part of the actors (Lin, 2001). Thus, in terms of the general theory of capital, social capital encompasses a variety of capitalisation processes which explicitly engage hierarchical structures, social networks, and actors. In Marx's analysis, capital forms part of the surplus value appropriated by capitalists or the bourgeoisie, who control the means of production in the circulation of commodities and monies between the production and consumption processes. However, in the past four decades the classical theory of capital has been revisited by neo-capital theorists who, essentially, criticised class explanations. Social capital, human capital, and cultural capital have all emerged as important ingredients structuring social solidarities and cooperative forms of social behaviour. In particular, analysts of social capital are concerned with the importance of relationships as a resource for social action and potentially social change (Coleman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1983;

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Burt, 1992; Leana & Pil, 2006). More specifically then, what is meant by the statement that social capital represents a form of "capital"? *First*, social capital may be seen as a type of asset in which other resources, such as all other forms of capital, may be invested (Adler & Kwon, 2002) with a positive expectation in the future. In terms of their social capital advantage, individual and associated members gain benefits such as access to information, and unity in respect of invested relationships. *Second*, although the users of social capital may have different intentions, social capital is "appropriable" (Coleman, 1994: 311) capital in terms of networks. In this regard, a user's network may be used for other (unanticipated) purposes, such as sharing and collecting information.

Third, as with other forms of capital, social capital may be costly, if the relevant relationships are characterised by a lack of trust. For example, in a relationship between a doctor and patient, the patient trusts that the physician will use his valuable medical skills in the interest of the patient and in such a way that the 'costs' of treatment are reduced. A lack of trust may put the doctor-patient relationship in jeopardy (Coleman, 1994: 303). *Fourth*, social capital is also deemed to be a 'public good' existing for collective goodwill (Leana & van Buren, 1999). We can illustrate this by saying that safety, as a public good, implies that women, children, or the elderly should feel safe to walk outside their homes at night without any fear of being attacked (Coleman, 1994: 310).

Despite these four basic meanings above, there is still much discussion and debate on questions of how social capital should be measured. This is

particularly the case when social capital is considered to be largely a resource with 'economic value' to be used for economic upliftment (Halpern, 2005:1-2). Measuring relationships and social networks, norms, and trust and their connection with the issues of health, educational achievement, efficient policy, and economic growth, is a complex, contested and challenging endeavour (Halpern, 2005: 2).

In Table 2.2, social capital is described in terms of patterns of capital. Before embarking on a detailed discussion of social capital, it is necessary to formulate a precise definition of the concept.

Table 2.2 From Capital to 'Social Capital'

Type	*Definition*: Types of Capital
Capital (general description)	*1. Any form of material wealth used, or available for use, in the production of more wealth.* *2. The remaining assets of a business or person after all liabilities have been deducted; net worth.* *3. Social relations between the bourgeoisie (capitalist) and labourers in the processes of commodity production and consumption in terms of a Marxist viewpoint.*
Human Capital and Financial Capital	*1. Stock of expertise accumulated by workers knowing how to do something such as private skill, knowledge, and ability for income earning potential in future.* *2. As an economical resource, money and paper assets, such as a sum of money in a bank. It does not directly produce goods and services although it may be used to purchase factors of production which are capable of producing goods and services.*
Social Capital	*Social networks and the norms and sanctions that govern their character, it is valued for its potential to facilitate individual and community action, especially through the solution of collective action. Usable relational resources are drawn upon to attain goals.* [4]

Sources: adapted from An (2005: 46) & Halpern (2005: 4)

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[4] Obtained resources from related individual, organisation, and community

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The relationships in social capital may be internal or external, or both. Internal social capital refers to the connections an actor maintains with other actors (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Leana & Pil, 2006). On the other hand, external social capital is expressed as the structure of relations among actors within a collectivity. This structure may provide access to key external providers of resources such as suppliers and alliance partners (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Leana & Pil, 2006).

Numerous researchers have referred to the concepts of 'bonding' and 'bridging' (e.g. Putnam, 2000; Adler & Kwon, 2002; Lin 2001; Field, 2008). 'Bridging' focuses primarily on social capital as a resource, which is ingrained in social networks. Social capital is like "a golden magic wand" (Braats & Putnam, 1996: 33). In other words, metaphorically speaking, if we had "a golden magic wand" we would be able to create more with bridged members as exclusive resources than with non-bridging members. Social capital tends to emerge as an exclusive figure, like a golden magic wand. However, if members are able to share or to reveal information, this would mean that it was no longer an exclusive resource. Therefore, in terms of social capital, bridging represents an external tie of keeping something in place. On the other hand, bonding may be seen as an internal tie. In this regard it is often argued there is little difference between 'bonding' and 'bridging' and many authors simply view them as interconnected. One might say that if in a group, we share or possess the same wand, such as a golden magic wand, this same wand may create strong relationships among the members of a community. This wand may also enable the members to feel

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free to use the information arising from the association as well as to be consciously aware of the privilege. If members of a group experience the same tie with one another this may reinforce the alliance between them.

Social Capital at a Micro-Level of Individual, Family, and School

Social scientists offer many definitions of social capital (see Table 2.3). Although, in a broad sense, there are no major differences between these definitions, minor differences are discernable. There are three possible conceptual definitions of social capital, depending on their scope. Firstly, the definitions depend on whether they focus on an individual, family, or school. In this instance Bourdieu (1985: 248) focuses on useful 'supports' in the relationships between parents and children, that is, a significant influence on the development of a student as "the aggregate of the actual or potential [familial] resources." Coleman (1994) points out that social capital can highlight groups for which trustworthiness and mutual trust offer a foundation that creates many advantages for young people. Therefore, in a context of smooth relationships between individuals, and within families and schools, social capital refers to the micro-level set of relationships between actors. Below, definitions and meanings of social capital are offered in a table format. This allows the reader to review the differences in the meaning of social capital.

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Table 2.3 Definition of Social Capital

Level	Attribute	Authors	Definition of social capital
Micro	Individual	Bourdieu (1977:503; 1985: 248)	Social capital provides useful 'supports': this is often indispensable if "one desires to attract clients in socially important positions, and which may serve as currency, for instance, in a political career". "The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition"
		Coleman (1994: 300)	"The set of resources that are inherent in family relations and in community social organisation and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person. These resources differ for different persons and can constitute an important advantage for children and adolescents in the development of their human capital."
		Dika & Singh (2002: 33)	"Inherent in the structure of relations between and among actors"
		Woolcock & Narayan (2000: 226)	"A person's family, friends, and associates constitute an important asset, one that can be called on in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and leveraged for material gain"
	Family	Brehm & Rahn (1997: 999)	"The web of cooperative relationships between citizens that facilitate resolution of collective action problems"
		Fukuyama (2001: 7)	"An instantiated informal norm that promotes co-operation between two or more individuals"
		Halpern (2005: 4)	"Social network and the norms and sanctions that govern their character, it is valued for its potential to facilitate individual and community action, especially through the solution of collective action problems"
	School	Hanifan (1916: 130)	"In the use of the phrase social capital I make no reference to the usual acceptation the term capital, except in a figurative sense. I do not refer to real estate, or to personal property or to cold cash, but rather to that in life which tends to make these tangible substances count for most in the daily lives of a people, namely, goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among a group of individuals and families who make up a social unit, the rural community, whose logical centre is the school. In community building as in business organization and expansion there must be an accumulation of capital before constructive work can be done."
		Lin (2001: 19; (2001: 29)	"Investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace" "Resources embodied in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilised in purposive actions"
		Loury (1998: 119-120)	"One's investment in productive skills depends on one's position in the social structure, due to imperfect capital markets for educational loans that necessitate reliance on finance through personal ties, social externalities mediated by residential location and peer associations, and psychological processes that shape a person's outlook on life. As a result, familial and communal resources - that is, social and cultural capital - explicitly influence a person's acquisition of human capital."
		Nahapiet & Ghoshal (1998: 244).	"The kind of personal relationships people have developed with each other through a history of interaction"
		Schiff (1992: 161)	"The set of elements of the social structure that affects relations among people and are inputs or arguments of the production and/or utility function"
		Portes (1998: 6)	"The ability of secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures"
		Tasi (2000: 927)	"A powerful concept for understanding the emergence, growth, and functioning of network linkages"
		Woolcock (1998: 153)	"The information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inherent in one's social networks"
Macro	Nation	Burt (1992: 9)	"Friends, colleagues, and more general contacts through whom you receive opportunities to use your financial and human capital"
		Putnam (1994: 6-7; 1995b: 665)	"Features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit and enhance the benefits of investment in physical and human capital" " Social connections and attendant norms and trust"

(Sources: adapted from Field, 2008; An, 2005; Lin, 2001)

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Social Capital at a Meso-level of Community, Civil Society and Business Organisation

As opposed to social capital at a micro-level, social capital at a meso-level refers to spatial and volume dimensions into which community, civil society, and the enterprise is placed. Participation and involvement in a meso-level group facilitates positive development for communities, especially in relatively high trust societies (Fukuyama, 1995). Therefore, voluntary involvement in cooperative relationships within social organisations represents a type of meaningful attribute of the accomplishment of a common goal. Discussions on social capital at a meso-level have touched on the use of structural aspects – "investment with expected returns in the marketplace" (Lin, 2001: 9); "the role of secure benefits for members" (Portes, 1998:6); "the solution of collective action problems" (Brehn & Rahn, 1997; Halpern, 2005); and "for understanding the emergence, growth, and functioning of network linkage" (Tasi, 2000: 97). From the community point of view, social capital refers to "the kind of personal relationships people have developed with each other through a history of interaction" (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998: 244). In other words, social capital offers analytical frameworks to probe not only individual interests, but also common benefits to society and to the community which interpersonal association it represents.

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Social Capital at a Macro-level of a Nation

According to Putnam (1994: 6-7), social capital represents those features of social organisation which "facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit and enhance the benefits of investment in physical and human capital" as well as "social connections and attendant norms and trust" (Putnam, 1995b: 665). Therefore, prominent in his definition of social capital is an ability-oriented conception of collaboration facilitation. Furthermore, social capital represents "opportunities to use [person's] financial and human capital" (Burt, 1992: 9) for success. However, Burt (1997) also defines social capital in terms of the location features of individual actors and their capacities to be sole transmitters of information. The performance of government and other social capital institutions is influenced by civic engagement within a community (Putnam, 1993); and there exists a correlation between this civic engagement and political participation (Putnam, 1995b: 665). Finally, interpersonal engagement leads to an associative community which fosters national development in the political sphere. Thus, social capital intersects various levels of analysis and it is used on macro- and micro-levels: at a macro-level of a nation it may be explained in terms of functions and characteristics such as trust, obligation, expectations, norms, influence and control, solidarity, and information (Park, 2001).

2.2.2 Dimensions of Social Capital

Researchers can be divided into two groups: those who emphasise trust and those stress the importance of social networks (An, 2005). According to Granovetter (1985) nuclear compositions of social capital are divided into relational and structural embeddedness in order to introduce both social and organisational relations into the analysis of economic action. Granovetter, who uses Nahapiet & Ghoshal's (1998) conceptualisation of social capital, adds a cognitive dimension: intellectual capital. Thus, social capital may be perceived to manifest three facets: *relational*, *structural*, and *cognitive*. These three dimensions do not function independently, but interact with each other to a considerable degree. The following section will discuss these three dimensions of social capital.

2.2.2.1 Relational Dimension of Social Capital

Social relations comprise the starting point of social capital (Choi & Lee, 2006; An, 2005; Lin, 2001; Field, 2008) and are based on trust (Coleman, 1988, 1994; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Tsai, 2000; Putnam, 2000). The relational aspect of social capital encompasses "the kind of personal relationships people have developed with each other through a history of interaction" (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998: 244). Trust refers to a psychological situation which comprises the intention to accept as positive expectations of another. Trust has an interdependent feature. This trust gives group members confidence in the

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expectation that others will act reliably and competently (Coleman, 1994; Goddard, 2003).

It is impossible to fulfill the interests of one party without relying on the other (Rousseau *et al.*, 1998: 395). Trust is built into the notion of 'relationship'. Trust refers to actions among people that serve to sustain strong faith: this 'conviction' is at the centre of the relational dimension (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; An, 2005; Tsai, 2000). Individuals engaged in relationships characterised by strong trust are more likely to exchange information openly and act with caring and benevolence towards one another than those who are in relationships which are characterised by low levels of trust (Coleman, 1994; Lin, 1999, 2001; Goddard, 2003; Bolino et al, 2002). Generally, relations of trust are formed from blood ties, regional relations, and school ties, memberships in social community, and by remaining in contact with the community (An, 2005: 95). In other words, trusting relationships augment cooperation and collective action without mechanisms needing to be put into place to foster and reinforce such actions (Coleman, 1994; Leana & Pil, 2006). Members in trusting relationships are less likely to fear opportunistic behaviour on the part of their colleagues. This enables the environment of collaboration and exchange that may benefit both organisations and individuals who work within them (An, 2005; Rousseau *et al.*, 1998; Leana & Pil, 2006). At another level, and potentially introducing weaknesses, is the fact that tight trusting relationships might result in the formation of cliques that cooperate largely for private goals.

Relationships between parents and children are based on private trust – these relationships suggest deep and consistent levels of communication, concern, support, collaboration etc. between parents and children (An, 2005; Coleman, 1988; Kim, 2000). Strong trusting relationships between parents and children may contribute to significant social, educational and work-related attainments of children (Coleman, 1994: 334). It is also argued that, because trust between parents and children arises from the relational dynamics, this is more likely to happen in two-parent-families than in single-parent-families as two parents would be able to (jointly) manifest deeper concern for their children, than would a single parent (Putnam, 1995b; An, 2005; Pong, 1998). According to Park's (2001) research, the pattern of relationships between parents and children may be divided into four sections in terms of parent-children relations and family background – See Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Patterns of Parent-Children Relationships

	Family Background Social Capital	
	Low	High
Parent-Children Relationships Low	A: Relationships of low trust	B: Relationships of distrust
High	C: Relationships of geniality	D: High trust

Source: Adapted from Park (2001: 48)

Figure 2.1 demonstrates that high-trust relationships between parents and their children and family-based social capital (Braatz & Putnam, 1999) are very

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important factors for the formation of good relationships between parents and children. Relationships of low trust result from the lack of concern on the part of parents, limited conversations between parents and children, the presence of several siblings, mothers working long hours etc., which spreads parents attention thin (Park, 2001; An, 2005).

A mother's occupational status is presumed to have an effect on the degree of support for her children's education. Delpeuch *et al.* (2000) argue that mothers in professional or technically skilled employment are more likely to earn higher salaries and to have greater access to material resources. A salaried mother might be in a position to devote her income to both her own needs and those of her children. Thus, on the one hand, a working mother brings advantages to her children. However, mothers who work outside the home are likely to spend long hours away from their children, and this may result in an attitude of indifference towards their children's education.

According to Lohman (2000), disparities in academic achievement often result from issues related to the family structure. Conventionally, higher socio-economic resources of intact families are linked more positively to school performance than those of single-parent families. In case D (in Figure 2.1), high trust emanates from an intact family, rich conversations and strong communication between parents and children, together with positive educational support for children. The case of B and C suggest lower performance and greater potential for children to become underachievers or

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even juvenile delinquents than in the case of D (An, 2005: 99).

Not only is trustworthiness an important factor (Coleman, 1994), but it also permits the exchange of special resources for establishing reputations (Tasi, 2000: 928). Reputation is cited as an element in trusting relationships and it might depend on one's credibility or uprightness that shapes the nature of interaction. Exchanges in interaction are influenced by children's perceptions of parents' credibility/reputation - if parents and their children have the same attitude towards education (for example, if both share the view that being admitted to a prestigious university is important), this would result in a higher degree of trust and greater closeness between the parents and children. The same educational perception of reputation between parents and children could result in a firm belief in the value of high educational attainment (Tasi, 2000; Fukuyama, 1995).

Table 2.4 Summary Overview of the Variables with Respect to the Relational Dimension, Offered by Previous Researchers

Variables	Previous researchers		Indicators
Parents help with study	Furstenberg & Hughes (1995)		F[5]
	Coleman (1988)	Sun (1998)	
Parent-child conversations	Lopez (1996)	Coleman (1988)	F
	Sun (1999)	McNeal (1999)	
	Dyk & Wilson (1999)		
	Smith-Maddox (1999)		
	Kim (2000)	Oh & Kim (2001)	
	Wright & Cullen & Miller (2001)		
	Beaulieu et al (2001)		
	Lee (2001a)	Sim (2003)	
Parental encouragement and praise	Furstenberg & Hughes (1995)		F
Parents know where I am and what I do	Lopez (1996)		F
	White & Glick (2000)		
Home activities after school	Lee (2001a)	Sim (2003)	F
Family norms	Yan (1999)		F
Educational atmosphere conducive to study in home	McNeal (1999)	Lee (2001a)	F
	Sim (2003)		

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[5] Family social capital

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| Educational resources within community: museums, libraries etc. | Sun (1998) Kim (2000) | Pong (1998) | C[6] |

Source: Adapted from An, 2005.

Relationships between parents and children, which are characterised by strong trust, may be more flexible and retain better understandings of the purpose of studying and need for high performance (Bolino *et al.*, 2002). Both conversations between parents and children *and* a supportive attitude towards children's education are conducive to educational achievement and development (Coleman, 1994; Lee, 2001b; Sim, 2003; An, 2005; Kim, 2000). The degree of support for their children's studying, for example, parental assistance with study, an atmosphere at home which is conducive to study, encouragement and the offering of compensation for successful outcomes, are all elements cited as valuable within the educational dimension. Relationships between parents and children can be regarded as usable capital.

In addition, close relationships between community members also appears to play a role in educational attainment (Coleman, 1994; Lee, 1996). Close community relationships seem to accelerate the socialisation process of studying, in particular close relationships in the 'external-family' such as a church or non-profit organisation. In this respect, shared communal norms regarding the value of education, social expectations and closeness among community members are relevant to educational achievement of students. In the light of the above, parents could assist their children in their education by

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[6] Community social capital

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participating in their community. Community educational resources also play an important role in educational attainment of students – e.g. facilities such as libraries, museums, and internet services. Parents who themselves are socially experienced and possess cultural resources (Bourdieu, 2003) are also better equipped to provide their children with educational support.

Should parents' educational values and concerns be aligned with the community's social capital to enable students to be able to maximise resources for themselves to enhance their levels of educational achievement?

To summarise the key points: the relational dimension of social capital that encompasses trustworthiness, and meaningful relationships between parents and children, which can be witnessed in attentive parent-child discussions about school, parents' checking homework and strong parental support for education, might enhance the possibility of higher achievement of students (Kim, 2000; Kim & Oh, 2001; Coleman, 1988; Lee, 2001a; Sim, 2003; Beaulieu *et al*., 2001). Additionally, positive bonds between community members in terms of their networks and educational expectations, augments children's development in the long run. For example: if a community has an abundant supply of facilities such as libraries and playgrounds, and offers some educational information for young people, the ties among parents might have more long-lasting beneficial impacts.

Most Korean high school students spend long hours at school, and, therefore, are affected by their teachers. If teacher-student relationships entail mutual

respect and trust this could lead to usable social capital instigating higher educational achievement. In other words, teacher-student relationships that exhibit relatively strong interaction and closeness in terms of trust often emerge as the key ingredients for the configuration of academic performance (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). What can be said about the structural dimension?

2.2.2.2 Structural Dimension of Social Capital

The structural dimension of social capital is regarded as a network property among actors or the total network configuration (An, 2005: 102) in which there are many interpersonal connections (Granovetter, 1985). According to Burt (1992), a social network is a channel for the flow of information and resources. The flow of information is not the same for all the actors, but may be differently concentrated among similar, related actors. A connected network is a network of social ties among the actors (Croninger & Lee, 2001a). This structural part not only gives significance to the concept of social capital but also highlights who becomes part of a connected network and how that happens (Burt, 1997: 340). Emotional support, information and exchange of resources are shaped by prevailing social networks, particularly with regard to what is normative in that social context, and how they influence the nature of social interaction (Croninger & Lee, 2001a). From the standpoint of the structural dimension, it is quite likely that the network configuration is a *cause of higher achievement*.

In Table 2.5, parental involvement as a 'structural social capital' is seen to (most

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likely) promote the creation of networks, to uplift the network configuration, and to accelerate the network's usefulness for obtaining some information for children's education (Bolino *et al*., 2002: 513). Therefore, relationships with other parents tend to facilitate obligations and the building of trust, and meaningful participation in children's school life (Lee, 2001b). Parents may participate more in their children's school life because they feel it is *necessary* to participate. Thus, obligations and trust among parents will most likely reinforce parents' participation and will ultimately serve to help their children perform better at school.

According to Tsai and Ghoshal (1998), the structural aspect in social capital points to stimulated trust among actors and perceived trustworthiness. They argue that the structure of networks represents three figures: connectivity, hierarchy, and density in terms of linkage (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998: 244). However, the density seems to be close to the relational dimension. The density of networks refers to strong and weak ties with connected levels. Strong ties among members lead to greater flows of information. Burt (1992) researched social structures and explained that a 'structural hole' can also be evident. It represents types of social media in networks for example Twitter and Blogging etc. Social media can provide access to information without limiting space or time. If one becomes a member of Twitter and Blogging, one can obtain more information through them. Therefore, the more constructed the network, the higher the interaction among members.

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In this research, the connectivity of three figures in the network are parent-child, parent-teacher, and parent-parent. Good connectivity depends on the flow of information in terms of accessibility, its flexibility in terms of applicability, and information strength in terms of importance. Thus good connectivity in the network leads to powerful information in terms of usability (Park, 2001).

We can understand how the three figures work in educational achievement by means of a network pattern (Figure 2.2). In Figure 2.2, C is the best in terms of higher achievement. Thus, C represents open personal relationships with low hierarchy, and high connections between parent-children, teacher-student, and parent-parent. By contrast, B is the worst network in terms of high achievement. B measures high in hierarchy, low in density, and low in connection. For instance, a high level of hierarchy between a parent and a child leads to weak relationships between them. Also, it leads to parental authority that is too imposing (high hierarchy). In order to build good relationships in parent-children and teacher-student pairs, mutual trust should be the base of these relationships (Coleman, 1994). If parents and children and teachers and students have open conversations (without strong authority), children and students can have good relationships with their parents and teachers. This might facilitate higher achievement. A and D are grey areas of incomplete networks and unhelpful structural social capital in terms of higher achievement.

Figure 2.2 Patterns of Networks in Educational Achievement

		Density		
		High	Low	
Hierarchy	High	A	B	Low
				Connectivity
	Low	C	D	High
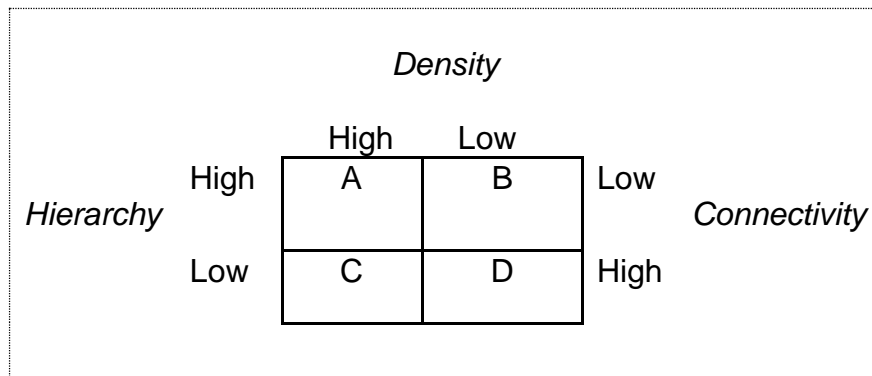
Source: adapted from Park, 2001

On the basis of the structural dimension in social capital, higher achievement is influenced by parental involvement in children's school life (Coleman, 1988; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994; Furstenberg & Hughes, 1995; Teachamn *et al.*, 1996; Lopez, 1996; Pong, 1998; Hao & Bonstead-Boisjoly, 1998; Smith-Maddox, 1999); extra lessons (Coleman, 1988; Kim, 2000; Lee, 2001a; Sim, 2003); number of times that children changed schools and moved house (Coleman, 1988; Furstenberg & Hughes, 1995; Teachamn *et al.*, 1996; Pong, 1998; Hofferth *et al.*, 1998; Sun, 1999; Israel *et al.*, 2001; Beaulieu *et al.*, 2001); the exchange of information on educational matters among parents (Dyk & Wilson, 1999; Lee, 2001b; Sim, 2003); and parent-parent interaction (Coleman, 1988; Furstenberg & Hughes, 1995; Teachamn *et al.*, 1996; Pong, 1998; Hofferth *et al.*, 1998; Sun, 1999).

Table 2.5 Summary Overview of the Variables with Respect to the Structural Dimension, Offered by Previous Researchers (continued)

Variables	Previous researchers	Indicators
Parental involvement in school life	Coleman (1988) Valenzuela & Dornbusch (1994) Furstenberg & Hughes (1995) Teachamn & Paasch & Carver (1996) Lopez (1996) Pong (1998) Hao & Bonstead-Boisjoly (1998) Smith-Maddox (1999) Yan (1999) Edward (1999) Qian & Blair (1999) Pribesh & Downey (1999) Rosenzweig (2000) Lee (2001a) McNeal (2001) Whight & Cullen & Miller (2001) Parcel & Dufur (2001) Beaulieu et al (2001) Sim (2003)	S[7]
Number of times of changing school and house-moving	Coleman (1988) Furstenberg & Hughes (1995) Teachamn & Paasch & Carver (1996) Pong (1998) Hofferth & Boisjoly & Duncan (1998) Sun (1999) Pribesh & Downey (1999) Israel & Beauileu & Hartless (2001) Beaulieu et al (2001)	F
Extra lessons	Coleman (1988) Kim (2000) Lee (2001a) Sim (2003)	F
Exchanging information on education	Dyk & Wilson (1999) Lee (2001a) Sim (2003)	C
Parent-parent interaction	Teachamn & Paasch & Carver (1996) Pong (1998) Dyk & Wilson (1999) Pribesh & Downey (1999) Yan (1999) Beaulieu et al (2001)	C

Source: Adapted from Coleman (1988); An (2005); Furstenberg & Hughes (1995).

To sum up the structural dimension in social capital: Firstly, if parents are involved in their children's school life, the parental involvement, as structural social capital, promotes the development of higher achievement. If school networks function well, they can influence child's educational performance due

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[7] School factor

to parental involvement. Secondly, the frequent change of schools and moving house can lead to broken relationships (structural instability[8]: Coleman, 1994). Lastly, in the same residential district their relationships between residents are very friendly. Bolino *et al.* (2000) point out that those close and open relationships among community members bring high social participation. For example: community members are very useful as instruments to obtain educational information.[9] It is commonly suggested that Korean mothers obtain better information through various types of involvement (social gatherings) with other parents, for example through dinners, brunches or gym groups (An, 2005).

The discussion above may lead one to conclude that parental participation and networks, kept alive in their children's educational interest, can sometimes become clannish or hold unfriendly attitudes to outsiders to the group (Coleman, 1994: 318-321). Furthermore, it is not surprising that residential districts and mothers' educational levels have been found to lead to children's higher achievement in Korea (Seo, 2004). A residential district is commonly viewed as an important factor in terms of socioeconomic status (SES) in Korea. The quality of education in Korea depends on the neighbourhoods (and their class composition). Perceptions of communities affect housing prices (Jin & Son, 2005). The reason for this is that rich neighbourhoods have a higher ratio of

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[8] According to Coleman (1994), 'creation and maintenance' regarding social capital is made possible by structural stability. Broken relationships through changing school and moving house frequently builds structural instability; structural instability results in low creation and maintenance in terms of social capital.

[9] Which private institution has a good tutor for essay writing and has good results? Which reference book is useful for higher achievement etc.?

educational qualifications among the residents and more famous private educational institutions (Jin & Son, 2005). For example, Gangnam is one of the richest neighbourhoods in Korea.[10] The Gangnam area had the highest rate[11] of entrants to Seoul National University in 2011 (Kim, 2012). Therefore, a residential area is one of the important factors of structural social capital. Thus, networks, involvement (participation), and residential districts are vital components of the structural dimension of social capital in this study.

2.2.2.3 Cognitive Dimension of Social Capital

The third dimension of social capital, referred to by Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) as the cognitive dimension, shows shared visions for the organisation in the cognitive dimension and develops a common set of goals. Shared visions and collective action help with promoting integration (Coleman, 1994; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998). If you share a vision with other members of the group, crucial information is more readily elicited and communication flows more effortlessly because all members are united by a sense of similar goals and expectations (for their children).

Korean mothers are argued to have high expectations for their children's education as well as for their children's long-term professional development and

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[10] According to Noh (2012, KB Research Report), most Koreans think that more than a billion-won (Korean money) units is the criterion to be rich. According to this criterion, Gangnam is ranked 'No. 1' (10.8%) in Seoul: which is the capital city (Noh, 2012:6).
[11] The enrolled students were 173 per 10,000 students at Seoul National University in 2011.

occupational choices (Kim, 2000; Lee, 2001a; Yu, 2006; Kim, 2001; Kim *et al.*, 1999). If a mother and a child come to share the same vision and goals regarding education, the school results will most likely be exemplary. As mentioned above, the dimensions are interconnected. The cognitive dimension of social capital seems to be built up by the relational and structural dimension. According to Mohammed & Dumville (2001), actors who have the same vision in their work are more likely to have close relations and interact with each other. The closer the relationship and friendship the better information can be grasped by the members (Mohammed & Dumville, 2001; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Tsai, 2000).

Wegner (1987) explained 'transacting memory' in terms of behaviour. Transacting memory such as a computer network or memory system is kept in a certain space (such as a CPU in a computer system). Specifically, every person has 'transacting memory' in his/her perception. Thus, if people have the same memory of transactions, they can build friendlier relationships with each other. From this point of view, if parents and children have common goals in terms of education, the children adhere to their parents' educational desires and expectations. Children who share these goals are often more focused in their studies and achieve better educationally.

Cognitive social capital is a valuable resource for higher attainment. From the point of view of a family structure, a 'broken family'[12] is more disadvantaged in

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[12] Single-parent or lone parent through divorce, separation, or widowhood.

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terms of social capital in the cognitive dimension than a two-parent family (Coleman, 1988). Generally, single-parent-families have less developed social networks and weaker ties than two-parent-families (Teachman *et al.*, 1996). They tend to move more frequently too (Pong, 1998). Thus they disrupt social networks in their communities, thereby leading to lower achievement and higher drop-out of school rates (Teachman *et al.*, 1996).

Social capital in the cognitive aspect is arguably very important. If parents have high expectations for their children's education, they must be focused on creating the opportunities for higher achievement. In some cases, parents should actively 'interfere' in children's education. In this regard the results can be positive or negative. For example, parents providing full support and encouragement shape positive results but too much control over children's education might lead to negative results. Children might resist parental 'interference' and become delinquent or exhibit deviant behaviour.

Currently, a well-known 'high expectation' of Korean parents is that their children should attain proficiency in English. Most Korean parents think that studying English is extremely imperative. There are two main explanations for this. One is globalisation: Korean students learn English to be able to study in more developed, advanced countries (Cho, 2002). Korean families assume that mastery of English makes them competitive: they can get places in tertiary institutions – locally and internationally. Thus, some Korean parents send their children abroad to study English when they are very young (Kim & Yim *et al.*,

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2005). Recently, the number of young Korean students leaving to study abroad has increased, in particular, the number travelling to study English in English-speaking countries like England, Australia or the United States (Ahn, 1996; Cho, 2002; Oh, 2000).

Korean parents have been anecdotally argued to be afflicted with 'education fever' and this remains an important topic in the public realm today (Yang, 2011). Barack Obama, the President of the United States, considered Korean educational fever as being largely a very positive factor (Choi, 2009). He referred to this 'drive' when he met with community members in Allentown, in Pennsylvania, USA. He mentioned that American parents should follow the example of Korean parents. According to him, Korea's economic growth was partially caused by Korean parents' focus on their children's educational attainment. If Americans focused attention on motivating their children, they could transcend hierarchical class barriers and assure higher SES and income in the future, it was argued (Chung, 1984; Kim *et al.*, 2005).

The concept of education fever has other meanings as well. One of the definitions is simply "a desire for entering school" (Oh, 1986). Educational fever can also be seen as "an abnormal phenomenon for achieving a higher level of academic background and status" (Oh, 2000); and "parents' desire to help their children to gain academic status or higher academic background in SES" (Kim, 1985). According to Park (1994), the educational fever is "a war for education" and "intense competition for a more comfortable life in terms of economic

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status" (Choi, 2006). Some Korean mothers do not spend any time on themselves but spend it all preoccupied with concerns about their children's education. One example is that of the mother of a famous Korean ice skater Yu-na Kim. In one of her interviews in Korea, she said, "To help my talented daughter's development is my destiny. I help my daughter not for her but for me" (Lee, 2009: 1). In my opinion, her interview is the best expression of educational fever in Korea. There is clearly a need to research further mothers' social capital and aspirations for, and expectations of, their children and the way this shapes actual achievement (Furstenberg & Hughes, 1995).

Previous research on social capital and its cognitive dimension is listed in Table 2.6. Whilst much research has been done, there are still uncertainties about how expectations and desires do indeed shape outcomes.

Table 2.6 Summary Overview of the Variables with Respect to the Cognitive Dimension, Offered by Previous Researchers (continued)

Variables	Previous Research		Indicators
Parental expectations	Carbonaro (1998)	Pong (1998)	F
	Sun (1999)	Edward (1999)	
	Rosenzweig (2000)		
	Beaulieu et al (2001)		
Parents know who the child's close friend is	Coleman (1988)	Pong (1998)	F
	Furstenberg & Hughes (1995)		
	Kim (2000)		
	Parcel & Dufur (2001)		
Grandparents live together at home except for parents	Coleman (1988)	Sun (1998)	F
	Edward (1999)		
High level of educational expectations	Furstenberg & Hughes (1995)		F
	Lopez (1996)	Dyk &Wilson (1999)	
	Smith-Maddox (1999)		
	Kim (2000)	Lee (2001a)	
	• Israel & Beauileu & Hartless (2001)		
	Beaulieu et al (2001)		
	Sim (2003)		
Monitor homework and study	McNeal (1999)	Sun (1999)	F
	White & Glick (2000)		
	Israel & Beauileu & Hartless (2001)		

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	Beaulieu et al (2001)	
	Oh & Kim (2001) Sim (2003)	
Teacher's experience (the length of the teaching career)	Leana & Pil (2006)	S
Religious involvement	Smith & Beaulieu &Israel (1992) Furstenberg & Hughes (1995) Furstenberg & Hughes (1995) Sun (1999) Kim (2000) Muller & Dufur (2001) Beaulieu et al (2001) Muller & Ellison (2001) Israel & Beauileu & Hartless (2001)	C
Voter participation	Beaulieu et al (2001)	C

Source: Adapted from An (2005); Israel *et al*., (2001); Coleman (1988)

Summary of main issues regarding the cognitive dimension: In this context, a shared vision between parents and their children with regard to higher education facilitates common goals such as the need to enter a prestigious university. Furthermore, as it was explained above, a united *reasoned* purpose between a parent and a child in terms of higher education helps promote integration and the achievement of a common goal-orientated future (Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998). The general consensus in the literature is that a two-parent-family has more positive social capital in the cognitive dimension than a single-parent-family (An, 2005).

Generally, when students live together with both parents they are deemed to be in a more stable psychological environment. Does boarding school, which is common in Korea then, have negative effects? Do boarding-school students have important social capital in the cognitive dimension? What influences students' higher achievement more: living together with both parents or boarding at school? The literature was not so clear on this; thus, this needs more research and argumentation. Another aspect that deserves careful

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probing is the role of religious practice in families and educational institutions –
and the ways in which it helps students to derive and utilise social capital.
According to Coleman (1994: 320), religious ideology is linked to higher
education and to awareness of mutual interests. From this point of view, religion
offers emotional stability and involves people in religious activities: not only
worship activities but also as active volunteers such as in the case of choir
members etc. If parents are actively involved in religious activities this might
help students acquire social capital (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987).

2.2.2.4 Summary

This section discussed the dimensions of social capital. It also emphasised that
social capital is important for educational success. Figure 2.3 illustrates the link
between educational achievement and the three dimensions of social capital.
The *relational* aspect of social capital is facilitated by trust, closeness, and
concern and support for higher achievement. The *structural* dimension of social
capital places importance on networks. Networks help parents enhance
knowledge and information regarding their children's higher achievement.
Strong ties facilitate involvement with networks. Eventually, to understand
parents' involvement in education it is useful to assess higher achievement
carefully. Seo's study (2004) examined the variable 'parental influence on
children's education.' One of the findings obtained was that residence and
parent's education were equally crucial. Residential district highlights the
continuing significance of class or social position in Korea. It represents not only

the residential brand in terms of economics, but also prestige in terms of social status. The cognitive dimension thus integrates deeply felt shared visions and shared morality and religion are also argued by authors to play some role in educational outcomes (Muller & Kerbow, 1993).

Figure 2.3 Link between the three dimensions of Social Capital and Educational Achievement

Dimensional Social capital

Relational dimension
- Trust
- Relationships
- Concern & Support

Structural dimension
- Networks
- Involvement
- Residential district

Cognitive dimension
- Shared vision
- Shared educational goals
- Expectations

Educational Achievement
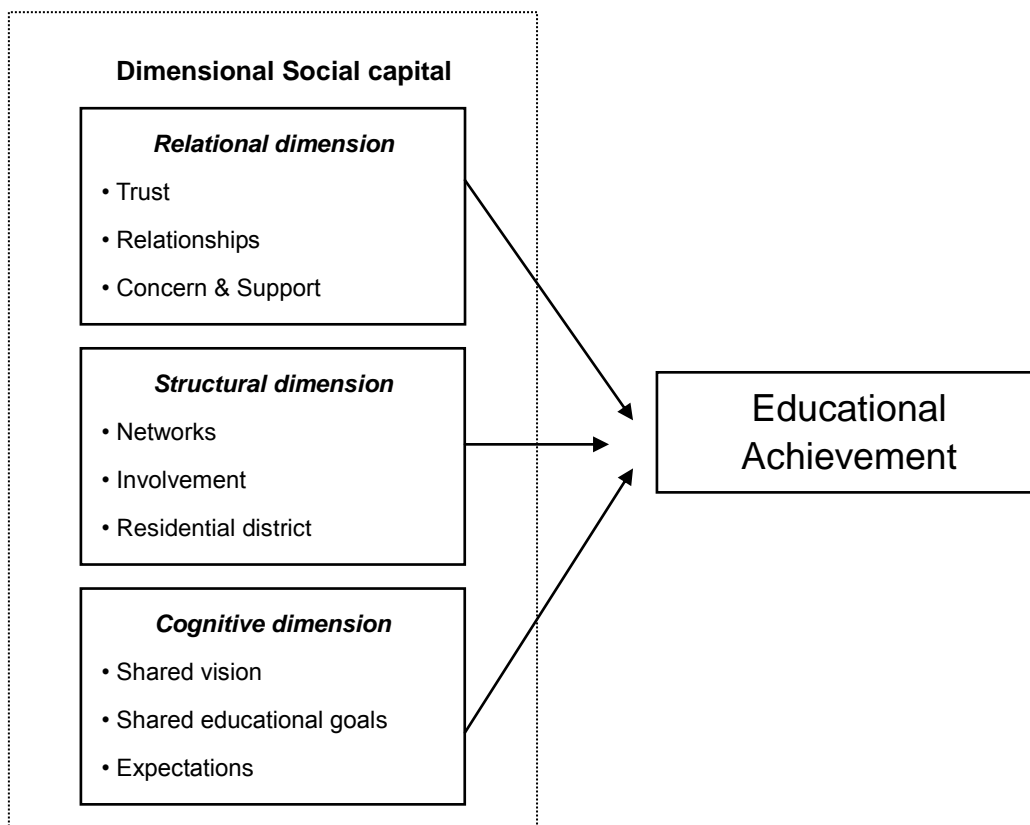
2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.3.1 Social Capital according to Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu was a French sociologist born in Béarn (a very small town). His

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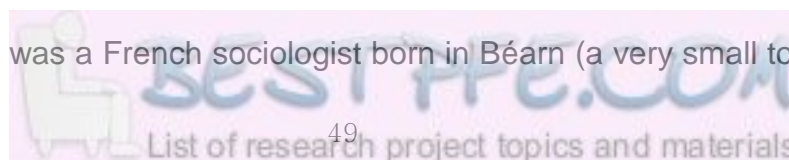
concerns about education were defined by his own earlier life of poverty and disadvantaged educational circumstances. He was keen to enter a prestigious university such as the University of Paris, but experienced many difficulties because of his lack of finances (and arguably his own limited social networks of support) (Lardinois, 2002). Bourdieu viewed social capital as complex and as linked to economics, culture and social networks. Bourdieu also enlarged the concept of capital to include educational goods, cultural goods, social goods, and political goods alongside Marx's concept of capital – implying largely economic goods (Bourdieu, 1986). For him capital ought to be classified into three groups: economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. Cultural capital can be further classified into three large groups. The first is substantial capital, like a disposition. The second is objective capital, like pictures, books, and tools. The last is institutionalised capital, like a certificate from a school (Bourdieu, 1986: 47). According to Bourdieu (1986: 249), social capital is:

> *the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are related to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.*

It seems that social capital facilitates inequality because the access to different types of networks is unbalanced. Bourdieu's social capital is not completely independent of economic capital. Social capital is made up of social obligations or connections in terms of economic advantage. Bourdieu's social capital can be explained as a means for the dominant class to maintain and preserve their dominant socio-economic positions (Bourdieu, 1986; Dika & Singh, 2002). Bourdieu's concept of *cultural capital* focused on the reproduction of unequal

hierarchical relationships in education.

Bourdieu's *social capital*, on the other hand, focused on social opportunities regarding resources which are linked to possession of a strong network by the dominant class (Kim, 2004: 69). Education at school, from Bourdieu's point of view, is a reproductive mechanism. He describes it as such:

> *School's reproductive action is based on the domestic transfer of cultural capital; the family continues to use the relatively autonomous logic of its own economy, which enables it to combine the capital held by each of its members, in order to accumulate and transfer its wealth (Bourdieu, 1998: 292).*

Thus, the dominant class wants to maintain its high position through high quality connections in its network.

The 'Reproduction Theory of Culture' (RTC) is one of Bourdieu's most useful theories. The RTC is often mentioned by contemporary Marxists and used as a point of reference. The 'dominant class' (Bourdieu, 1998: 265) constitutes the rich in terms of economic and academic 'elite' (Bourdieu, 1998: 9) who occupy high social positions. According to reproduction theorists, students' success depends on parental SES and economic backgrounds rather than their intelligence, exertion, and own ability. In this context, he insists that reproduction strategies work to maintain the status quo in a number of different ways. In particular, there are strategies such as marriage, education, and succession strategies used by the dominant class. These reproductions tend to be

subordinate to the major economic strategies aimed at ensuring the reproduction of their economic capital and a class-stratified society.

An economic strategy is a prior condition for the perpetuation of the family's power (Bourdieu, 1998: 263-290). One of the important functions of school is to teach students to be compliant and orderly. School education facilitates not only a certain form of culture, but also the hierarchical structure of society to maintain the dominant class. Through school education, cultural dominance will reproduce the unequal and hierarchical structure of society and hierarchical relations (Bourdieu, 1990).

Social capital brings with it an important advantage: solidarity in terms of norms and beliefs (Alder & Kwon, 2002). Firm social norms and beliefs are associated with strong closure by the social network. Bourdieu's view on solidarity is more materially-based and symbolic than Coleman's. According to Bourdieu (1990), network is only possible because membership gives rise to some advantages and it is less open to not having the network. Coleman's closure in social capital implies positive relationships when there are strong norms and trust among the members (Coleman, 1994). Bourdieu's solidarity is arguably not fully useful in understanding school relationships – because relationships for Bourdieu are restrictive and enclosed within categories. Namely, it suggests that people establish friendly relationships only with people in the same economic position or status. These people may speak on behalf of the whole group, represent the whole group, and exercise authority in the name of the whole group (Bourdieu,

1986). As an illustration: the nobility is the group personified by monopolised connections and less open than others.

For Bourdieu, education is not only one of the mechanisms of social order used by the dominant classes, it is also used to explain unequal academic achievement of children of different social classes and groups. In terms of his logic, where high parental SES exists, some social groups are able to guarantee that their children can receive prestigious education. Social capital, in Bourdieu's explanation facilitates the reproduction of inequality enabling privileged individuals to maintain their superiority by using their social capital in their favour (Field, 2008).

2.3.2   Social Capital According to Coleman

James Coleman is a well-known American sociologist who studied education systems. Coleman's interest in social capital originated from concerns with schooling in the USA (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Coleman, 1987; 1988). Coleman's work is today still highly regarded by scholars. Coleman's notion of social capital was influenced by Becker's work on human capital in that his concept of social capital draws on both economics and sociology (Field, 2008: 23). Thus, one may say that Coleman's understanding of social capital touches partly on the rational choice theory. Rational choice theory emphasises individuals' economic interest and it stipulates that all actions originate from individuals seeking their self-interest. Therefore social interaction is explained in

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terms of exchangeable action (Field, 2008: 24). Coleman's social capital (1988; 1994) represents resources in two aspects: 1) expectation of reciprocity; and 2) involvement in networks. Social capital is less tangible than physical or economic capital. Social capital is embodied in the relations among people and social structure (Coleman, 1994: 304), that is, "a capital asset for individual" and building up of "social structural resources" for aggregation (Coleman, 1994: 302). For Coleman, society is an aggregation into a social system of individual behaviours in individuals' performances and their actions. According to Coleman, the reason for people's cooperation is "in the possession of individual actors as owner" (Lin, 2001: 42), in other words, it is not for a collective purpose that people cooperate, but for self-interest. Invariably, through relationships, individuals can benefit. He discussed different aspects of social capital that are obligations, expectations, information, norms, and authority relations (Coleman, 1994). The value of capital is facilitated by the level of trust and shared values that people find useful (Coleman, 1994: 306). Coleman (1994) explained trustworthiness as the relationship of trust between doctors and patients, credit dealing among merchants, and mutual trust in the context of assistance. Strong trust between a doctor and patients leads to reducing costs in treatment. He describes interestingly how credit dealing among merchants in a market such as the diamond market is done without any insurance or formal contracts. This kind of transacting is possible because the merchants are related through their inside network based on trusted information (Coleman, 1988; Halpern, 2005). It is possible for them to work in the market because of close relationships and very strong trust among the members. This strong trust is influenced by

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obligations and expectations and it can maximise the value of the social environment. According to his description, an obligation is a 'credit slip' that must be redeemed by some action (Coleman, 1994: 306). Such relationships are possible because of high levels of trustworthiness; at the same time the expectations of full payment will be assured by mutual trust which decreases the complexity of calculation. In sum, without a high level of trust among group actors such activities encompassing obligations and unwritten expectations would cease to exist.

Coleman investigated the relationships between social inequality and academic achievement in schools (Coleman, 1987; 1988). Coleman insisted that social capital is positively linked to educational achievement through parental SES, the school and community. The important factor of achievement in his view is parental SES. Parents strengthen the ties between the school and community through their SES (Coleman, 1988). However, we ascertain in the research of a Catholic school (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987) that physical capital is not everything. In the research, private and Catholic school students attained a higher score, one grade level higher on standardised tests, and lower dropout rates as compared with public school students. Coleman and Hoffer (1987) suggested that the difference in achievement is due to the difference in parental involvement in school. Private and Catholic school parents are believed to be more actively involved in school projects. Moreover, a Catholic school seems to provide a more peaceful environment for students than a public school. Therefore, community is a source of social capital that can help disadvantaged

students. It could be shown to be more important than a family or school (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987).

According to Lin (2001: 65), "the stronger the tie, the more likely it will have positive effects on success in SES." The information is more likely to be shared and exchanged when the ties are stronger (Coleman, 1994). Closure[13] is a crucial factor in order to form closer relationships by trust of 'the potential trustees' (Coleman, 1994: 318). In the case of potential trustees, if someone is connected to a new organisation with strong and stable recognition of members, new members can be involved in the group. A new member would be able to share and obtain useful information (Coleman, 1994: 318-320). New members might feel that the group information derived is highly useful: applied to education, parents might have access to an exclusive group where *members only* can share vital information of benefit to children's higher achievement in the school system. On the contrary, non-members would be isolated from the exclusive group and suffer the disadvantage of having insufficient information to intervene in educational performance.

Dika & Singh (2002: 43) criticise Coleman's concept of social capital – they suggest that if not maintained by strong obligations and expectations and

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[13] According to Coleman (1994), if there is some special network, unqualified members (those not joining the network) cannot get any information (from the network). This signifies closure (Coleman, 1994): joining the network means that one can get access to high levels of information.

regular interaction among actors, the relationships will fragment and be destroyed. Dika & Singh (2002) focus on relationships from the point of view of continuity – to see how uninterrupted relationships retain their advantages.

According to Coleman (1994), the concept of social capital is prescribed by functions and is highly cited in contemporary educational research. His concept of social capital is based on resources in social structure. "Social capital is anything that facilitates individual or collective action, which is generated by networks of relationships, reciprocity, trust, and social norms" (Lee, 2001a: 150). These networks of relationships include social ties with alumni, relationships of strong trust between doctors and patients, credit dealing among merchants, and mutual trust in assistance societies.

What would the key difference be between Bourdieu's and Coleman's social capital? Bourdieu's social capital is cyclical and is based on the reproduction theory of culture and the dominant class. On the other hand, I see Coleman's points as more nuanced and that takes into account the value of connections for all members, individual and collective, advantaged and disadvantaged. Therefore, functionally, Coleman's social capital, to my mind, has more relevance and accessibility for all classes of people. In this sense, I consider Coleman's description of social capital to be more suitable for an analysis of Korea's education system.

2.3.3 Social Capital According to Putnam

Robert D Putnam, the American political scientist, made a major contribution to developing the concept of social capital. He defined social capital as:

> *Features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions (Putnam 1993: 169).*

His definition focused on social networks (Halpern, 2005) and his work generally examined the dynamics of political institutions (Kim, 2004: 80). According to Putnam (1993), the performance of government and other social capital institutions is influenced by civic engagement. Civic engagement is correlated with political participation (Putnam, 1995b: 665).

Putnam utilised de Tocqueville's notion of interaction in voluntary associations. His useful focus is mostly on civic engagement and collective action to engage widespread political apathy. In this regard, Putnam's (2000) *Bowling Alone* is his most famous work. It describes a lonely American bowler and addresses the issue of a decreased rate of voluntary participation in the USA, particularly with American society becoming more individualistic (Putnam, 2000; Goddard, 2003: 62; Field, 2008: 35). Therefore, the outcome for American society is low social integration with people becoming more individualistic over time (Thomson, 2005: 422). Collective activities such as bowling together help build and maintain social networks (Putnam, 2000). Through such activities trust could lead to mutual collaboration and strengthened ties (Field, 2008: 35).

Putnam argues that when members act together they are more effective in pursuing their shared goals (Putnam, 1996: 664-665). Strong reciprocal relationships such as those that build civic engagement or interpersonal trust represent catalytic moments. Confidence in community or organisation encourages citizens to take more opportunities to participate and to learn to trust others. Putnam argues that one of the reasons for decreased civic participation can be attributed to generational factors. The Second World War induced higher levels of social capital and political involvement due to feelings of patriotism. People felt a sense of community, were more involved in civic participation, led more active social lives and were willing to work for a political party. They were concerned about public officials, attended public meetings, and interacted with friends and neighbours (Putnam, 2000: 45). However, by the early 1960s, a new generation became more passive, less socially engaged, and moved away from political issues. This was despite the fact that the younger generation had a higher level of education (Boggs, 2001: 282).

Social capital is manifested in multiple forms. From this point of view, according to Boggs (2001), Putnam leans strongly towards seeing social capital as political association. For Putnam, there are many ways of participating in society, not only politically – in a narrow sense. There are civil right movements, trade unions, anti-war movements, women's associations, and environmental organisations (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). Some of the reasons for reduced involvement in civic participation would be the extension of local self-government, more globalisation, and media such as the internet (Boggs, 2001:

288). Putnam affirms that social capital is important for building and maintaining democratic participation. Putnam wanted to shift social capital from being viewed in terms of an individually possessed resource to an attribute of the larger collective (Putnam, 1993: 167). Social capital, thus, has relational resources facilitating social co-operation and networks that have clear benefits for the building of democratic society. The character of resources is very complicated and diversified (Kim, 2004: 88).

Putnam also mentioned that social capital and human capital can be related to education. Trust and associational membership have an influence on education as well as political and social participation (Putnam, 1995b: 667). Putnam defines social capital in terms of networks, norms and social trust. How can this understanding of social capital be applied to the field of educational research? He suggests that education can be an indicator of civic engagement. Better educated people earn more income, have a higher social status and are more involved in politics (Putnam, 1995b). Educational level is understood as human resources for income, social position, and skill. Highly educated parents can be more involved in their children's education. They will also be more interested in their children's prospects for higher education. Consequently, they might seek to organise their networks, and generate norms and trust to match their educational expectations for their children.

Social capital within relationships needs to be reinforced and maintained for the future (Putnam, 1993, 1994). Another part of Putnam's definition of social capital

is public goods such as clean air and safe streets. Anybody can enjoy public goods without paying for them. However, public goods tend to be under-produced and are always insufficient. As a result people often face inconvenience (Putnam, 1993, 1994). However, through mutually supportive actions such inconveniences can be confronted to the benefit of all.

Putnam's (2000: 296) references to education are: 1) "child development is powerfully shaped by social capital"; 2) the "presence of social capital has been linked to various positive outcomes, particularly in education." These positive outcomes are the result of parents' social capital in a community. He also takes the position that in societies where there is high social capital, there is also high educational performance (Putnam, 2000: 300). The similarity between high social capital societies and communities is that parents are widely involved in their children's education. When there is more parent participation in children's education and with schools, teachers report lower levels of student misbehaviour, such as engaging in physical violence, not attending school, and being generally apathetic about education (Putnam, 2000: 301). From Putnam's arguments and evidence, it seems that in order to find out about the relationship between social capital and education one needs to focus on the number of parents engaged in education and school, and the amount of social capital in a community (Putnam, 1994: 6). Generally, the more parents are engaged in school life, the higher their children's performance and the less trouble they experience in school.

As stated earlier, Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) have different angles on the conceptualisation of social capital. In Bourdieu's view (1986), individuals are advantaged because of their ties with the elite group (dominant class) in terms of SES. In addition, the volume of social capital depends on the quantity of networks pertaining to economic, cultural and social areas of society. In addition, social capital is a mechanism through which the dominant class maintains its dominant status (Lin, 2001). Coleman (1988) focuses on the role of social capital in communicating norms, trustworthiness, authority, and closure. Despite differences, they are similar in their recognition of social capital in terms of resources; "social capital consists of resources embedded in social relations and social structure, which can be mobilised when an actor wishes to increase the likelihood of success in a purposive action" (Lin, 2001: 24). Putnam's contribution to social capital is drawn upon by many researchers. His social capital is one that can serve as a 'cure-all' for each of society's many ills or disorders (Field, 2008). Putnam was influenced by Coleman's work, and Coleman, in the long run, was influenced by Bourdieu.

2.4 SOCIAL CAPITAL AND EDUCATION

Bowles and Gintis (2002) took the position that students from socio-economically advantaged families will ultimately reach higher levels of educational outcomes than those who are disadvantaged. A family's culture and economic capital are reflected in the skills, knowledge and qualifications of children (Field, 2008: 49-50). This expectation about education is a general

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reflection. However, factors that influence educational achievement are not limited to socio-economic factors. They also include relationships, trust and norms that are part of social capital. Coleman's research (1988) shed light on this issue. To achieve academic success, families, schools and communities are major institutions that extend cooperation and support (Sanders, 2001). In this section, we explore how social capital works in education with *family*, *school* and *community*.

2.4.1 Family and Educational Achievement

According to Coleman (1988), difference in academic achievement is linked to family background and inequality of opportunities (Kim, 2005b; Bourdieu, 1998). In Korea, high educational levels of parents are argued to lead to high SES (Kim, 2000; Park, 2004; Kim, 2001; Kim, 2005a & 2005b; Seo, 2004; Yu, 2006; Park & Do, 2005). Parental SES is positively linked to higher educational achievement of their children. Generally, students from socio-economically advantaged families will ultimately reach higher levels of educational outcomes than those who are disadvantaged. From this point of view, it should be mentioned that educational institutions perpetuate paternal SES (Bourdieu, 1998). According to Halpern's (2005) research on the influence of class, its influence is seen to be transmitted across generations. For example, rich parents can afford to send their children to a good private school, thereby maintaining their social and economic status.

The differences in educational achievement due to parental income and occupational inequalities widened between the 1980s and 2000s among high school students. When the rate of admission to Seoul National University[14] was studied it revealed that most students' parents have higher incomes (Kim & Kim & Suh & Lee, 2003). In the case of high-income families, the mother is often a housewife, so she can focus more on her children's education by staying at home. A typical Korean housewife in the upper socio-economic classes is devoted to her children's success.

From Bourdieu's point of view (1986), parent's high expectations for children's higher achievement helps children maintain parental SES for the future. Inequality of educational opportunities is at the centre of public debate and still raises further questions. Family's socio-economic background is one of the most important factors in Korea. Students from advantaged family backgrounds benefit from better education than those who are disadvantaged. Thus, the link between educational achievement and family's background is more likely to stay relevant in Korea in the future (Kim, 1997: 268). Nonetheless, it requires further probing to see how those who are disadvantaged can be offered the 'resources' to attain higher benefits.

The high educational level of parents also leads to homogeneous marriages with both parents having similar educational levels (Jang, 1999: 424). According to Bourdieu (1998: 278-280) as stated above this is a marriage strategy of

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[14] As mentioned above, The University ranked 'No. 1' in Korea.

social reproduction as homogeneous marriages facilitate the maintenance of the dominant class.

Parents with high levels of education exhibit high expectations about their children's education, and have high aspirations for them as well (Schneider & Coleman 1993). Often these high aspirations for children lead to an "aggressive investment strategy" (Sun, 1998: 435), with high expectations for investment returns (Jang, 1986; Sun, 1998). If parents with high expectations give full support to children's education, then students could potentially achieve better results and enter a prestigious university. In this sense, a return on investment (as a crude economistic measure) is attained.

Korean culture stresses success in education and entrance into a prestigious university. Towards this end, parents have to push their children to study and still retain positive relationships with them. Most parents are concerned about their children's schoolwork (Park & Do, 2005). If parents help their children with their studies through personal guidance, monitoring, and keeping a check on their homework, it is believed that children's achievement will improve and remain steady (Braatz & Putnam, 1996; Furstenberg & Hughes, 1995; Coleman, 1988; Sun, 1998). An (2005) points out that a mother's high educational level allows her to have a wider social network through her career. For this reason, career-focused mothers are accused of not spending time with their children. Therefore, in this case the lack of time with children leads to weak social capital in terms of education. Nevertheless, the higher the educational level of the

parent, the better the child's education.

Seo (2004: 95-97) suggests that highly educated mothers focus more on their children's achievements than mothers with less education. They are also argued to be actively involved in children's school life and learning, and extra-curricular programmes, which is the key for high achievement (Stevenson & Baker, 1986). Many Korean mothers are housewives and most of them would be involved in various groups such as church memberships, meetings over tea with friends, meeting with other parents to obtain information about education for their children (Stevenson & Baker, 1986). Higher educated mothers search for educational information and often actively seek associational groups to share and elicit information to help their children achieve better.

When comparing academic achievement between the 1990s and 2000s (Lee, 2007), it was found that father's educational level affects family's class situation and results in improved education for the children (Kim & Kim, 1999; Lee, 2007). Phang and Kim (2001: 26-27) point out that father's education is more important for children's education than his occupation. Father's education has a direct effect on his children's academic achievement, but his occupation has an indirect effect on the children's performance. However, it is not clear just how much busy Korean fathers can contribute to their children in terms of education such as monitoring their studies. Lee (2007) mentions that parents are seen as role models by their children: sons tend to be influenced by their fathers, and daughters by their mothers. Even so, whose role model is more important for

high achieving male and female students?

A two-parent family and single-parent family have different social capital in terms of its structural dimension. A single-parent family is believed to have less trust and is less engaged in civic participation than a two-parent family (Putnam, 1995b; An, 2005; Pong, 1998). In particular, single parents might not be well connected to other parents as married couples are (Pong, 1998). A single-parent family has less financial resources than a two-parent family. Moreover, married men and women are said to be more trusting and have a wider social network (Putnam, 1995b: 671). Weak trust and limited social contacts and engagement with other social groups disadvantage children in single-parent families. Ultimately, the insufficient support of a single parent may result in lower achievement of children growing up in such households. On the contrary, interest and expectations in two-parent families with enough economic resources might support children's higher achievement.

Despite weak social capital in terms of family structure, however, the effects of parental involvement could lead to positive achievement in children's education (Pong, 1998). Sandefur and Wells (1999) state that growing up without two parents or experiencing a sudden change in a family structure might increase the risk for students to feel isolated from one of the parents, a situation possibly constructing educational underachievement.

A number of researchers point out that communication, as a form of relational

social capital, is significant in relationships between parents and children (Coleman, 1988; Sun, 1999; McNeal, 1999; Lopez, 1996; Kim, 2000; Oh & Kim, 2001; Beaulieu et al, 2001). Effective communication between parents and children contribute to boosting the performance of students in different degrees. Generally, more conversations with parents, expressions of high parental aspirations for education, and extended participation in group activities in school (like religious services and organisations) are linked to high educational outcomes (Sun, 1998). Communication is a vital ingredient ensuring that, even in economically disadvantaged families, harmonious interaction between parents and children can help children to perform better. Economically disadvantaged parents can encourage their children by showing more concern for them (Kim, 2000: 22).

Many researchers attribute family business success in East Asia to close family ties that are based on trust (Fukuyama, 1995) and their reproduction power in terms of economic advantages (Bourdieu, 1998). From this point of view, trust is the *sine qua non* of economic growth, as well as liberal democracy (Fukuyama, 1995). Trust in relationships between parents and children is crucial for educational performance. If parents and children are in complete harmony with regard to educational goals for higher education, the children's achievement might be higher. The children can converse with their patents about anything and in particular about rough moments in school life, such as being bullied or lacking in confidence. Therefore, trustworthiness or strong trust between parents and children can be the key to high educational achievement.

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"School-like family atmosphere", as suggested by Epstein (1997: 702), is one of the keys to higher performance. Parents should discuss interesting topics with their teenage children, such as aspects of school life, courses to select, primary concerns in studies, school activities, plans for their future, and university plans. In this sense, parents have to keep up to date with personal and school related issues (Yan, 1999). As already suggested, there is much correspondence in the literature about the interaction between parents and children being a crucial factor for successful education. Familial social capital influences children's school life and holds importance alongside the way students utilise resources available from school and community. In part, family social capital is important because of the things parents do with their children, that is, their involvement with their children and with the process of educating them (Muller and Kerbow, 1993). In spite of these valuable factors in familial social capital, we should look beyond the family for additional instigators of academic performance.

2.4.2 School and Educational Achievement

In a family, social capital is created through interpersonal relationships between family members (Coleman, 1988). On the other hand, social capital outside the family is created through social networks, such as parent-parent groups at their children's school (Sun, 1999: 405). Another influence on higher achievement and how schools themselves have contributed to differential educational achievement is teachers as a collectivity – and as individuals. Teachers contribute a lot to creating a positive school environment. Other factors include

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how adequate school facilities are, the school type, and even students' characteristics.

Boyd & Crowson (1993: 36) emphasise that schools have to "reach out into the community in an attempt to strengthen the 'social capital' available to children". Namely, the improvement of the school in terms of its academic success cannot be enough on its own. It should have cooperation from the community and families (Waddock, 1995). In addition to being important for academic achievement (Haghighat, 2003), schools also contribute to the next generation's success in life. Therefore, recent research emphasises increased and positive interaction among teachers to improve the school environment and general performance (Lee & Park et al, 1998; Park, 2004; Leana & Pil, 2006). However, conventional teaching where teachers are inflexible in approach might be a negative aspect in some public schools (Shavelson & Stern, 1981; Kim & Ju, 1980; Hong, 2006; Yun, 2003). School systems that are too authoritarian and not in touch with new teaching philosophies have the potential to set back gains, and, ironically, create a basis for under-achievement. According to Yun's (2003) findings, this condition contributed to the schooling crisis in Korea. The collapse of schooling consists of a teaching and learning collapse in the 1990s, a guidance collapse, and consequently, high levels of absenteeism. Yun's results show that the level of crisis in public schools is higher than in private schools. Bureaucracy, inflexible communication with students and the absence of professional norms might limit educational achievement and set private and public education apart (Park, 2004; Lee, 2001a: 161; Croninger & Lee, 2001a &

2001b).

Schools are gradually prescribing effective mechanisms to improve students' achievement (see Park and Kim, 2013). Which mechanisms regarding school factors are more important for student's achievement? Leana and Pil (2006) come to the conclusion that teachers as 'social capital' may accelerate the achievement of collective goals. When teachers share information on school policies, college admission information, exhibit strong trust in relationships, and share and 'live' the same school mottos with children, positive results ensue (Leana & Pil, 2006: 355). Without positive relationships between teachers and students, there is no possibility for exchanging information that facilitates collective goals for higher achievement (Goddard, 2003; 60). These relationships also facilitate positive educational achievement for students (Goddard 2003: 70).

In Coleman's treatise (1994) on social theory, the quality of information exchanged relies on the dynamics of relationships in which one is engaged. Dynamics of the relationships between a teacher and a student implies – when constructive - a close and meaningful connection. Namely, the student is able to share with the teacher information about his or her problems. This sharing with a view to a successful outcome might facilitate students' problem-solving and achievement. However, when teachers function in an over-standardised school system their interventions can be negated by the 'suppressive effects' of the institutional environment (Byum, Schofer & Kim, 2012).

In Korea, often the first time students live away from home is when they enter a university. During this time, they may build new relationships with people from different life-styles and different environments (Halpern, 2005: 252-253). If students live away from home before entering a university, they may adapt to the transition more easily. In the case of a boarding high school, students experience separation from parents at an early age which might facilitate more independence. For example, studying and preparing homework is the student's own responsibility rather than one made compulsory by their parents. Lee and Park et al. (1998) claim that the school factor is three times more influential for student's achievement than father's occupation (Lee & Park et al, 1998: 53).

One might ask whether social capital in school can help teachers with students' development (Croninger & Lee, 2001a & 2001b)? According to current research, teachers' expectations, beliefs, and their class position are important factors to note when teachers and students interact in the classroom (Jussim *et al*., 1996). High expectations of teachers result in high achievement of their students (Kim, 1988: 235). Thus, positive interaction between teachers and students is one of the key factors that contribute to students' achievement in school (and beyond).

The importance of school as an institutional constructor of achievement has often been mentioned in the sociology of education studies (Carbonaro, 2005). Even though private and public schools are controlled by the government in Korea, there is a crucial difference between schools that stem from how school policies are applied, what kinds of trusted relationships are built, and the

associational goals. Some researchers say that the school external environment is an important factor in the long run for high achievement, perhaps more so than the family. Generally, a private school has a better environment: larger playgrounds, a superior library, and more useful information about college admissions, than a public school. These external environments will have an influence on educational achievement in respect of school social capital.

As mentioned previously, a strong trusting relationship between a teacher and a student can be one of the most important contributors to school social capital in the relational dimension. A teacher is one of the most important persons for students. Teachers' political and religious preferences and even appearance and fashion can affect students. All these factors affect students' success in education. Teacher's professional experience is significantly and positively correlated with student's performance. It is also significantly linked to social capital. Parental satisfaction in school is not the same in all external environments, but parental involvement in school life might be one of the important factors in leading to parental satisfaction with the children's school (Leana & Pil, 2006; 360).

The more satisfied students are with their school, the higher the performance will be in university entrance examinations (the National Scholastic Achievement Examination) (Jun & Yang, 2005). Based on such findings, it can be expected that academic achievement in Korea is largely linked to school-level factors and school's social capital. Interestingly, Catholic high school

students seem to achieve better, and have fewer dropouts than public and private school students (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987). Catholic high schools as I already highlighted provide peaceful educational environments and expect high achievement from students (Kim, 2004). Catholic schools also sustain active involvement of parents and firm discipline of students (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Kahlenberg, 2001: 70). In terms of the structural dimension of social capital, parental involvement in school life influences their children's achievement.

In short, school social capital is a multi-dimensional concept including relationships between teachers and students *and* teachers and parents. One of the important roles of school is knowledge delivery and the education of future generations (Haghighat, 2005). If there are deficiencies in relationships and connections within school, it can lead to estrangement, disjointedness, and reduced motivation impacting on performance or interest in education. In addition to familial social capital, social capital exists within the boundaries of schools. Thus, schools play a major role, alongside families in shaping students' academic achievement.

2.4.3 Community and Educational Achievement

Recent research on social capital has shifted focus from individuals to broader collectives and communities (Sanders, 2001; Heath & McLaughlin, 1987; Epstein, 1995; Toffler & Toffler, 1995; Boyd & Crowson, 1993; Braatz & Putnam, 1996). Most researchers in community social capital explain the importance of

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relationships. According to Hanifan (1916: 130-131) if an individual needs help or sympathy from his or her neighbours, a community can help the individual through the processes of cooperation. It is often recognised that a community holds as much importance as an individual. Social capital is not distributed equally in every district, particularly when considering the dynamics of urban and rural areas. Community history such as who the first settlers were and when they came, when the first church was built, when and where the first school was built affect community members' pride (Hanifan, 1916: 134). The question we have to ask here is whether and how community social capital influences and develops students' achievement. A community creates close relationships through various community activities (Putnam, 1993). Prompt community service makes residents feel at peace. Namely, most tight-knit communities have good security allowing residents to walk anywhere at night (Coleman, 1994). Therefore, the influence of close relationships among community members and the presence of community security act to encourage educational achievement. This issue is to be examined in detail in this study.

As already stated, social capital was researched by Putnam (1993, 2000) in terms of largely political development. If it is so, do different areas reveal different political participation rates that reflect different inclinations within Korean communities? Parents are usually more interested in children's education, and also more active in political issues, however, this may vary depending on the community being considered. Generally, the voting rates of wealthy, more urbanised, communities are higher than those of low income

communities (Braatz & Putnam, 1996).

Seo (2004) examines the variable of 'parental influence on children's education' and found that residential district was quite crucial – clearly residential district coincides with class and social position in Korea. A popular Korean drama series offers an understanding of Gangnam mother's "educational fever" (SBS TV drama, 2007). In the drama, some of the mothers intentionally and strategically move to the Gangnam area just for their children's education. Often they move to a smaller house than their previous house, so long as they take up residence in this prestigious area. As a social capital indicator, residential area is strongly linked to civic engagement. Each different residential type has some dominant features such as educational level, age, income, work status and social ties (Putnam, 1995b: 670).

According to Jin's study (2006), educational advantages regarding the higher rate of admission to prestigious universities influence housing prices in Korea. For example, if one area has a higher rate of entrance to prestigious universities and good private educational institutions, parents who can afford it would move to the area for their children's education. Parents with high SES are usually mobile and can move to a sought after area. Property prices in such areas will rise; therefore, if a family moves to the area, it means that the parents in this family must have a sufficiently high economic status. Figure 2.4 shows the relationships between educational attainment and property prices in Korea.

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Figure 2.4 Correlations between Schools and Property Prices
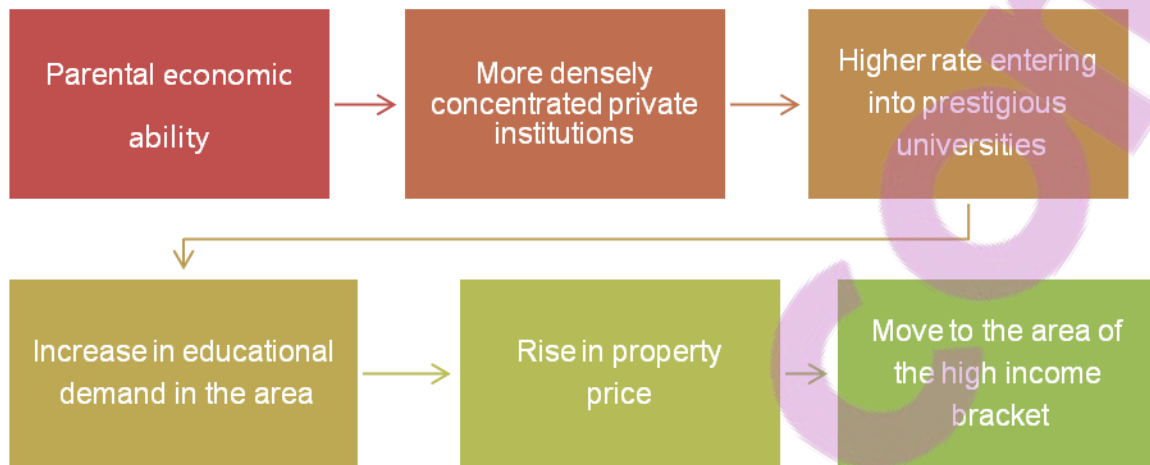
Source: adapted from Jin, 2006.

An interesting piece of data is the educational level according to the area in Seoul. A total of 6,269 inhabitants in Gangnam are PhD holders, 5,500 in Seocho, and 3,407 in Songpa (Jin, 2006: 96). It appears that there is a correlation between a district and educational level and it affects community members. Higher educational levels and higher incomes are likely to be more concentrated in places like Gangnam, where there is associative action with community members' and exchangeable educational information. Most people move to Gangnam, I would suggest, because of its attractive environment for their children's education. It is probably the best area in Korea in terms of education.

With regard to the structural aspects in the community, Kasarda (1993) states that depending on the environmental condition of the community there is a great difference between the school dropout rate in middle class areas and working

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class areas. Smith *et al.* (1992) found that students who moved frequently after the fifth grade were almost twelve percent more likely to drop out of school as compared to students who never moved; and students who were actively involved in church were three percent more likely to stay in school, compared to students who did not participate in church activities. Therefore, the effect of involvement in religious groups seems to increase a community's social capital (Sun, 1999). The most important reason for Korean parents to move house is to pursue a better educational environment, for example, if parents have high school children, they are most likely surveying the area before relocating to ensure that there is a prestigious school where they move to (particularly, good private educational institutions, and a well-established community) (Park, 2004: 326).

Change of school and moving house may be confronted with a disadvantage in terms of the accumulation of structural social capital (Pong, 1998; Lee, 2001b; Coleman, 1988). Even though the change of school and relocating can bring with it problems regarding residential stability for the family (Israel et al, 2001), this stability can be regained through rootedness in the new community.

As Coleman mentions, social capital in the community leads to the elevation of educational standards throughout the area because of the interaction between parents and children, close relationships among community members, and formed and possibly newly created relationships in the community among parents (Coleman, 1988; Park, 2004: 326). Differential status in schools can be

ascribed to the different provisions of social capital in the community (Kim, 2004). Networks of civic engagement in communities accelerate coordination and communication and extend information among individuals for their children's higher achievement (Putnam, 1994: 9).

According to many studies, there are differences between public and private schools in terms of educational outcomes (Han, 1980; Kim, 2005b; Lee, 2005). In general, the academic achievement of public school students is lower than that of more urban-based private students (Lee, 2005) - there is a great difference between 'rich' and 'poor' communities, rich being largely urban and poor mainly rural. In rich communities the formation of strong and well-resourced networks of parents come together more resiliently - to promote mutual communication, to build trust, to share information regarding children's education, to build ties between generations, and to participate in educational activities. Consequently these activities increase the amount of social capital at home, in school, and in the community (Lee, 2005). This does not appear to be the case in financially challenged environments where bonds are more strategic and less sustainable. According to Kim's study (2005b: 11-15), with regard to the educational gap in Korea in terms of academic achievement between regions and social classes, there is a noticeable difference in academic achievement among students in large cities and those in rural areas. The imbalance among regions is caused by the over-representation of highly educated parents in large cities.

There seems to be a consistency between social class, educational 'uniformity', 'parental interests' and ability to support children's education (Kim, 2005b: 23). Lee (1996) mentions that social capital in the community is a social norm and sanction that influences to a large degree student's achievement. Because of intimate networks among members in the community, related members can share resources, opinions, and provide information to make efficient use of their children's education. Therefore, more cooperation between parents and the community at large plays a part in children's higher achievement.

2.4.4 Summary

The discussion in this section shows that social capital affects and shapes education and is related to family, school and community. Many previous studies found that familial social capital plays a significant role in shaping children's educational achievement. Economically advantaged children are destined to attain better results and live in a more nurturing environment that has positive effects on their long-term educational achievement. As mentioned above, parent's SES is very important for their child's higher achievement. Other factors are also important including trust, relationships, concern and support, family structure, networks of parents to gain and share educational information, shared educational goals and parental expectations.

School social capital helps students succeed in education, even if student's familial social capital is not enough. One of the important social capital values is

the durability of interaction in social networks. In this regard, the school's approach and everyday interaction among students contribute to higher achievement. School social capital is valuable - schools have to find legitimate ways to assist all classes of students. They need to contribute to both low income and high income families through high quality of education for all.

Community social capital, in promoting educational achievement, is marked by wide engagement and mutual cooperation. Additionally, environmental conditions in the community are linked to educational achievement such as good security and sufficient facilities, e.g. a library and playground. Most high achieving students – and their parents - may be involved in voluntary services, religious organisations, and political/civic structures. Parents in these sites are usually more interested in their children's education than in less integrated areas.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This literature chapter discussed dimensions of social capital. It is not clear who used the term 'social capital' for the first time. According to Fukuyama (1999), Hanifan (1916) who conducted research in "the rural school community centre" used the term first. Social capital is a relevant and useful concept in the current field of educational sociology. Interest in the concept was first articulated in the 1980s and proliferated in the 1990s (Farr, 2004: 7), while the term has become widely used in much of the research of the social sciences in recent years

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(Halpern, 2005). Social capital is perceived to manifest in three facets: the relational, structural, and cognitive dimension. These three dimensions do not function independently, but interact with each other to a considerable degree. The first relational dimension in social capital is facilitated by: trust, relationships and concern and support in terms of education. Acquired relational social capital is an attribute of the individual actor involved in the relationship and is likely to get other actors such as parents, teachers and community support for achieving goals. The structural dimension of social capital requires networks and participation among the integrated groups with strong ties to school involvement, regional characteristics, and group-centred gatherings in order to share educational information. Furthermore, the purpose of parents' involvement in education is to obtain access to information for their children's higher achievement. Parents' concern with schooling and their 'educational standpoint' is a catalyst for upward social mobility. Parents' educational expectations in terms of cognitive dimensions help their children's higher achievement (Muller & Kerbow, 1993). A shared vision between parents and children is important for the so-called ticket to upward mobility and to facilitate their common goals. Finally, social capital, in terms of education, implies multiple-connections for educational achievement.

Three 'classical' theorists were referred to as contributing to the building of understandings of the concept of social capital. In Bourdieu's view (1986), individuals are advantaged because of their ties to a prestigious group in terms of economics. In addition, the volume of social capital depends on the quantity

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of networks in economic and cultural spheres; and social capital is an acquired resource. According to Bourdieu social capital is a mechanism for the dominant class to maintain its dominant status (Lin, 2001). Coleman (1988) focuses on the role of social capital in communicating the norms, trustworthiness, authority, and closure in terms of relationships. Of course, he insisted that parental SES is an important factor in children's education too. However, there are also relationships, communication, and shared values of parents and their children that can influence education. Putnam refers to the tendency for networks to create the basis for mutual assistance – and greater civic and political engagement. Trust and reciprocity invariably creates environments conducive to improved educational institutions and better performance.

The next chapter provides an outline of the research design and selection of research sites, sampling, and selection of method, ethical issues, and data analysis procedures. In Chapter 2, Figure 2.5 presents a conceptual model showing how social capital affects educational achievement. This should allow readers to follow the key arguments of Chapter 2 in a relatively systematic fashion.

Level	Attribute	Dimensional Social Capital	Educational SC

Micro → Individual, Family, School

Meso → Community, Civil Society, Business Organization

Macro → Nation

Relational Dimension
- Trust
- Relationships
- Concern & Support

Structural Dimension
- Networks
- Involvement
- Residential district

Cognitive Dimension
- Shared vision
- Shared educational goals
- Expectations

- Physical Dimension
- Relational Dimension
- Structural Dimension
- Cognitive Dimension

Social Capital

Educational Achievement

Figure 2.5 Summarised Literature Review and Framework in Chapter 2

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CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: THE QUANTITATIVE APPROACH, DATA GATHERING AND METHODS OF ANALYSIS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the methodological approach, data gathering and methods of analysis used in the study. The chapter comprises seven sections. The first section introduces the thrust of the chapter while the second describes the selection of research sites, sampling and the choice of the quantitative method as appropriate for the purposes of the study. The third section explains the mathematical assessment and three different context-specific questionnaires as instruments. The fourth section motivates the measure of the variables, referring to explanations. The fifth section presents the research model and hypotheses with specific reference to the theoretical framework and literature review. The sixth section reiterates the exploration of the data through quantitative analysis. As is the norm with most studies, the principal limitations are outlined. For example, during the research some difficulties were encountered whilst collecting data in boarding schools. This problem is explained in the seventh section, which also addresses the ethical considerations in dealing with problems arising out of the survey. The last part offers a concise summary of this chapter.

3.2 POSITIVISM AND SURVEY METHODOLOGY

A positivist logic structures quantitative research and the construction of surveys. A positivist depiction of the social world is one that views society as comprising social structures and behaviours that can be definitively defined and measured. Thus, positivist understandings of knowledge and social reality suggest that reality is knowable, it can be 'discovered', and is organised in terms of regular

patterns and predictable outcomes (Heidtman *et al.*, 2000). In recent years, scholars in sociology have contested arguments that social behaviour is determined and easily defined and have argued instead that behaviour is fluid, changeable, in a state of flux and incoherence, and constantly created and re-created. Whilst not wishing to enter into current debates on epistemology, I should state at the outset that I have always maintained a strong preference for survey research – seeing it as more 'scientific', 'objective' and 'reliable' (Johnson, 2009). While an interpretive approach to exploring social capital and education would have been useful and certainly interesting, my selection of a positivist, objectivist approach, is guided by my early training as a social science researcher in Korea (Abbott, 1990). Positivists argue that results can be obtained through scientific observations and measurements – to uncover their underlying patterns and laws. Social science research deals with complicated forms of human behaviour – and it makes sense to untangle the strands that shape behaviour in as objective a manner as possible (Cohn *et al.*, 2011). Most quantitative research is shaped by an overarching positivism in an effort to search for data that could lead to general claims (Cohn *et al.*, 2011). This research is thus necessarily linked to a positivist paradigm – but it could also be regarded as 'quantitatively oriented' because it will be tempered by my own insights and experiences (subjectivity) as a Korean.

This research used a quantitative method to collect data through three questionnaires (for students, parents and teachers). A survey, simply reiterated, is a means of "gathering information about characteristics, action, or opinions of a large group of people, referred to as a population" (Pinsonneault & Kraemer, 1993). My research sample is made up of 531 participants. I used a survey to build, what I hoped would be, a scientific, rigorous, objective study based on a positivist paradigm (Cohn et al., 2011; Pinsonneault & Kraemer, 1993).

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3.3 SOURCE OF DATA

3.3.1 Selection of Research Sites and Sampling

The research sites were purposively selected but the participants within the different sites were randomly selected. The study was conducted in three relatively good performing schools; two of the three schools were in an urban area, and the other one in a rural area in Korea. The three schools were selected intentionally, according to the criterion that they were examples of schools seeking to attain excellent results. *Yangjae High School* (YHS) is in the Gangnam 8th zone in Seocho-Gu in Seoul[15], Korea. It is a *public*, coeducational school, and has a high admission rate to SKY[16]: 49 students were admitted to SKY in 2009 (Choi, 2009). Jin (2006) found that levels of parental education were high in the Gangnam 8th zone; the location of Yangjae High School reveals possibly a different social capital shaped in terms of the socio-economic context. Therefore, parents in this area are apt to be driven in supporting their children's education.

The second school in the sample is *Daewon Foreign Language High School* (DFLHS). It is the only one of its kind in Korea. Daewon Foreign Language High School is an exceptionally high-achieving school, located in Seoul. Three hundred and forty (340) of its students were admitted to SKY in 2009 (this information is drawn from the website of Daewon Foreign Language High School). In addition, Daewon Foreign Language High School ranked 13th in terms of 'high admissions' to the Ivy League in the USA (Bae, 2007: 1); and 37 students successfully entered the Ivy League in 2009 (Whang, 2009: 1). The last school is *Sangsan High School* (SHS). It is located in a *rural area* in Jeonju province. All students stay in dormitories as boarding is compulsory. Sangsan High School obtained high admission rates to prestigious universities in Korea

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[15] Seoul is the capital of Korea.
[16] SKY refers to the top three prestigious universities in Korea: S is Seoul National University, K is Korea University, and Y is Yonsei University.

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as well as to prestigious overseas universities such as those referred to collectively as the 'Ivy League'.

Yangjae High School (YHS), Daewon Foreign Language High School (DFLHS) and Sangsan High School (SHS) differ in terms of school environments. The three schools have large numbers of students from different socio-economic groups. The total enrolment numbers in YHS, DFLHS and SHS are as follows:

Table 3.1 Total Enrolment in YHS, DFLHS and SHS

	DFLHS	SHS	YHS
10th grade	432(Boys 177/ Girls 255)	383(Boys 255/ Girls 128)	485(Boys 227/ Girls 258)
11th grade	439 (182/ 257)	390 (256/ 134)	339 (166/ 173)
12th grade	441 (192/ 249)	374 (248/ 126)	339 (156/ 183)
Total	1,312 (551/ 761)	1,147 (759/ 388)	1,163 (549/ 614)

Source: compiled from the websites of the schools, 2009.

3.3.2 Selection of Method and Data Collection Techniques

Because students work hard on their studies in an immensely competitive environment, they often do not have time for a face-to-face interview. Self-administered questionnaires were thus used, because they allow for greater flexibility. Students could fill them in their own time. The objectives of this research and the confidentiality of the responses were explained fully to the participants before handing out the questionnaire.

In developing the questionnaire as a research tool, I used Beaulieu and Israel's (2001) research model as a reference for key variables to explore their effect on educational achievement. This framework was used for the application and verification of analytic variables and associations. The data was collected in the period 25th November to 30th December in 2009 from YHS and DFLHS. I conducted the survey by mail, sending questionnaires to the SHS's parents: as

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mentioned above, all SHS students are required to board at the school. For this reason, the data from SHS was received at the end of March 2010. All three schools were visited before conducting the actual survey, so that the aims and academic purpose of the research could be properly explained and understood – and to ensure that all queries could be addressed. It took longer to collect parents' data from Sangsan High School because they replied via mail and the mail was received intermittently over many months. Incomplete questionnaires were not included in the data analysis. The problems associated in this regard, as well as some unexpected issues, are referred to in section 3.8.

3.3.3 Research Subjects

There were three groups of research subjects: in order to assess how social capital influences educational achievement, I surveyed students, teachers, and parents in this study. All the subjects were voluntary participants and signed consent forms attesting to this. As mentioned, the achieved sample size was 531 participants: these can be divided into 206 students (11th grade), 71 teachers, and 254 parents. The sample of the students consisted of the 11th graders from each school: 70 students of Daewon Foreign Language High School, and 78 students of Sangsan High School, 58 students of Yangjae High School. The 11th graders (rather than the final year, 12th graders) were selected because the students in these grades are at an important time of their high school careers, and are preparing for further studies. In the Korean educational system, important future-orientated decisions are made at this stage. In the case of their parents, both fathers and mothers were selected as subjects of study. In some instances a student had a single parent. Parents, whether joint or single, were important to include because they hold importance as theoretical subjects, given that the study's aim was to assess how the SC of parents influences the students. Accordingly, the sample size of parents is 254 in total: 123 fathers and 131 mothers.

The questionnaire for parents was sent with the selected sample of students,

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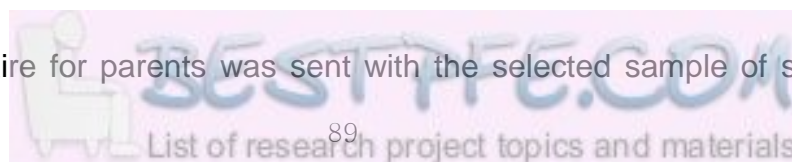
who took them home and returned them to the school after parents had filled them in. In the case of the SHS parents, all the SHS students were boarders at the school. Thus the questionnaires for the parents were delivered to the school, and had to be taken to parents once students returned home. The SHS parents responded by mail. Detailed information and a consent letter were sent with the questionnaires. In general, a smaller sample of parents was realised in Sangsan High School than I had hoped. An explanation for the smaller sample size is offered in section 3.8 of this chapter, when the limitations of the study are referred to.

In the case of teachers, I distributed the questionnaire personally to each teacher in all three schools. To present them in a tabular form, the research subjects participating in the study can be noted as follows:

Table 3.2 Research Subjects

	DFHS	SHS	YHS	Total
11th graders	70 (35/35) (Boys/ Girls)	78 (39/39)	58 (32/26)	206
Teachers	21 (10/11) (Males/ Females)	20 (15/5)	30 (15/15)	71
Students' parents	139 (69/70) (Fathers/ Mothers)	6 (3/3)	109 (51/58)	254
Total	230	104	197	531

3.4 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

A quantitative research methodology allows for a systematic approach to the capturing of perceptions, beliefs, values, and types of behaviour. In the research, I conducted a survey and used questionnaires to assess how social capital influences students' educational achievement in schools: here it should be mentioned that mathematics marks were used as the dependent variable and the results of a special examination conducted on the 17th of November, 2009,

in Korea[17], were the main point of reference.

In line with the categories outlined in the literature, the questionnaires were designed to research social capital's influence on familial, school, and community values in terms of educational achievement (Beaulieu & Israel, 2001). Newspaper reports referring to the two highest achieving schools can be outlined below – where the results of the College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT) in 2012 are cited. For your reference, currently, Korean students enter a university based on their CSAT scores. Daewon Foreign Language High School is ranked No. 2 in Korea and the Sangsan High School achieved No. 4 in subjects including Korean, Mathematics, and English. The details of the instrument are shown in the following section.

3.4.1 Mathematic Assessment

The College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT)[18] consists of five content domains in Korea: Korean, Mathematics Ga Type or Na Type optional, English, Social Sciences or Natural Science (optional), second language (not compulsory). Korea has two courses for university entrance. One is a humanities course and the other is a science course. The two courses are described in more detail in terms of elective subjects in Table 3.3 (below).

Table 3.3 CSAT Courses

	elective subjects				
	Korean	**Math**	**English**	**Social/Natural science**	**Second langue**
humanities course	common	Math Na Type	common	Social science	common
science course	common	Math Ga Type	common	Natural science	common

Source: Korea Institute of Curriculum & Evaluation, 2009.

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[17] An examination is conducted 5 times every year for every grade (from the 10th grade to the 12nd grade) nationally in Korea.

[18] CSAT serves as academic aptitude tests before university entrance and are conducted in the middle of November, annually in Korea (http://www.kice.re.kr/ko/board/view.do?menu _id=10029).

Students can be ranked for the CSAT subjects from one through nine. With rank 1 the average score was 83 and with rank 2 the average score was 61 (Analysis by Kyeonggi Province Office of Education, 2009). Lee and Namgung (2008: 131-132) suggest that the mathematics score is a strong indicator of achievement in the Korean context – and is the score that is the deciding factor in university enrolment. If the raw score is 83, it means that the student answered 83 questions correctly out of a total of 100 questions. An additional reason for this choice out of the many subjects that students take is that mathematics has the largest standard deviation [19] of all the subjects. Mathematics seems to be the subject that most children seek to 'achieve in' since most Korean students receive private tuition in mathematics (Song, 2009: 20). Specifically, according to Song (2009: 37) 83.7% of high school students in Korea receive private tuition in mathematics.

In addition to drawing on the CSAT scores as an indicator of achievement/ non-achievement, reading and writing as an indicator of achievement/ underachievement amongst students in Korea was also perused (Jung, 2000). Mathematics, however, was the most important subject because we can measure the achieved score based on the Basic Academy Skill in Korea (Ilhyuk, 2005).

Table 3.4 Mean and Standard Deviation in Each Section

		2006		2007	
		Mean	**Standard deviation**	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**
Korean		75.9	17.86	70.55	17.40
Math	**Ga Type**	53.1	20.41	55.10	21.20
	Na Type	40.2	22.99	47.60	27.05
English		55.3	21.28	60.87	22.07

Source: Adapted from web site of http://cafe.naver.com/highschoolcafe/897

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[19] Standard deviation is a variation that deviates from the mean (Park & Cho & Kim, 2009: 126). High difference of standard deviation is that the high ranking group and the low ranking group in terms of mathematics mark are difference of educational achievement in mathematics (Jang & Hong, 1996: 98-99).

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The Na type of mathematics is an advanced subject and one of the prestigious subjects in the Korean school curriculum. The mean of the Na type of mathematics was 30.03 and the standard deviation was 21.81 in the assessment carried out on 17 November, 2009, Korea (Kyeonggi Province Office of Education, 2009). Overall, this indicates a drop in the level of achievement since 2006 and 2007 (as the statistics in Table 3.4 indicate).

3.4.2 Contextual Questionnaires

To elaborate: the questionnaire was designed for components of the variable consisting of three types of social capital: familial social capital, school social capital, and community social capital. Each of the three types of social capitals was linked to four dimensions: physical, relational, structural, and cognitive dimensions (see Chapter 2). Firstly, in familial social capital, physical background is familial context related to parental income, occupation, and family structure etc. Secondly, school capital refers to school environment with regard to school type, boarding school or non-boarding school, contentment with the school curriculum and rules etc. Lastly, in community social capital, physical background refers to satisfaction with community pertaining to such issues as security, facilities and pride in community etc. Nahapiet & Ghoshal (1998) contend that relationships continue to develop over time through on-going interaction and associations. The relational social capital researched consisted of conversations, trust, and relationships with students, parents, and teachers, including their concerns and support.

The structural social capital dimension is what structures the network amongst parents, including the degree of involvement in terms of organisation, and regional characteristics in urban and rural areas. The last dimension is cognitive. It involves parental expectations of children, their awareness of children's weak subjects, closest friends, and construction of rules for children etc. If there is synergy between children and parents in terms of 'thinking', there are positive outcomes in the cognitive dimension. Three questionnaires for students, parents,

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and teachers were examined in the current study and described in more detail below.

Students: Each student, sampled for the current study of the three schools was asked to complete a student questionnaire and ideas drawn out of Beaulieu and Israel's (2001) model were tested. The questionnaire for each student consisted of five sections: the first section was about the student himself/herself, the second was about relationships with the student's parent/s, the third was about the student's sense of satisfaction at school and in his/her relationships with teachers and friends, the fourth was about the community, and the final section addressed issues regarding health, siblings, self-perceptions and the future. Each section included the student's physical background, relational dimension, structural dimension and cognitive dimension. The dimensions were specified in social capital (SC) (see Appendix A). The questionnaire consisted of 137 items (with certain items entailing biographical questions). The student questionnaire was designed to take about 30 minutes to complete, and the researcher monitored the returns, checking that the questions were understood and questionnaire filled in properly. The full set of instruments was translated into Korean for administering in Korea.

Parents: The parents' questionnaire required a formal request and written acknowledgement of consent for their child to be a research subject. Letters were sent to the schools in advance and permission granted from them for the study. This additional request for consent was necessary, and required by the University of Pretoria's Research and Ethics Committee.

The questionnaire for parents consisted of two parts: one was for the father and the other for the mother. It was subdivided into five sections: the first section referred to the parent, the second related to the child, the third related to the child's school, teacher and education, the fourth related to the community and politics, and the last section related to self-perceptions. Each section implied – once again- physical background, relational dimension, structural dimension,

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and cognitive dimension. The parents' questionnaire addressed their SES such as academic qualifications, occupations, and income (see Appendix *B*). The parent questionnaire consisted of 86 items, designed to take about 20 minutes to complete. The method of collection was either by means of handing it to the child or by mailing the completed questionnaire back, as was the case for parents of boarding students.

Teachers: The teachers' questionnaire consisted of five parts: the self, the school, students, colleagues, and relationships with students' parents, opinion of Goawoe (the system of private tutoring in Korea) and Hakgwan (a private educational institution in Korea), the community, social matters, politics, and the last was self-perceptions (see Appendix *C*). As school capital, the current study probes teachers' opinions, attitudes and 'thinking'. The teachers' questionnaire was designed to take on average 20 minutes to complete.

3.5 MEASUREMENT OF VARIABLES

I measured the dependent variable, namely educational achievement based on the mathematics scores in the three different schools. Then the four dimensions of the family, the school, and the community were assessed as part of the data analysis. In examining familial social capital, I probed family variables to assess what Coleman (1988) addressed as the traditional background in terms of parental SES. The highest academic qualification, occupation, and income reflect resources possessed by the parents. In what specific ways can they influence the child's educational achievement, aspiration, and success in the future? Theoretically, familial social capital, in the relational dimension, determines the trust, relationship, concern and support between parents and children (the parents' trust and understanding of their child; child discusses school matters with father or mother; parents know what the child's weak subjects are, who the child's closest friend is etc.) as well as the expense for education (parent spares no expense for education or school support; parents readily accept the expenses in paying fees for child's private tutoring). The

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measurement of familial social capital in the structural dimension focuses on the network, participation and family structure (living at home/away from home; the number of siblings; who do you live with; birth order; parent's accumulation of educational information). The number of siblings is argued to reduce the opportunity that individual children can gain for a high quality education (Beaulieu & Israel, 2001); therefore, the number of siblings can influence the child's educational achievement. The last measure of familial social capital is in the cognitive dimension including shared vision, educational goals, and expectations between parents and child (the parent might be keen to have the child follow in his/her occupation; the parent may want to know immediately about the child's examination performance; parents may check the child's homework or studies regularly; parents may also be excessively ambitious for their children; there might be differences in fathers and mothers expectations; parents might hope that children make good career choices e.g. pursue prominent roles such as become a lawyer, medical doctor, or politician).

The second type of social capital refers to school; and, as many previous researchers I have cited mentioned, school remains an important factor for higher achievement (Park, 2004; Lee, 2001a: 161; Croninger & Lee, 2001a & 2001b). When students display contentment, and are at ease with themselves, they perform better in university entrance examinations (Jun & Yang, 2005). A 'physical background' in school social capital in this study can be defined as satisfaction with their school and its type (school type refers to private *or* public school; dormitory at school *or* non-dormitory; the indoor school environment, e.g. classrooms, equipment; the outdoor school environment, e.g. the school grounds, library; being pleased with meals; contentment with the school's curriculum).

Without effective teacher-student relationships the exchange of ideas and information that facilitates collective goals in terms of higher education are inhibited (Goddard, 2003; 60). Here the key relationships between teacher and student can be exemplified by respectfulness towards teachers, students finding

teachers accessible and approaching them for advice (e.g. when considering dropping grades, facing complex family circumstances etc.) and in being inspired by the teacher's passion for learning. In Coleman's treatise (1994) on social theory, the quality of the information exchanged is contingent on the strength of the relationships in which one is engaged. Engaged relationships should facilitate collective goals for the students' higher performance. School social capital in the structural dimension is represented as a network in which parents participate in school life. If parents are involved with the school's staff in their children's school or meet other parents they can share useful information for higher achievement. Shared expectations and goals regarding university admission between a teacher and student shape the cognitive dimension. Four measures of the cognitive dimension for school social capital are: 1) contentment with the discipline at school; 2) contentment with the school policies (e.g. for university admission); 3) teachers' influence on most students in planning for the future; 4) respect for school's teachers. Scholars generally agree that family in many societies is a vital factor constructing social capital; however school social capital is also argued to hold an important place and has a bearing on the student's educational achievement. Thus, the comparative influences and their specific particularities need continuous investigation and analysis.

Community social capital is also addressed here. The environmental conditions in the community like the physical background can influence educational achievement. This includes aspects such as good security, youth festivals, facilities (e.g. a library and playground). Community social capital is amassed through in-depth and deeply felt understandings, cooperative actions, and strong bonds amongst members. Some of the questions to parents probed attachment to social groups or perceptions of decision-makers. In Putnam's (1993) view members in the community should attend and engage more in community and civic activities. Networks and participation are important community social capital too, for example, the stability of the residential district, staying and going to school in the same area (retaining geographic

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homogeneity), participation of student and parents in voluntary services, involvement of students in religious organisations and participation of parents in elections. All these are tested as explanatory variables in current questionnaires.

The residential district is a very important element of the structure in community social capital in Korea (Kim, 2005b; Lee, 2005; Jin, 2006). As mentioned in Chapter 2, Gangnam-gu, Seocho-gu, and Songpa-gu are regarded as very attractive environments for education in Korea. The last measure in community social capital is the cognitive dimension regarding shared expectations and goals in the community. In this study, the extent to which community members recognise the role of community and the importance of decision-makers is also a focus of attention. The above-mentioned was factored into the questionnaires as follows:

Table 3.5 Measurements of Variables (continued)

Variable		Constitutive definition for the Variables	Explanatory Variable (S[20] PF[21] PM[22])
FSC[23]	Physical background	Parental SES	• Father's highest academic qualification (PF V4) • Mother's highest academic qualification (PM V4) • Father's occupation (PM V5) • Mother's occupation (PM V5) • Father's income (PF V7) • Mother's income (PM V7)
		Trust, concern & support in relationship between parent and child/ren	• Father's trust for his child (PF V8.6) • Mother's trust for her child (PM V8.6) • Father understands his child (PF V8.7) • Mother understands her child (PM V8.7)
			• Any concern, I speak to my father (S V15.4) • Any concern, I speak to my mother (S V16.4) • Changed my decision as a result of my father's advice (S V15.12) • Changed my decision as a result of my mother's advice (S V16.12) • Father's understanding for child (S V15.7) • Mother's understanding for child (S V16.7)
			• School matters (teachers, friends), discuss them with the father (S V15.6) • School matters (teachers, friends), discuss them with the mother (S V16.6) • Relationship with my father is good (S V15.10) • Relationship with my mother is good (S V16.10)
			• Father knows what child's weak subject is (PF V8.1) • Mother knows what child's weak subject is (PM V8.1)

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[20] S is the questionnaire for student.
[21] PF is the questionnaire for father.
[22] PM is the questionnaire for mother.
[23] FSC means familial social capital.

RD[24]			• Father knows who child's closest friend is (PF V8.2) • Mother knows who child's closest friend is (PM V8.2) • Father knows child's register class number (PF V8.3) • Mother knows child's register class number (PM V8.3) • When father does planning, he considers child's school schedule, e.g. test period, deadline of projects (PF V8.15) • When mother does planning, she considers child's school schedule, e.g. test period, deadline of projects (PM V8.15) • Father spares no expense for education and school support (PF V8.14) • Mother spares no expense for education and school support (PM V8.14) • Father thinks the expense in paying fees for child's private tutoring is a burden (PF V26) • Mother thinks the expense in paying fees for child's private tutoring is a burden (PM V26)
	SD[25]	Family structure, network and participation	• Student lives at home/away from home (S V6) • The number of siblings (S V4) • Who do you live with? (S V5) • Birth order (S V3) • Father's collection of educational information (PF V21) • Mother's collection of educational information (PM V21)
	CD[26]	Shared vision, educational goal, and expectations	• Father is keen on child following the father's occupation (S V15.21) • Mother is keen on child following the mother's occupation (S V16.21) • Father wants to know my rank after examinations (S V15.16) • Mother wants to know my rank after examinations (S V16.16) • Father checks my homework or study (S V15.19) • Mother checks my homework or study (S V16.19) • Father pushes me too much to succeed academically (S V15.22) • Mother pushes me too much to succeed academically (S V16.22) • Father pushes me harder than mother to perform academically (S V15.23) • Mother pushes me harder than father to perform academically (S V16.23) • Father hopes the child makes a good choice in terms of profession e.g. lawyer, medical doctor, politician (PF V8.13) • Mother hopes the child makes a good choice in terms of profession e.g. lawyer, medical doctor, politician (PM V8.13)
SSC[27]	Physical background	Suitability and harmony with the school	• School type (S V21) • Dormitory at school /non dormitory (S V7) • Indoor school environment, e.g. class rooms, equipment (S V22.1) • Outdoor school environment, e.g. the school grounds, library (S V22.2) • Contentment with the school meals (S V22.6) • Contentment with the school's curriculum (S V22.3)
	RD	Relationship and trust	• Students are respectful towards the teacher (S V27.1) • When I have concerns, e.g. failing grades, family circumstances etc, I ask my register teacher's advice (S V27.10) • School teachers have a passion for high quality education (S V27.7)
	SD	Network and participation of parents at school	• The father is part of the staff of the child's school (PF V12) • The mother is part of the staff of the child's school (PM V12) • Social group to share education matters with other parents (PF V17) • Social group to share education matters with other parents (PM V17)
	CD	Shared expectation and goal	• Satisfaction with the discipline at school (S V22.4) • Satisfaction with the school policy, e.g. for university admission (S V22.5) • Teacher has a big influence on most of the students in planning for the future (S V27.9)

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[24] RD means relational dimension.
[25] SD means structural dimension.
[26] CD means cognitive dimension.
[27] SSC means school social capital.

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			• Respect for school's teachers (S V27.4)
CSC [28]	Physical background	The environmental conditions	• Good security in the community (S V44.3) • The festivals for youth in the community (S V44.4) • The facilities, e.g. library and playground, in the community (S V44.5)
	RD	Interaction among the community members	• Opportunity to participate actively in youth social clubs (S V44.6) • Influencing decision-making in the community (S V45) • Influencing decision-making in the community (PF V33) • Influencing decision-making in the community to (PM V33)
	SD	Network and participation in the community	• Residential district (S V12/ V13/ V14) • The same area where you go to school (S V20) • Participation of student in voluntary services for the community (S V41) • Participation of father in voluntary services for the community (PF V29) • Participation of mother in voluntary services for the community (PM V29) • Involvement of student in a religious organisation (S V43) • Involvement of father in a religious organisation (PF V32) • Involvement of mother in a religious organisation (PM V32) • Informed student about youth programs in the community (S V46) • Informed father about youth programs in the community (PF V27) • Informed mother about youth programs in the community (PM V27) • Participation of father in an election (PF V38) • Participation of mother in an election (PM V38)
	CD	Shared expectation and goal in the community	• The role of the community is important to student (S V44.7) • The role of the community is important to father (PF V28.7) • The role of the community is important to mother (PM V28.7) • Decision-makers in the community are important to student (S V47) • Decision-makers in the community are important to father (PF V34) • Decision-makers in the community are important to mother (PM V34)

3.6 RESEARCH MODEL AND HYPOTHESES

3.6.1 Research Model

This study embraces an adapted research model based on the work of Beaulieu & Israel (2001), Coleman (1988), Bourdieu (1986), Putnam (1995b; 2000), Pong (1998), and Kim (2005) etc. The research model is in Figure 3.1 on the next page.

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[28] CSC means community social capital.

Figure 3.1 Research Model

Family	School	Community
X11 Physical background (Prental SES)	**X21** Physical background (Contentment with the school)	**X31** Physical background (The environmental conditions)
X12 Relational dimension	**X22** Structural dimension	**X32** Relational dimension
X13 Structural dimension	**X23** Relational dimension	**X33** Structural dimension X
X14 Cognitive dimension	**X24** Cognitive dimension	**X34** Cognitive dimension

Educational Achievement

Source: Adapted from Beaulieu & Israel, 2001; Coleman (1988), Bourdieu (1986), Putnam (1995b; 2000), Pong (1998), and Kim (2005) etc.

3.6.2 Research Hypotheses

There are four sub-hypotheses for each main hypothesis. The first hypothesis considers *familial social capital.* According to Bourdieu (1986), social capital leads to inequality, that is, education is not only functional for social order by the dominant class in terms of economics (privileged individuals), but also maintains their superiority (Field, 2008). Therefore parental SES and family factors is expected to have an effect consistent with background, i.e. negative effects on children from low socio-economic backgrounds and positive effects on children from affluent backgrounds.

Coleman maintains the opposite (1994): that trust, strong relationships, concern and support between parents and children in relational SC can affect children's educational achievement, irrespective of SES. In this view, internalised relational SC will increase educational achievement. The family structure, networks of parents providing educational information for children (An, 2005; Burt, 1992, 1997; Coleman, 1988) all lead to different educational achievements, as well as, shared educational goals and common expectations between parents and children in terms of education (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Colenam, 1994; Tsai &Goshal, 1998). Ultimately, the familial SC is envisaged to exert a significant influence on educational achievement. The hypotheses for research are as follows:

Table 3.6 Hypothesis of Familial Social Capital

Main:	**Familial SC will exert a significant influence on educational achievement.**
Sub-questions	Parental SES – income, educational level, and occupation – will influence educational achievements of children.
	The relational dimension - trust, relationships, concern, support between parents and children - in familial SC – will affect educational achievements of children.
	The structural dimension - family structure, network of parents accessing educational information for children - in familial SC – will affect educational achievements of children.
	Cognitive dimension - shared educational goals and the kinds of expectations between parents and children -in familial SC – will affect educational achievements of children.

The second hypothesis considers *school social capital* as the main factor for academic achievement (Haghighat, 2003; Park, 2004; Lee, 2001a: 161; Croninger & Lee, 2001a & 2001b). A strong relationship between a teacher and parent and a teacher and student in terms of interaction might shape educational outcomes significantly. If parents are more involved in school life, they will have more information on education and their child will ultimately benefit. If a teacher and student have a mutual relationship of trust and respect, the student's educational achievement will be positive. Of course, differences exist with every school and the research sites selected might exhibit different tendencies.The second hypothesis is as follows:

Table 3.7 Hypothesis of School Social Capital

Main	School SC will influence educational achievement.
Sub-questions	Contentment with the school in terms of its environmental aspects – the indoor school, the outdoor school, and the school's curriculum etc. will affect the educational achievement of students.
	The relational dimension – relationships between teacher and student - in school SC will influence the educational achievements of children.
	The structural dimension – the staff of child's school and social group to share information about child's education - in the school SC - will influence educational achievements of children.
	The cognitive dimension - respect for school's teachers, recognition of teacher's influence on students in planning their future and policies for university admission - in the school SC - affect educational achievement of children.

The third hypothesis addresses community social capital. At this point, the community should help the youth to achieve their full potential (Little 1982; Israel *et al.*, 2001). For instance, if the community can enhance security, festivals (e.g. cultural activities for youth), and sufficient facilities (e.g. a library and playground in the community) these could prove to facilitate performance. The environmental conditions within the community might also affect educational achievement. As Coleman (1988) points out, interaction among community members based on trust will influence decision-making in the community in terms of educational policies and will affect educational achievements. Participation in voluntary services and religious organisations will affect interaction positively, that is, it will influence educational outcomes. The third hypothesis for research is as follows:

Table 3.8 Hypothesis of Community Social Capital

Main	Community SC will influence educational achievement.
Sub-questions	The environmental conditions - security, festivals, e.g. cultural activities for youth, and sufficient facilities, e.g. a library and playground in the community - will influence educational achievement.
	The relational dimension – interaction among the members e.g. influence on decision-making in the community - community's SC - will influence educational achievement.
	The structural dimension – participation in voluntary services and religious organisations, residential districts, and participation in elections in the community – in community's SC - will influence educational achievements.
	The cognitive dimension – important roles and decision-makers in the community - in the community's SC will influence educational achievements.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis was performed by using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS 20.0). Frequencies and descriptive statistics were used to offer a general background and descriptions of socio-demographic characteristics (3.5.1). Chi-square tests (χ^2) with cross tabulation analysis were used to compare and highlight the differences between the respondents; ANOVA with the F-test is used to compare the differences between the mean scores in each group.[29] The ordinary least square regression (OLS) analysis was also performed. All the data was analysed with respect to a 95% significance level. Once statistical calculations were completed, the tests were interpreted within the framework of theory on social capital and educational achievement.

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[29] Three groups were purposely constructed. The first group was coded 'a': it is the high group - above 97 score. The middle group coded 'b' was classified from 96 to 86 score. The last group coded 'c' was defined by under 85 score.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

The data for this research was obtained from three different types of schools. YHS and DFLHS are located in Seoul, but SHS is very far away from Seoul, in Jeonju province. The survey took longer than expected to some extent because of the problem of the long distance. As part of the ethical considerations for each school, permission was required from the principal. Originally, I had wanted to research the Minjok Leadership Academy School in Kangwon province. Unfortunately, although making concerted efforts in this regard, I was not able to secure the necessary permission from the principal of Minjok Leadership Academy School for the research. The reason offered was that the administering of the research questionnaires and the conducting of the research via the school could drastically disturb the students' studies and the rhythm of the schools. I was informed that Korean schools that are particularly noted for their 'achievement drive' would not be open to having surveys run at their schools. This was the source of my greatest anxiety at the onset of the fieldwork. Thus, although Minjok Leadership Academy School would have been a great school to research because it is well renowned for producing excellent students, I had to look elsewhere for a similar school to study.

Instead of the Minjok Leadership Academy School, I chose a public school: Yangjae High School in Seoul. As it turned out, this was a useful switch of site because extremely important results were derived from this public school.

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These results are fully discussed in Chapter 5. Normally, most students leave to school from their homes, but in the case of SHS it was different. The students of SHS board and are permitted to return home once a month. As already suggested, SHS parents did not readily complete and return the questionnaire, thus, the response rate was a bit disappointing. This was an unexpected problem which admittedly might have affected the final overall picture constructed by the analysis of the data (Neuman, 1997).

3.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the information concerning the data and methods of the analysis were detailed. It was clarified that a survey was used with the research sample totaling 531 participants. The research hypotheses were further sub-divided into key sub-hypotheses. The descriptive statistics was carried out by running SPSS 20.0. Statistical processes such as Chi-square tests (χ^2) with cross tabulation analysis were used to assess the differences amongst the respondents. ANOVA with the F-test was used to compare the differences of the mean scores in each group. Also, the ordinary least square regression (OLS) was performed. The chapter also discussed ethical considerations. The following chapter details the data that was derived and offers insights into the emerging themes.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF THE CORE DATA: SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

4. 1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the main empirical data of the research is presented. The structure of this chapter can be outlined as follows. First, the sociological and demographic characteristics of the subjects (students and parents) are described in Section 4.2. Second, the student-respondents' mathematical achievement scores are divided into three groups, namely high, middle, and low[30] groups, and are adjusted similarly to the frequency, depending on the distribution of the Mathematic achieved scores (MAS). The MAS as stated in Chapter 3 signifies and represents varying levels of achievement. This section compares the distribution of demographic characteristics of the students, and compares the relationships between parents, schools, and communities as related to the MAS. Third, a comparison of the responding parents as related to the MAS is discussed. A comparison of the distribution of demographic characteristics of parents, the comparison of the relationship between parents and their children, schools and the communities to the MAS of their children is provided. Last, a conclusion reflecting on the chapter as a whole is presented in Section 4.5.

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[30] The detail of the category for the classification will mention in section 4.3.

4.2 SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECTS

According to the responses derived from the survey, the social and demographic characteristics of the students, both parents, and the teacher are as follows.

4.2.1 Social and Demographic Characteristics of Students

All the subjects were voluntary participants and participated freely after being informed of the purpose of the study. The sample size consists of 531 persons from all three schools, with 206 11th grade students being a major part of this sample. Regarding gender, 51.5% (106) are male and 48.5% (100) are female students. Regarding the birth order, it was interesting to note that most of the students (64.9%) were first-born children (133 students), the second largest group (26.3%) consist of second-born children (54 students), and the third-born children make up 2.4% (5 students). The percentage of youngest child is 5.4% (11 students) and 'other' is 1.0 % (2 students). The number of students with siblings are as follows: only one-child families are 12.1% (25 students), two siblings is 72.8% (150 students), three siblings is 14.6% (30 students), and four siblings 0.5% (one student).

The majority of the students live with both parents 61% (125 students), the percentage of students who board are 29.8% (61 students) – this implies that

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they are still attached to the parental home but are separate from parental influence for large parts of the year. A small number of students, 4.9% (10) live with a single parent; an even smaller number live alone, 2% (4 students); 'other' is 2.4% (5 students). Religious affiliation is as follows: 53.9% (110) students have no religious affiliation. There are 26% Protestants (53 students), 12.3% Roman Catholics (25 students), 6.4% Buddhists (13 students), 0.5% Muslims (one student), 'other' is 1% (2 students). Self-perceptions of students as regards their socio-economic class position can be summarised: upper-middle class (wealthy) comprises 37.6% (77 students), middle class (comfortable) is 35.1% (72 students), upper class (extremely wealthy) is 18% (37 students), lower-middle class (good standard of living) is 7.8% (16 students), and working class (meeting basic needs) is 1.5% (3 students).

Regarding relationships with members of the opposite sex, most of the sampled students (89.3%) have no girl- or boyfriend (184 students) and just 10.7% (22 students) reported having a girl- or boyfriend. As regards residential district, it is significant that 49.5% of students (102) come from the more prestigious districts:[31] 64 students come from Seocho-gu (31.1%), 26 from Gangnam-gu (12.6%), and 12 from Songpa-gu (5.8%). The sociological and demographic characteristics of the students are summarised in Table 4.1.

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[31] I will refer in this study to 'the prestigious districts' implying specifically Gangnam-gu, Seocho-gu and Songpa-gu.

Table 4.1 Social and Demographic Characteristics of Students (continued)

Explanatory Variable		F (N=206)	Valid Percent
Gender	Male	106	51.5
	Female	100	48.5
Birth order	The first child	133	64.9
	The second child	54	26.3
	The third child	5	2.4
	The youngest child	11	5.4
	Other	2	1.0
Number of siblings	One	25	12.1
	Two	150	72.8
	Three	30	14.6
	four	1	0.5
The housemate (live with whom)	Both parents	125	61.0
	Single parents	10	4.9
	Friend (dormitory)	61	29.8
	Alone	4	2.0
	Other	5	2.4
Religious affiliation	Buddhism	13	6.4
	Roman Catholic	25	12.3
	Protestantism	53	26.0
	Muslim	1	0.4
	No religious affiliation	110	53.9
	Other	2	1.0
Living condition	upper class (extremely wealthy)	37	18.0
	upper-middle class (wealthy)	77	37.6
	the middle class (comfortable)	72	35.1
	lower-middle class (good standard of living)	16	7.8
	working class (meeting basic needs)	4	1.5
Friend of opposite sex	Yes	22	10.7
	No	184	89.3
Residential district	Gangnam-gu	26	12.6
	Seocho-gu	64	31.1
	Songpa-gu	12	5.8
	In Seoul	25	12.1
	Except Seoul	79	38.3

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4.2.2 Social and Demographic Characteristics of Fathers

There were 123 fathers who participated in the study. All the parents were voluntary participants as were the participating students. Completed questionnaires were collected either through the schoolchildren or by mail in the case of boarding students. The characteristics of the fathers are as follows: According to the year of birth, those who were born between 1960-1963 represent the largest group at 56.9% (70 fathers), those born between 1955-1959 are 24.4% (30 fathers), those born between 1964-1967 are 16.5% (20 fathers), others are 2.4% (3 fathers).

In terms of the highest academic qualification, bachelor's degrees were obtained by 60.2% (74 fathers), master's degrees were obtained by 20.3% (25 fathers), doctoral degrees by 13% (16 fathers), high school by 5.7% (7 fathers), and only one father with middle school (0.8%). Most of the fathers have an educational level higher than the bachelors' degree. Regarding occupations, clerical/administrative work is done by 41 fathers (33.3%), legislator, senior official, and managers constitute 26.8% (33 fathers), professional occupations make up 22.8% (28 fathers), service workers represent 4.1% (5 fathers), sales workers are 3.3% (94 fathers), skilled agricultural, forestry, and fishery workers are 2.4% (3 fathers), and craft and related trade workers constitute just one father (0.8%). Regarding religious affiliation, nearly half of the fathers had no religious affiliation (48.8%), 26 fathers were Protestants (21.1%), 18 were Buddhists (14.6%), 17 were Roman Catholics (13.8%), while only 1 was

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Confucian and 1 'other', representing 0.8% each.

With regard to income per month, 37 fathers earned more than ₩8000,000 (30.1%). A total of 18 fathers earned between ₩5000,001 and ₩6000,000 (14.6%), between ₩3000,001 and ₩4000,000 is 9.8% (12 fathers), between ₩6000,001 and ₩7000,000 is 8.9% (11 fathers), between ₩2000,000 and ₩3000,000 is 9.8% (6 fathers) and less than ₩2000,000 is a small group of 2.4% (3 fathers). The students in all the three schools' are reputed to have on average a higher academic performance when compared to other high schools in Korea. As expected in terms of parents' SES, most of the fathers have a very high academic qualification, a high-status occupation, and a generous income. The social and economic demographics of the fathers is summarised in Table 4.2.

Tables 4.2 Social and Demographic Characteristics of Fathers

Explanatory Variable		F(N=123)	Valid Percent
Year of birth	1955 ~ 1959	30	24.4
	1960 ~ 1963	70	56.9
	1964 ~ 1967	20	16.3
	Other	3	2.4
Highest qualification	Middle school	1	0.8
	High school	7	5.7
	Bachelor's degree	74	60.2
	Master's degree	25	20.3
	Doctoral degree	16	13.0
Occupation	Legislator/ senior official/ manger	33	26.8
	Professional	28	22.8
	Technician/associate professional	8	6.5
	Clerks	41	33.3
	Service workers	5	4.1
	Sales worker	4	3.3

	Skilled agricultural/ forestry/ fishery worker	3	2.4
	Craft/ related trade worker	1	0.8
Religious affiliation	Buddhism	18	14.6
	Roman Catholic	17	13.8
	Protestantism	26	21.2
	Confucian	1	0.8
	No religious affiliation	60	48.8
	Other	1	0.8
Income	Less than ₩ 2,000,000	3	2.4
	Between ₩2,000,000 and ₩3,000,000	6	4.9
	Between ₩3,000,001 and ₩4,000,000	12	9.8
	Between ₩4,000,001 and ₩5000,000	18	14.6
	Between ₩5,000,001 and ₩6,000,000	22	17.9
	Between ₩6,000,001 and ₩7,000,000	11	8.9
	Between ₩7,000,001 and ₩8,000,000	14	11.4
	More than ₩8,000,000	37	30.1

4.2.3 Social and Demographic Characteristics of Mothers

There are slightly more mothers (131) who participated in the study than fathers. Once again, as was the case with the fathers, the mothers were voluntary participants. Their children assisted with the delivery of questionnaires, unless they were boarding students in which case they were sent and received by mail. The characteristics of the mothers are as follows: According to the year of birth, those who were born between the years 1964-1967 represented the largest group at 48.9% (64 mothers), born between 1960-1964 are 40.5% (54 mothers), born between 1955-1959 are 7.6% (10 mothers) and born between 1968-1970 are 3.1% (4 mothers).

In terms of highest academic qualification, more mothers have bachelor degrees than fathers. Mothers who have bachelor's degrees are 70.2% (92

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mothers), while those with masters' degree are 12.2% (16 mothers), and doctoral degrees are 3.1% (4 mothers). Eighteen mothers have a high school education (13.7%) while only one mother (0.8%) has a middle school education as the highest qualification. Most of the mothers (85.5%) have a higher education consisting of more than a bachelor's degree. On the question of mothers' occupation, 65.6% (84 mothers) are full-time housewives or working largely informally in the domestic sphere. Media reports suggest that there has been a renewal of interest amongst Korean women to become full-time housewives, especially in the period when they are taking care of young children – thus, for the sake of her child's education. According to one of the Korean newspapers (JoongAng libo, Kang, 2011), students who were strong performers appeared to have mothers who were full-time housewives. Most of the mothers of the students enrolled in the SKY were fully dedicated to domestic duties as housewives. This enabled them to focus more on their children's education than was likely to be the case of full-time working mothers. This issue and its relevance to the study will be discussed again in Chapter 6.

Only 19 mothers held a professional occupation (14.8%), 9 mothers were involved in clerical/administrative jobs (7%), 5 were service workers (3.9%) and 5 sales workers (3.9), legislator, senior official, and manager made up 3.1% (4 mothers), whilst craft and related trade workers were 1.6% (2 mothers). On the question of the religious affiliation of mothers, Protestantism is 33.1% (43 mothers), no religious affiliation is 29.2% (38 mothers), Roman Catholic affiliation is 20% (26 mothers), Buddhism is 17.7% (23 mothers), and the

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missing response is one.

On the question of income per month, 20.7% (23 mothers) earn more than ₩8000,000, between ₩5000,001 and ₩6000,000 are 13.5% (15 mothers), between ₩4000,001 and ₩5000,000 are 12.6% (14 mothers), between ₩3000,001 and ₩4000,000 are 11.7% (13 mothers), less than ₩2000,000 are 19.8% (22 mothers), between ₩2000,000 and ₩3000,000 are 9.9% (11 mothers), between ₩6000,001 and ₩7000,000 are 6.3% (7 mothers), between ₩7000,001 and ₩8000,000 are 4.5% (5 mothers). Similar to the case of fathers, most of the mothers have a higher academic qualification and access to a good standard of living. See next Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Social and Demographic Characteristics of Mothers

Explanatory Variable		F(N=131)	Valid Percent
Year of birth	1955 ~ 1959	10	7.6
	1960 ~ 1963	53	40.5
	1964 ~ 1967	64	48.9
	Other	4	3.1
The highest qualification	Middle school	1	0.8
	High school	18	13.7
	Bachelor's degree	92	70.2
	Master's degree	16	12.2
	Doctoral degree	4	3.1
Occupation	Legislator/ senior official/ manger	4	3.1
	Professional	19	14.8
	Clerks	9	7.0
	Service workers	5	3.9
	Sales worker	5	3.9
	Craft/ related trade worker	2	1.6
	Full-time housewife	84	65.6
	Missing system	3	
Religious affiliation	Buddhism	23	17.7
	Roman Catholic	26	20.0

	Protestantism	43	33.1
	No religious affiliation	38	29.2
	Missing system	1	
Income	Less than ₩ 2,000,000	22	19.8
	Between ₩2,000,000 and ₩3,000,000	11	9.9
	Between ₩3,000,001 and ₩4,000,000	13	11.7
	Between ₩4,000,001 and ₩5,000,000	14	12.6
	Between ₩5,000,001 and ₩6,000,000	15	13.5
	Between ₩6,000,001 and ₩7,000,000	7	6.3
	Between ₩7,000,001 and ₩8,000,000	5	4.5
	More than ₩8,000,000	23	20.7
	Missing system	20	

4.3 COMPARISON OF STUDENT PARTICIPANTS

A total of 206 students participated from the three schools. The MAS as a dependent variable was carried out on the 17th of November, 2009, in Korea. The MAS was divided purposefully into three groups in terms of scores (for similar frequency). The first group frequency is above 97, the middle group was classified by a score range of 96 to 86, and the lowest group was defined in terms of a score 85 and below. The grouped frequency distribution Table for the MAS score is as follows.

Table 4.4 Grouped Frequencies for the MAS

	Explanatory	F(N=206)	Valid Percent
The mathematic Achievement Score	The high group (97 and above score)	70	36.5
	The middle group (from scores of 96 to 86)	57	29.7
	The low group (85 and below score)	65	33.9
	Missing system	14	

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4.3.1 Comparing the Distribution of Demographic Characteristics of Students

Using the above-mentioned, cross-tabulations were used to examine the differences among the demographics of the students in the three groups. The Chi-square test (χ^2) was applied to establish the relationship between the categorical variables (Kremelberg, 2011). With this in mind, I attempted to ascertain statistical significance. The statistical significances through the Chi-square test turned out to be as follows: A number of the demographic characteristics of the students were not strongly related to the MAS: these include, for example, gender, number of siblings, home-mate (living with someone), religious affiliation, living conditions, and opposite-sex close friend (girl- or boyfriend).

However, the following represented very important results: e.g. the birth order. The first child in terms of familial SC in the structural dimension reveals a much higher score than the second child ($\chi^2 = 25.363$, p<.05). We can infer from this that most Korean parents probably have higher expectations of the first child than of the other children. As I mentioned in chapter 2, parental expectations of their children (see also Coleman, 1998; Pong, 1998; Perna & Titus, 2005; Schneider & Lee, 1990; Yan, 1999) was a strong and effective factor shaping children's educational performance. In this study, I can perhaps suggest that parental expectations of the first-born child are higher than that of subsequent children. This leads to positive encouragement influencing the first-born child to

attain much higher scores in Korea. Regarding the home-mate (living with someone), the boarding school students have a higher score than those who live with both their parents (χ^2=25.363, p<.01). It was found that the school SC in terms of the structural dimension has a greater effect on the students' educational achievement.

With regard to the residential district, those students living in Gangnam-gu have a higher score than other residential districts (χ^2=50.750, p<.05). According to Seo (2004), parent's residential district was quite crucial in determining their child's education. As I have mentioned (see 2.4.3 in Chapter 4), the residential district is not only a residential brand but can be viewed as attractive in terms of economic value and educational success in Korea. Most parents are attracted to Gangnam-gu specifically because they believe it will benefit their children's education (Jin, 2006). As a result of this situation the students in Gangnam-gu have to live up to high expectations – they have 'no choice' but to achieve exemplary results; thus, they find themselves needing to produce scores that are far better than those of other residential districts. A summary of statistically significant measures is shown in Table 4.5.

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Table 4.5 Comparison of the Distribution of Demographic Characteristics of

Students   (N=192)

Explanatory Variable		The high N (%)	The middle N (%)	The low N (%)	Total N (%)	χ^2 (p)
Gender	Male	38(54.3)	36(63.2)	27(41.5)	101(52.6)	5.818
	Female	32(45.7)	21(26.8)	38(58.5)	91(47.4)	(.055)
Birth order	The first child	56(80.0)	37(66.1)	31(47.7)	124(64.9)	
	The second child	11(15.7)	14(25.0)	26(40.0)	51(26.7)	17.009*
	The third child	1(1.4)	1(1.8)	2(3.1)	4(2.1)	(.030)
	The youngest child	2(2.9)	4(7.1)	5(7.7)	11(5.8)	
	other	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(1.5)	1(0.5)	
Number of siblings	One	9(12.9)	4(7.0)	11(6.9)	24(12.5)	
	Two	48(68.6)	47(82.5)	45(69.2)	140(72.9)	6.1333
	Three	12(17.1)	6(10.5)	9(13.8)	27(14.1)	(.408)
	four	1(1.4)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(0.5)	
Home-mate (living with someone)	Both parents	36(51.4)	31(55.4)	44(67.7)	111(58.1)	
	Single parents	0(0.0)	3(5.4)	7(10.8)	10(5.2)	
	Friend (dormitory)	31(44.3)	20(35.7)	10(15.4)	61(31.9)	25.363**
	alone	2(2.9)	2(3.6)	0(0.0)	4(6.2)	(.001)
	other	1(1.4)	0(0.0)	4(6.2)	5(2.6)	
Religious affiliation	Buddhism	6(8.8)	6(10.5)	1(1.5)	13(6.8)	11.279
	Roman Catholic	9(13.2)	7(12.3)	9(13.8)	25(13.2)	(.336)
	Protestantism	16(23.5)	12(21.1)	17(26.2)	45(23.7)	
	Muslim	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(1.5)	1(0.5)	
	No religious	37(54.4)	30(52.6)	37(56.9)	104(54.7)	
	Other	0(0.0)	2(3.5)	0(0.0)	2(1.1)	
Living condition	upper class	15(21.4)	14(24.6)	5(7.8)	34(17.8)	13.030
	upper-middle class	26(37.1)	19(33.3)	25(39.1)	70(36.6)	(.111)
	the middle class	19(27.1)	20(35.1)	30(46.9)	69(36.1)	
	lower-middle class	9(12.9)	3(5.3)	3(4.7)	15(7.9)	
	working class	1(1.4)	1(1.8)	1(1.6)	3(1.6)	
Opposite sex friend	Yes	7(10.0)	5(8.8)	9(13.8)	21(10.9)	.902
	No	63(90.0)	52(91.2)	56(86.2)	171(89.1)	(.637)
Residential district	Ganonam-gu	10(14.3)	7(12.3)	7(10.8)	24(12.5)	50.750**
	Seocho-gu	3(4.3)	16(28.1)	38(58.5)	57(29.7)	(.000)
	Songpa-gu	7(10.0)	2(3.5)	1(1.5)	10(5.2)	
	In Seoul	10(14.3)	8(14.0)	4(6.2)	22(11.5)	
	Except Seoul	40(57.1)	24(42.1)	15(23.1)	79(41.1)	

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

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4.3.2 Comparing the Relationships of Student Respondents with their Parents

As mentioned in section 3 of this chapter, the MAS was divided purposefully into three groups by score (for similar frequency). The first group coded 'a' is the higher group and scored 97 and above. The middle group coded 'b' is classified by the 96 to 86 score, and the last group coded 'c' is the low group defined by a score 85 and below. Twenty-three (23) questions were directed to both parents with regard to relationships between the parents and their child. The 23 questions were followed by the Likert 5 point scale (see Appendix). ANOVA was applied to build comparisons between the parents and the three groups of students (Muijs, 2011: 177-187).

4.3.2.1 Relationships with Fathers

A relationship with the father generally has positive effects on the child's educational achievement, according to the 7 researched items. The relational dimension of familial SC is important in stimulating the child's educational achievement in this study. When a father knows what his child's weak subjects are, positive effects are evident ($F=4.193$, $P<.05$), when a child has any concerns, he can speak to his father ($F=4.590$, $p<.05$) and if he has worries he can talk to his father ($F=5.108$, $P<.05$). If this relational aspect is strong, students are more likely to achieve higher scores. Additionally, the structural dimension of a family's social capital affects a child's educational achievement. Often fathers of higher achieving students collect educational information such

as news and advertisements for their children (F=3.661, P<.05). Significantly, when the higher achieving students have to choose something, they need some advice from their fathers (F=5.049, P<.01). High achieving students are those who commonly discuss matters about school, friends and teachers, with their father (often rather than their mother) more so than poor achieving students can (F=5.509, p<.01). However, the low achieving students were more frequently disciplined by their fathers who would limit the watching of TV and computer games (F=3.661, p<.05) more often than the middle students. Apart from the results mentioned, there are a few items that are significant but do not make full statistical sense. The results are described in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Relationships with Fathers (continued)

Explanatory Variable	a M(Sd)	b M(Sd)	c M(Sd)	Total M(Sd)	F (p)
▪ My father knows what my weak subjects are	3.87b(.992)	3.60bc(1.193)	3.31c(1.211)	3.60(1.149)	4.193*(.017)
▪ My father knows who my close friend is	3.17(1.090)	3.16(1.398)	2.91(1.128)	3.08(1.200)	.999(.370)
▪ My father knows my register class number	3.58(1.366)	3.47(1.416)	3.11(1.471)	3.39(1.424)	1.974(.142)
▪ If I have any concern, I speak to my father	3.33b(1.032)	3.04bc(1.281)	2.72c(1.179)	3.04(1.182)	4.590*(.011)
▪ When I have worries, I talk to my father	3.06b(1.077)	2.58bc(1.179)	2.48c(1.105)	2.72(1.142)	5.108**(.007)
▪ When I have any concern about school matters (teachers, friends), I discuss them with my father	2.90b(1.131)	2.54bc(1.266)	2.5c(1.054)	2.58(1.162)	5.509**(.005)
▪ I can feel that my father makes an effort to understand me in all cases	3.81(1.040)	3.79(1.191)	3.46(1.187)	3.69(1.142)	1.949(.145)
▪ When I make a mistake at home, my father reprimands me about my mistake	3.23(.735)	3.15(.871)	3.37(.751)	3.25(.784)	1.251(.289)
▪ My father always explains the rules he sets for me	3.76(.924)	3.54(.965)	3.45(.985)	3.59(.961)	1.868(.157)
▪ My relationship with my father is good	4.19(.728)	3.98(1.061)	3.78(1.053)	3.99(.960)	3.007(.052)

When I have to choose something, my father always gives me advice	3.99b(.813)	3.96b(.944)	3.49c(1.201)	3.81(1.019)	5.049**(.007)
I have changed my decision as a result of my father's advice	3.69(.894)	3.47(1.241)	3.25(1.090)	3.47(1.083)	2.831(.063)
My father provides encouraging atmosphere (not disturb for example when a test period, keep quite) for my studies	4.19(.804)	4.00(1.052)	3.75(1.287)	3.98(1.071)	2.802(.063)
When I receive a prize, my parents always congratulate me	3.80(1.085)	3.95(1.187)	3.77(1.156)	3.83(1.136)	.418(.059)
My father collects educational information such as news and advertisements for me	3.63bc(1.106)	3.73b(1.168)	3.17c(1.353)	3.50(1.231)	3.837*(.023)
My father wants to know my rank after examinations	3.60(1.197)	3.80(1.381)	3.62(1.155)	3.66(1.237)	.498(.609)
When I help with housework, my father praises me	3.50(1.018)	3.53(1.104)	3.25(.884)	3.42(1.005)	1.522(.221)
My father controls how much time I spend watching TV and playing computer games	2.94bc(1.306)	2.74c(1.330)	3.35b(1.243)	3.02(1.310)	3.661*(.028)
Sometimes, My father checks my homework or study	2.54(1.315)	2.19(1.202)	2.44(1.220)	2.40(1.252)	1.266(.284)
When I am in a test period, my father schedules his program to facilitate me	3.00(1.077)	2.79(1.449)	2.48(1.251)	2.76(1.267)	2.950(.055)
My father is very keen to see me succeed in my studies	2.28(.854)	2.46(1.062)	2.58(1.122)	2.43(1.015)	1.483(.230)
Sometimes, I feel that my father pushes me too much to succeed academically	2.23(.981)	2.49(1.227)	2.63(1.330)	2.44(1.188)	2.022(.135)
My father pushes me more for educational performance than my mother	2.34(1.012)	2.42(1.238)	2.52(1.239)	2.43(1.158)	.383(.682)

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

4.3.2.2 Relationships with Mothers

Relationships with mothers have effects on the student's educational achievement as well. In this study the analysis shows that currently children's

relationships with their mothers have a greater influence on their educational achievement than does the effects of the relationships of fathers on children's achievement. When the mother knows what her child's weak subjects are (F=4.721, p<.01), the student is likely to achieve higher scores. A mother appears to be more forceful and assertive in getting the educational information for her child's education than the father is (F=5.882, p<.01). The mother's concern links to her child's MAS in regard to who her child's close friend is (F=3.812, p<.05). By getting to know who her child's close friend is, one can envisage that the mother takes a strong interest in the life of the child at school – and potentially intervenes when she wishes to influence a change of friends in the interest of the child.

Thus, this can ultimately affect the educational achievement of her child. In the case of the higher achieving students, these students speak to their mothers when they have concerns (F=4.334, p<0.5), and the students also talk to their mothers when they have any worries (F=4.044, p<.05). The higher achieving students at the school discuss matters about friends and teachers with their mothers (F=4.014, p<.05). However, in the case of the middle group in terms of the MAS, the middle group has a better relationship with their mothers than the low group (F=5.784, p<.01). The lower group was also more limited in terms of the amount of TV time and computer games they were allowed by their mothers (F=4.103, p<.05) than the middle group.

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Table 4.7 Relationships with Mothers (continued)

Explanatory Variable	a M(Sd)	b M(Sd)	c M(Sd)	Total M(Sd)	F (p)
• My mother knows what my weak subjects	4.54b(.557)	4.54b(.569)	4.19c(1.037)	4.42(.770)	4.721**(.010)
• My mother knows who my close friend is	4.46b(.630)	4.26bc(1.044)	4.02c(1.082)	4.52(.943)	3.812*(.024)
• My mother knows my register class number	4.56(.773)	4.51(.735)	4.35(.919)	4.47(.814)	1.158(.316)
• If I have any concerns, I speak to my mother	3.99b(.909)	3.86bc(1.052)	3.46c(1.226)	3.77(1.085)	4.334*(.-14)
• When I have worries, I talk with my mother	3.94b(.915).	3.82bc(1.020)	3.43c(1.287)	3.73(1.101)	4.044*(.019)
• When I have any concern about school matters (teachers, friends), I discuss them with my mother	3.91b(.928)	3.68bc(1.105)	3.38c(1.221)	3.67(1.104)	4.014*(.020)
• I can feel that my mother makes an effort to understand me in all cases	3.99(.970)	3.84(1.014)	3.74(1.035)	3.86(1.006)	1.031(.359)
• When I make a mistake at home, my mother reprimands me about my mistake	3.37(.731)	3.59(.757)	3.59(.795)	3.51(.764)	1.840(.162)
• My mother always explains the rules she sets for me	3.49(.897)	3.60(.923)	3.49(.970)	3.52(.926)	.269(.764)
• My relationship with my mother is good	4.31bc(.671)	4.49b(.658)	4.03c(.918)	4.27(.779)	5.748**(.004)
• When I have to choose something, my mother always gives me advice	4.00(.722)	4.05(1.025)	3.78(1.023)	3.94(.928)	1.485(.229)
• I have changed my decision as a result of my mother's advice	3.90(.710)	3.82(1.002)	3.66(1.087)	3.79(.940)	1.146(.320)
• My mother provides encouraging atmosphere (not disturb for example when a test period, keep quiet) for my studies	4.39(.687)	4.47(.758)	4.17(.84)	4.34(.769)	2.630(.075)
• When I receive a prize, my parents always congratulate me	4.04(.908)	4.12(.908)	3.82(.934)	3.99(.921)	1.894(.153)
• My mother collects educational information such as news and advertisements for me	4.28b(.870)	4.07bc(1.050)	3.71c(1.042)	4.03(1.010)	5.882**(.003)
• My mother wants to know my rank after examinations	4.23(.920)	4.05(1.202)	4.19(.852)	4.16(.989)	.525(.592)
• When I help with housework, my mother praises me	3.64(.964)	3.91(1.040)	3.91(.861)	3.81(.958)	1.741(.178)
• My mother controls how much time I spend watching TV and playing computer games	3.61bc(1.158)	.3.28c(1.509)	3.92b(1.035)	3.62(1.256)	4.103*(.018)

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• Sometimes, My mother checks my homework or study	3.45(1.145)	3.21(1.372)	3.34(1.228)	3.34(1.242)	.575(.64)
• When I am in a test period, my mother schedules her program to facilitate me	3.86(1.061)	3.60(1.294)	3.51(1.239)	3.66(1.198)	1.528(.220)
• My mother is very keen to see me succeed in my studies	1.66(.814)	1.49(.826)	1.77(.981)	1.65(.880)	1.533(.219)
• Sometimes, I feel that my mother pushes me too much to succeed academically	3.40(.862)	3.57(.889)	3.58(.898)	3.51(.882)	.864(.423)
• My mother pushes me more for educational performance than my father	3.94(.961)	4.11(.958)	3.89(1.077)	3.97(1.000)	.740(.478)

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

4.3.3 Comparing the Relationships with the Schools based on Student Respondents

Higher achieving students take more pride in their school than the lower achieving students, who are far less concerned about their school (χ^2=22.915, p<.01). Students who attend schools in the same area as where they live are more likely to interact among the students than the students who live away from the school that they attend (Israel *et. al.*, 2001). However, boarding school students have more time for self-study at school. In this study, the students who attend a school away from home (live in dormitory) are in the higher MAS than the students attending school in the same area where they live (χ^2=20.979, p<.01).

The higher achieving students are more likely to be satisfied with their academic records (χ^2=18.982, p<.01). The questionnaire asked students to

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rate their academic score through using the Likert 5 point scale. Most of the higher achieving students clearly know how to rate their academic score, as is the case with most of the lower achieving students. They were well aware of their low achievement (χ^2=35.507, p<.01).

Table 4.8 School Pride, Changed to another School, Attending School in the Same Area, and School Type

(N=192)

Explanatory Variable		a N (%)	b N (%)	c N (%)	Total N (%)	χ^2 (p)
School pride	Do not know	1(1.4)	2(3.5)	3(4.6)	6(3.1)	22.915**(.003)
	Not proud	6(8.6)	6(10.5)	13(20.0)	25(13.0)	
	Not particularly proud	17(24.3)	12(21.1)	27(41.5)	56(29.2)	
	Proud	31(44.3)	27(47.4)	21(32.3)	79(41.1)	
	Very proud	15(21.4)	10(17.5)	1(1.5)	26(13.5)	
Changed to another school	Yes	2(2.9)	0(0.0)	2(3.1)	4(2.1)	1.733(.420)
	No	68(97.1)	57(100.0)	63(96.9)	188(97.9)	
Attend a school and live in the same area	Yes	19(27.1)	23(42.1)	43(66.2)	86(44.8)	20.979**(.248)
	No	51(72.9)	33(57.9)	22(33.8)	106(55.2)	
School type	Public	3(5.56)	11(20.37)	40(74.07)	54(100)	57.776***(.000)
	private	67(48.55)	46(33.33)	25(18.12)	138(100)	
Satisfaction with school records	Not satisfied	25(35.7)	29(50.9)	45(69.2)	99(51.6)	18.982**(.001)
	Not particularly	31(44.3)	17(2.8)	18(27.7)	66(34.4)	
	Satisfied	12(20.0)	11(19.3)	2(3.1)	27(14.1)	
School records	Excellent	7(19.0)	6(10.5)	0(0.0)	13(6.8)	35.507***(.000)
	Very good	36(51.4)	16(28.1)	10(15.4)	62(32.3)	
	Good	20(28.6)	21(36.8)	30(46.2)	71(37.0)	
	Fine	5(7.1)	11(29.3)	17(26.2)	33(17.2)	
	Poor	2(2.9)	3(5.3)	8(12.3)	13(6.8)	

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

Altogether 6 questions were asked pertaining to students' satisfaction with their

school. The 6 questions were measured on the five-point Likert scale (see Appendix A). The higher achieving students seem to be quite satisfied with their schools internal school environment (e.g. classroom, equipment) (F=5.368, p<.01) and the school policy for college admission (F=4.304, p<.05). There are 10 questions with regard to their relationships with their teacher. The higher achieving students recognised their teachers' effectiveness in preparing lessons (F=5.555, p<.01). They also acknowledged their teachers' good subject knowledge (F=3.366, p<.05). This result shows that the higher achieving students were very satisfied with their teachers' classes and what they attained from teachers. A good relationship with their teachers is reflected by the higher achieving students. When the higher achieving students have concerns (falling grades, problematic family circumstances etc.), most of them ask their teachers for advice (F=4.791, p<.05). However, if students do not trust their teacher(s) in general, it is not going to be simple for them to share their private problems (e.g. with regard to declining performance and family troubles etc.) with them. When higher achieving students have private problems, they will seek out their teacher for counselling if the relationship between the student and the teacher is sufficiently close and if it is based on strong mutual trust.

Table 4.9 Contentment with the School and Relationships with Teachers (N=192)

Contentment with the School	a M(Sd)	b M(Sd)	c M(Sd)	Total M(Sd)	F(P)
• Indoor school environment, e.g. class rooms, equipment	3.73b(.883)	3.40bc(1.033)	3.22c(.857)	3.46(.943)	5.368**(.005)
• Outdoor school environment, e.g. the school grounds, library	3.17(1.424)	3.00(1.427)	2.68(1.213)	2.95(1.366)	2.285(.105)
• School's curriculum	3.30(1.134)	3.16(.996)	3.03(.951)	3.17(1.035)	1.145(.321)
• Discipline at school	3.03(1.251)	2.89(1.175)	3.02(.960)	2.98(1.132)	.254(.776)
• School policy for a college admission	3.49b(1.087)	3.39bc(1.161)	2.97c(.968)	3.28(1.090)	4.304*(.015)
• School meals	3.36(1.130)	3.12(1.211)	3.11(1.174)	3.20(1.169)	.958(.386)
Relationships with Teachers	**a M(Sd)**	**b M(Sd)**	**c M(Sd)**	**Total M(Sd)**	**F(P)**
• Students and teachers are respectful towards the teachers at school	3.43(.972)	3.18(1.071)	3.34(.889)	3.32(.976)	1.070(.345)
• My register teacher's tutorial is beneficial for the discipline in my class	3.37(.951)	3.33(1.286)	3.69(.883)	3.47(1.048)	2.287(.104)
• Most of our school's teachers make fair evaluation, e. g. assignments	3.67(.775)	3.58(1.017)	3.57(.865)	3.61(.879)	.274(.761)
• I respect most of our school's teachers	3.41(.940)	3.28(.901)	3.11(.875)	3.27(.911)	1.892(.154)
• I respect my register teacher with regard to integrity	3.64(1.036)	3.63(1.219)	3.72(1.023)	3.67(1.085)	.133(.875)
• Most of our school's teachers have good subject knowledge	3.17(1.090)	2.79(.959)	2.77(.965)	2.92(1.023)	3.366*(.037)
• Most of our school's teachers have passion for high quality education	3.31(1.084)	3.07(.942)	2.91(.980)	3.10(1.018)	2.785 (.064)
• Most of our school's teachers put a tremendous effort in preparing lessons	3.56b(.895)	3.16c(.902)	2.08c(.889)	3.28(.916)	5.555**(.005)
• I think the teacher has a big influence on most of the students in planning their future	3.81(1.107)	3.58(1.209)	3.39(1.121)	3.60(1.151)	2.312(.102)
• When I have concerns, e.g. falling grades, family circumstances etc, I ask for my register teacher's advice	2.79b(1.153)	2.23c(.945)	2.35bc(1.110)	2.47(1.102)	4.79**(.009)

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

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4.3.4 Comparing Relationships with the Community based on Student Responses

Most students did not participate in voluntary service for their respective communities (70.3%). However, higher achieving students were more involved in voluntary services in their communities than lower achieving students. Most of the higher achieving students have been informed about youth programmes in their community and they recognise the importance of decision makers in the community who often meet with the youth and discuss matters. Most of the responding students have intentions to participate in activities and matters that relate to youth issues in the community.

Table 4.10 Participated in Voluntary Service, Informed about Youth Programmes, Important to meet with Decision makers, and Participative Decision Making in the Community

Explanatory Variable		a N (%)	b N (%)	c N (%)	Total N	χ^2 (p)
Participation in voluntary service	Yes	28(40.0)	13(22.8)	16(24.6)	57(29.7)	5.660
	No	42(60.0)	44(77.2)	49(75.4)	135(70.3)	(.059)
Informed about youth programmes	Yes	37(52.9)	22(38.6)	21(32.3)	80(41.7)	7.841
	No	33(47.1)	35(61.4)	43(66.2)	111(57.8)	(.098)
Importance of meeting with decision makers	Very important	21(30.0)	17(29.8)	21(32.3)	59(30.7)	
	Important	22(31.4)	25(43.9)	22(33.8)	69(35.9)	10.909
	Not particularly important	16(22.9)	9(15.8)	11(16.9)	36(18.8)	(.207)
	Not important	6(8/6)	4(7.0)	1(1.5)	11(5.7)	
	Do not know	5(7.1)	2(3.5)	10(15.4)	17(8.9)	
Participative decision making	Yes	54(78.3)	38(67.9)	39(60.9)	131(68.9)	5.257
	No	15(21.7)	18(32.1)	26(40.0)	59(31.1)	(.072)

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

There were 7 questions directed to the students to establish their contentment with environmental conditions in the community. The 7 questions were also structured in terms of a five-point Likert scale (see Appendix A). According to Coleman (1944), tight community relationships as a resource in SC would be guaranteed by good security such as the ability to walk freely on the streets in the community; it has a bearing on engendering pleasanter exchanges between community members. A community that exhibits contentment with its overall security has an influence on high achievement. The higher achieving students responded that the security in the community is good ($F=7.343$, $p<.01$). The good security in the community has an effect on their educational achievement. The higher achieving students are more satisfied with the facilities, for example, library and playground in the community ($F=3.115$, $p<.05$). The facilities of a community in terms of study services and space and desired activities for youth seems to have a positive influence on educational achievement.

Table 4.11 Environmental Conditions in the Community

Environmental Conditions	a M(Sd)	b M(Sd)	c M(Sd)	Total M(Sd)	F(P)
▪ I am very proud of my community	3.73(.900)	3.63(.938)	3.40(.932)	3.59(.928)	2.228(.111)
▪ Educational information is available, e.g. for college admission in the community	3.13(1.089)	3.00(1.150)	2.82(1.029)	2.98(1.090)	1.405(.24
▪ Security in the community is good	3.94b(.849)	3.72bc(.959)	3.32c(1.032	3.67(.978)	7.343**(.
▪ Festivals, e.g. cultural activities for youth in the community are adequate	2.59(1.070)	2.25(.950)	2.23(.996)	2.36(1.019)	2.640(.07
▪ Facilities, e.g. a library and playground	3.24(1.135)	2.91(1.258)	2.75(1.104)	2.98(1.175)	3.115*(.04

<mark>in the community are sufficient</mark>					
▪ The community encourages me to participate actively in youth social clubs	2.57(1.057)	2.46(1.036)	2.48(.970)	2.51(1.018)	.237(.789
▪ The role of the community is important for my educational support	3.73(.947)	3.54(1.181)	3.46(1.032)	3.58(1.050)	1.149(.319)

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

4.4 COMPARISON OF PARENT'S RESPONSES

4.4.1 Distribution of Demographic Characteristics of Parents

As already stated, 254 parents responded in total. In some of the parents' cases, it is surmised that they did not give a fully correct answer to some of the questions. Unreliable answers to the questions were excluded from the data analysis when reliability checks were made. I used the same method of analysis with regard to the statistical significance. I analysed a cross-tabulation of demographic characteristics of the parents' and their child's MAS.

The Chi-square test (χ^2) was applied after which the relationship between the mentioned categorical variables was ascertained (Kremelberg, 2011). The relevant results are as follows. The more highly qualified parents are, the greater they seem to influence their children's achievement. In the distribution of parents with the highest academic qualification, if a father has a doctoral degree, their children will do better in their studies (χ^2 =17.696, p<.05). The academic background of the mothers has a similar effect as with the case of the fathers (χ^2 =17.984, p<.05).

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The higher score depends on the occupation of the parents; fathers with lower achieving students tend to be skilled agricultural workers (forestry and fishery workers), but the fathers who are engaged in a professional occupation (see Appendix B) seem to have higher achieving children (χ^2 =31.696, p<.01). In the case of mothers, when the mothers are engaged in work as clerks, service workers, or sales workers their children produce lower scores. In the case where the mothers have professional occupations or are full-time housewives, the MAS of the child emerges in the higher score bracket. However, the age, religious affiliation, and income of the parents, do not affect the child's MAS in any statistically significant way.

Table 4.12 Gender, the Highest Academic Qualification, and Parents' Occupation

	Explanatory Variable	a N (%)	b N (%)	c N	Total N	χ^2 (p)
Gender	Male	34(48.6)	30(52.6)	45(69.2)	109(56.8)	6.427*
	Female	36(51.4)	27(47.4)	20(30.8)	83(43.2)	(.040)

	Highest Academic Qualification	a N (%)	b N (%)	c N (%)	Total N	χ^2 (p)
	Middle school	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(2.2)	1(0.9)	
Father	High school	1(2.9)	0(0.0)	5(11.1)	6(5.5)	17.696*
	Bachelor's degree	16(47.1)	19(63.3)	30(66.7)	65(59.6)	(.024)
	Master's degree	7(20.6)	8(26.7)	7(15.6)	22(20.2)	
	Doctoral degree	10(29.4)	3(10.0)	2(4.4)	15(13.8)	
	Middle school	1(2.9)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(0.9)	
Mother	High school	2(5.9)	3(9.4)	12(23.5)	17(14.5)	17.984*
	Bachelor's degree	24(70.6)	25(78.1)	34(66.7)	83(70.9)	(.021)
	Master's degree	3(8.8)	4(12.5)	5(9.8)	12(10.3)	

		a N (%)	b N (%)	c N (%)	Total N	χ^2 (p)
	Doctoral degree	4(11.8)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	4(3.4)	
	Occupation	**a N (%)**	**b N (%)**	**c N (%)**	**Total N**	**χ^2 (p)**
Father	Legislator/ senior official/ manger	8(23.5)	6(20.0)	17(37.8)	31(28.4)	
	Professional	13(38.2)	8(26.7)	3(6.7)	24(22.0)	
	Technician/associate professional	2(5.9)	0(0.0)	5(11.1)	7(6.4)	
	Clerks	9(26.5)	16(53.3)	12(26.7)	37(33.9)	31.696**
	Service worker	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	3(2.8)	3(2.8)	(.004)
	Sale worker	1(2.9)	0(0.0)	2(2.8)	3(2.8)	
	Skilled agricultural/ forestry/ fishery	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	3(6.7)	3(2.8)	
	Plant/ machine operator/ assembler	1(2.9)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(0.9)	
Mother	Legislator/ senior official/ manger	1(3.0)	1(3.1)	1(2.0)	3(2.6)	
	Professional	9(27.3)	3(9.4)	5(10.2)	17(14.9)	
	Clerks	0(0.0)	2(6.3)	6(12.2)	8(7.0)	20.612
	Service worker	1(3.0)	1(3.1)	3(6.1)	5(4.4)	(.056)
	Sale worker	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	5(10.2)	5(4.4)	
	Plant/ machine operator/ assembler	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	2(4.1)	2(1.8)	
	Full-time housewife	22(66.7)	25(78.1)	27(55.1)	74(64.9)	

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

4.4.2 Relationships of Parents with their Children

The relationship between parents and their children was explored through 16 questions for each parent using the five-point Likert scale (see Appendix B). ANOVA was applied to the three groups structured in terms of the MAS; comparisons between the parents and their child(ren) within the three groups of the students could then be clarified (Muijs, 2011: 177-187).

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4.4.2.1 Relationships between a Father and His Child

Three (3) of the 16 items showed significant results by responding fathers in regard to relationship between fathers and their child. Higher achievement is nurtured and encouraged by the father's expressions of concern, and his expectations and support for his child's success in school. At this point, the significant results are as follows: fathers of higher achieving students were those who know their children's register class number (F=4.875, p<.01) and have high expectations for their children's education and encourage good achievement (F=3.266, p<.05). Such fathers spare no expense for the child's education and school support (F=7.888, p<.01).

Table 4.13 Relationships between Fathers and Children (continued)

Relationship with Children	a M(Sd)	b M(Sd)	c M(Sd)	Total M(Sd)	F(P)
• I know what my child's weak subject is	3.79(.978)	3.60(.968)	3.91(.900)	3.37(.89)	1.095(.338)
• I know who my child's closest friend is	3.65(1.070)	3.30(.837)	3.33(.905)	3.42(.94)	1.421(.246)
• I know my child's register class number	4.00b(1.255)	3.03c(1.299)	3.62bc(1.19)	3.58(1.2)	4.875**(.009)
• I have high expectations of my child and expect good results	4.59(.557)	4.63(.556)	4.33(.564)	4.50(.57)	3.266*(.042)
• My child has a strong sense of responsibility	4.24(.699)	4.40(.724)	3.98(.876)	4.18(.795)	2.746(.069)
• I trust my child in whatever happens	4.38(.679)	4.28(.649)	4.24(.679)	4.30(.673)	.420(.658)
• When trouble has arisen between my child and I, I try to understand my child as a teenager	4.41(.657)	4.28(.702)	4.30(.553)	4.33(.62)	.459(.633)
• When my child makes a mistake, I reprimand my child about the mistake	3.50(.707)	3.82(1.020)	3.64(.908)	3.65(.88)	1.133(.326)
• I have often spoken to my child about what she/he will do after graduation	3.94(.851)	4.10(.803)	3.77(1.008)	3.92(.90)	1.180(.311)
• I have rules for my child and explain why they	3.79(.808)	3.80(.847)	3.77(.711)	3.79(.77)	.013(.987)

are necessary					
▪ When my child makes choices about something, I usually give some advice	4.09(.712)	3.97(.928)	3.82(.716)	3.94(.78)	1.146(.322)
▪ I approve of my child's acquaintances of the opposite sex	3.68(.768)	3.17(1.262)	3.56(.918)	3.49(.99)	2.327(.103)
▪ I hope my child makes a good choice in terms of profession e.g. lawyer, medical doctor, politician	4.24(.781)	4.41(.907)	4.02(.621)	4.19(.76)	2.433(.093)
▪ I spare no expense for education and school support	4.38b(.779)	4.75b(.774)	3.87c(.894)	4.22(.87)	7.388**(.001)
▪ When I do my planning, I consider my child's school schedule (test period, deadline of project)	3.26(1.109)	3.10(1.322)	2.91(1.125)	3.07(1.76)	.884(.416)
▪ I emphasise fraternal love to my child (if you have more than two children)	3.85(.857)	3.77(1.006)	3.89(.841)	3.84(.888)	.163(.850)

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

4.4.2.2 Relationships between a Mother and Her Child

The higher the achievement of students, the more important the relationship with mothers in comparison to their fathers. Six (6) of 16 items explored the relationship between mothers and their children (see Appendix B: B1 & B2). A significant association was found between high achievement and mothers (of the higher achieving students) who knew their children's register class number (F=3.991, p<.05). The mothers of the higher achieving students trust their children 'whatever happens' (F=3.423, p<.05), thus, they display a strong trusting relationship with their children. The mothers of the higher achieving students have a deep understanding of their child, for example, if their child has found himself/herself to be in trouble, they try to understand their child as a teenager (F=3.619, p<.05). The mothers of the higher achieving students have

often (and usually) spoken to their children about what they will do after graduation (F=5.140, p<.01). These mothers also spare no expense for the education and school support for their children (F=4.042, p<.06). In the case of the higher achieving students, their mother's planning entailed sticking to their child's school schedule, for example test periods and deadline of projects etc. (F=4.740, P<0.05).

Table 4.14 Relationships between a Mother and Children (continued)

Relationship with their children	a M(Sd)	b M(Sd)	c M(Sd)	Total M(Sd)	F(P)
• I know what my child's weak subject is	4.44(.504)	4.59(.560)	4.41(.698)	4.47(.610)	.928(.398)
• I know who my child's closest friend is	4.26(.618)	4.44(.801)	4.25(.659)	4.31(.688)	.783(.460)
• I know my child's register class number	4.88b(.327)	4.50c(.672)	4.61bc(.635)	4.66(.590)	3.991*(.021)
• I have high expectations of my child's education and expect good results	4.53(.5.68)	4.47(.567)	4.43(.608)	4.47(.581)	.287(.751)
• My child has a strong sense of responsibility	4.50(.615)	4.50(.672)	4.20(.960)	4.37(.805)	2.088(.129)
• I trust my child in whatever happens	4.65(.544)	4.61(.615)	4.28(.858)	4.48(.730)	3.423*(.036)
• When trouble has arisen between my child and I, I try to understand my child as a teenager	4.53(.563)	4.53(.671)	4.16(.880)	4.37(.761)	3.619*(.030)
• When my child makes a mistake, I reprimand my child about the mistake	4.00(.612)	3.91(.777)	3.88(.909)	3.92(.793)	.227(.798)
• I have often spoken to my child about what she/he will do after graduation	4.29bc(.524)	4.41b(.615)	3.96c(.763)	4.18(.683)	5.140**(.007)
• I have rules for my child and explain why they are necessary	4.06(.736)	4.09(.734)	3.88(.824)	3.99(.775)	.924(.400)
• When my child makes choices about something, I usually give some advice	4.27(.517)	4.38(.609)	4.14(.664)	4.24(.613)	1.553(.216)
• I approve of my child's acquaintances of the opposite sex	2.74(.864)	2.91(1.027)	3.14(1.132)	2.96(1.037)	1.602(.206)
• I hope my child makes a good choice in	4.42(.564)	4.22(1.008)	4.04(.999)	4.20(.909)	1.681(.191)

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terms of profession e.g. lawyer, medical doctor, politician					
- I spare no expense for education and school support	4.53(.563)	4.48(.851)	4.04(1.058)	4.30(.906)	4.042*(.020)
- When I do my planning, I consider my child's school schedule, e.g. test period, deadline of project	4.09bc(.900)	4.47b(.761)	3.80c(1.096)	4.07(.989)	4.740*(.011)
- I emphasise fraternal love to my child (if you have more than two children)	4.03(.684)	4.22(.870)	3.96(.747)	4.05(.767)	1.132(.326)

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

4.4.3 Comparing the Relationships between Parents and their Child's School

Both parents showed that they were satisfied with their child's achievement in terms of obtaining a high score. The fathers of the higher achieving students were more satisfied with their children's results than the fathers of the lower achieving students who were less satisfied with their children's results (χ^2 =33.709, p<.01). In the case of the mothers the results were quite similar to that of the father's case (χ^2=36.116, p<.01). In the case of the fathers, if he has not gone to their children's school during the last twelve months their children do not have low results. However, if the father has gone to his child's school at least once a year, his child reflects a significantly higher achievement (χ^2=12.486, p<.05). By contrast, if mothers go to their children's school only once a year, their children's achievement is low. Yet this is not the whole result, because if mothers have visited their child's school repeatedly, their child will achieve (considerably) better results (χ^2=11.067, p<.05).

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Table 4.15 Satisfaction with their Children's Results and the Number of Parental Visits

Satisfaction with their child's results		a N (%)	b N (%)	c N (%)	Total N (%)	χ^2 (p)
	Very satisfied	2(5.9)	4(13.3)	0(0.0)	6(5.5)	33.709***
	Satisfied	22(64.7)	13(43.3)	10(22.2)	45(41.3)	(.000)
Father	Not particularly satisfied	10(29.4)	11(36.7)	18(40.0)	39(35.8)	
	Not satisfied	0(0.0)	2(6.7)	15(33.3)	17(15.6)	
	Do not know	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	2(4.4)	2(1.8)	
	Very satisfied	1(2.9)	3(9.4)	0(0.0)	4(3.4)	36.116***
	Satisfied	16(47.1)	13(40.6)	6(11.8)	35(29.9)	(.000)
Mother	Not particularly satisfied	17(50.0)	12(37.5)	22(43.1)	51(43.6)	
	Not satisfied	0(0.0)	4(12.5)	22(43.1)	26(22.2)	
	Do not know	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(2.0)	1(0.9)	
Number of parental visits		a N (%)	b N (%)	c N (%)	Total N (%)	χ^2 (p)
	Never	21(61.8)	22(73.3)	38(84.4)	81(74.3)	12.485
	Once	9(26.5)	7(23.3)	2(4.4)	18(16.5)	(.131)
Father	Twice	3(8.8)	0(0.0)	3(6.7)	6(5.5)	
	Three times	0(0.0)	1(3.3)	1(2.2)	2(1.8)	
	Five times	1(2.9)	0(0.0)	1(2.2)	2(1.8)	
	Never	3(8.8)	4(12.5)	12(23.5)	19(16.2)	11.067
	Once	5(14.7)	4(12.5)	10(19.6)	19(16.2)	(.681)
	Twice	7(20.6)	7(21.9)	9(17.6)	23(19.7)	
Mother	Three times	8(23.5)	6(18.8)	11(21.6)	25(21.4)	
	Four times	3(8.8)	5(15.6)	3(5.9)	11(9.4)	
	Five times	4(11.8)	3(9.4)	4(7.8)	11(9.4)	
	Six times	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(2.0)	1(0.9)	
	More than seven times	4(11.8)	3(9.2)	1(2.0)	8(6.8)	

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

Most parents of higher achieving students have a high level of contentment with their children's school. Four (4) of the 7 items explored the contentment of fathers with their children's school. The fathers of the higher achieving students

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are more content with their children's school. For example, fathers of higher achieving students were satisfied with their children's school in terms of the indoor environment (classroom and equipment). Fathers appeared to be pleased with their children's school's curriculum; thus they were assured that the school policy created favourable conditions for future college admission. Given their satisfaction with the school, the fathers tend to think positively about the register teacher. On the other hand, the mothers of the higher achieving student are less satisfied with the school than the fathers. Many of the items for the mothers elicited the same response from fathers - except on the question of satisfaction with the register teacher. The mothers of the higher achieving students have a higher expectation of their children's register teacher than do fathers.

Table 4.16 Contentment of the Parents with their Child's School (continued)

Contentment of the father with his child's school	a M(Sd)	b M(Sd)	c M(Sd)	Total M(Sd)	F(P)
▪ The indoor school environment, e.g. class rooms, equipment	3.56b(.660)	3.25bc(.701)	3.02c(.636)	3.26(.694)	6.229**(.003)
▪ The outdoor school environment, e.g. the school grounds, library	3.15(.821)	2.75(.799)	2.81(.824)	2.90(.827)	2.265(.109)
▪ The school's curriculum	3.74b(.666)	3.17c(.602)	2.98c(.771)	3.27(.763)	11.737***(.000)
▪ The discipline at school	3.50(.615)	3.28(.591)	3.19(.664)	3.31(.638)	2.425(.093)
▪ The school policy, e.g. policy for college admission	3.59b(.701)	3.37bc(.809)	3.00c(.663)	3.29(.756)	6.517**(.002)
▪ The school meals	3.15(.892)	2.89(.875)	2.98(.859)	3.01(.872)	.701(.499)
▪ The register teacher of your child	3.76bc(.614)	4.07b(.766)	3.51c(.668)	3.74(.710)	5.767**(.004)
Contentment of the mother to her child's school	a M(Sd)	b M(Sd)	c M(Sd)	Total M(Sd)	F(P)
▪ The indoor school environment, e.g. class	3.53b(.662)	3.03c(1.031)	3.20bc(.670)	3.25(.801)	3.507*(.033)

rooms, equipment					
▪ The outdoor school environment, e.g. the school grounds, library	2.79(1.149)	2.66(.937)	2.78(.879)	2.75(.973)	.212(.809)
▪ The school's curriculum	3.53b(.706)	3.13bc(.871)	3.04c(.692)	3.21(.772)	4.625*(.012)
▪ The discipline at school	3.53(.706)	3.16(.987)	3.14(.775)	3.26(.832)	2.625(.074)
▪ The school policy, e.g. policy for college admission	3.50b(1.108)	2.84c(1.221)	2.92bc(.821)	3.07(1.056)	4.283*(.016)
▪ The school meals	2.94(1.171)	2.42(1.119)	2.62(.987)	2.66(1.088)	1.912(.153)
▪ The register teacher of your child	3.97(.674)	4.22(.906)	4.02(.787)	4.06(.791)	.927(.399)

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

Regarding the important question of whether the parents interacted within a social group (which included other parents) to share and discuss their children's education issues, the mothers of the high achieving students seemed to be more involved in sharing their child's education with other parents than the mothers of the lower achieving student (F=10.602, p<.05).Their children's register teacher is more important to higher achievement children's parents. It is shown that the fathers of the middle and higher achieving students recognise and agree with the importance of their child's register teacher (F=14.384, P<.01). The fathers are aware of their role and tend to have more positive impressions of the register teacher than is the case with the mothers.

The mothers collect more educational information for their children than do the fathers. It seems clear that the higher achieving students are dependent on the collected educational information gained by their mothers. Remarkably, the mothers collected the bulk of the educational information for the higher and middle achieving groups. Collected educational information entails, for

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example, details on essay-writing, or reports on the well-known Hakwgwan (a private educational institution in Korea) offering effective tutoring for the child. Mothers seek out such useful information to drive higher achievement. Most of the collected educational information comes from associating and socialising with other parents who are part of social groups and networks.

Table 4.17 Social Group to Share with other Parents, Importance of a Register Teacher, and Collection of Educational Information

Social group to share with other parents		a N (%)	b N (%)	c N (%)	Total N (%)	χ^2 (p)
Father	Yes	3(9.1)	1(3.3)	2(4.5)	6(5)	1.143
	No	30(90.9)	29(96.7)	42(95.5)	101(94.4)	(.565)
Mother	Yes	29(85.3)	24(77.4)	28(54.9)	81(69.8)	10.602*
	No	5(14.7)	7(22.6)	22(43.1)	34(29.3)	(.031)
Importance of a register teacher		a N (%)	b N (%)	c N (%)	Total N (%)	χ^2 (p)
Father	Very important	20(58.8)	19(63.3)	18(40.0)	57(52.3)	14.384**
	Important	14(41.2)	7(23.3)	26(57.8)	47(43.1)	(.006)
	Not particularly important	0(0.0)	4(13.3)	1(2.2)	5(4.6)	
Mother	Very important	26(76.5)	21(67.7)	26(51.0)	73(62.9)	9.273
	Important	8(23.5)	10(32.3)	21(41.2)	39(33.6)	(.320)
	Not particularly important	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	2(3.9)	2(1.7)	
	Not important	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(2.0)	1(0.9)	
	Do not know	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(2.0)	1(0.9)	
Collection for educational information		a N (%)	b N (%)	c N (%)	Total N (%)	χ^2 (p)
Father	Yes	13(38.2)	12(40.0)	21(47.7)	46(42.6)	.821
	No	21(61.8)	18(60.0)	23(52.3)	62(57.4)	(.663)
Mother	Yes	34(100)	32(100)	43(87.8)	109(94.8)	8.526*
	No	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	6(12.2)	6(5.2)	(.014)

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

Relationships between Parents and their Child's Teacher

Generally, it is believed that mothers are much more interested in their children's education than are fathers. That is why mothers strike up and sustain cordial relationships with their children's school teacher as a matter of course. However, the interesting result of this study reveals that the mothers do not necessarily have the best relationship with their children's teachers, but that fathers relate well, if not better, with their children's teacher. Most of the fathers of the higher achieving student think that their child(ren) and the teacher are respectful to each other at the school (F=4.956, p<.01). The fathers agree that their children and their teachers interact well with each other at the school. At this point, the fathers are judicious in terms of how they evaluate their children's teacher (F=5.343, p<.01).

The teacher who was evaluated highly by fathers was viewed as having a passion for high quality education (F=4.717, p<.05). Given this positive feeling of satisfaction that fathers retain for teachers, fathers of higher achieving students display pride towards their child's school (F=9.123, p<.01). The satisfaction that is felt towards the teacher is linked positively to children's educational outcomes. Mothers tend to demand more of the teachers than fathers and consequently they express less satisfaction in considering their children's teacher. Nonetheless, mothers of high achieving students were proud of their child's school (F=6.922, p<.01). Ultimately, it seems evident that the pride that mothers internalise with regard to their children's school helps

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boost children's attitudes and receptiveness and enhances their educational achievement positively.

Table 4.18 Relationships between Parents and their Child's Teacher (continued)

Relationship between the father and his child's teacher	a M(Sd)	b M(Sd)	c M(Sd)	Total M(Sd)	F(P)
▪ Students and teachers are respectful to each other at school	3.94b(.600)	3.63bc(.718)	3.47c(.667)	3.66(.686)	4.956**(.009)
▪ I agree with register teacher's tutorials e.g. class management	3.79(.592)	3.76(.739)	3.47(.735)	3.65(.704)	2.616(.078)
▪ Most of the school teachers are reasonable in terms of evaluation	3.76b(.606)	3.62bc(.677)	.321c(.940)	3.50(.808)	5.343**(.006)
▪ Most of the school teachers have a good subject knowledge for teaching	3.68(.638)	3.48(.738)	3.30(.860)	3.47(.771)	2.295(.106)
▪ Most of the school teachers have a passion for high quality education	3.71b(.629)	3.52bc(.785)	3.16(.898)	3.43(.817)	4.717*(.011)
▪ I think teacher has a big influence on most of the students in planning their future	4.03(.758)	4.20(.664)	3.74(1.002)	3.96(.857)	2.738(.069)
▪ I am proud of my child's school	4.29b(.676)	4.07b(.868)	3.51c(.910)	3.92(.891)	9.123**(.000)
Relationship between mother and their teacher	**a M(Sd)**	**b M(Sd)**	**c M(Sd)**	**Total M(Sd)**	**F(P)**
▪ Students and teachers are respectful each other at the school	4.03(.529)	3.94(.759)	3.84(.681)	3.92(.664)	.826(.441)
▪ I agree with register teacher's tutorials e.g. class management	3.91(.723)	4.00(1.107)	3.86(.783)	3.91(.864)	.253(.777)
▪ Most of the school teachers are reasonable in terms of evaluation	3.59(.712)	3.55(.810)	3.46(.788)	3.52(.769)	.316(.729)
▪ Most of the school teachers have a good subject knowledge for teaching	3.47(.842)	3.25(.762)	3.33(.826)	3.35(.810)	.602(.550)
▪ Most of the school teachers have a passion for high quality education	3.50(.762)	3.22(.906)	3.27(.869)	3.32(.851)	1.022(.363)
▪ I think teacher has a big influence on most of the students in planning their future	4.21(.650)	4.19(.896)	3.94(1.096)	4.09(.933)	1.106(.334)

▪ I am proud of my child's school	4.18b(.769)	3.84bc(1.019)	3.46c(.838)	3.77(.918)	6.922***(.001)

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

4.4.4 Comparing the Relationships between Parents and the Community

In this study, the community SC on parents was also explored, namely, what were the important effects on the educational achievement of students? Most of the parental community SC, participation of parents in voluntary services for the community, involvement of parents in a religious organisation, youth programmes in the community, seems to not be important to children's educational achievement as shown by the data analysis. In general, the positive effect on educational achievement is not community SC of their parents, but the students' community SC! There is only one significant result in the relationships of the parents and the community, which is participation of parents in an election. A total of 83.5% of the responding fathers and 74.7% of the responding mothers have at some point during the last four years participated in an election. Politically active parents thus have high achieving children!

4.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter offers the data gathered from the three selected Korean schools. The exploration focuses on description in terms of statistics. The exploration was initiated with the presentation of the social and demographic

characteristics of all the subjects, as well as an attempt at differentiating the subjects in terms of their achieved scores in mathematics. There were discernable differences arguably shaping educational achievement in terms of SC.

Significant results can be drawn through comparing the distribution of the demographic characteristics of the students. Most of the high-achieving students are first-born children. Most of the boarding school students are in the higher achieving group; higher-achievers also commonly reside in the Gangnam residential district. Curiously, it was found that student's relationships with their fathers impacted greatly on whether or not they attained a very high educational achievement. Students are more likely to achieve higher scores if their father knows what their weak subjects are, when they have concerns about school matters and if fathers give advice, collect educational information and limit the watching of television and computer games. Thus fathers can carve important outcomes if they are actively engaged in their children's learning.

In terms of the current status quo, it is apparent that the relationship with mothers is a more decisive attribute of familial SC than the case with fathers. High achieving students have a good relationship with their mothers. They are more likely to attain higher achievements when their mother knows what their weak subjects are, who their close friends are, what their school concerns are, what educational information to collect, and how to limit the watching of

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television and computer games.

The results presented under 'comparison of relationship with the school' in Table 4.7 offers an understanding of whether school SC influences students' achievement. In many cases, pride for the school creates the higher score. Additionally, staying in same area as their school, being more satisfied with their school record and recognising the school record all have beneficial spin-offs. Students are more inclined to achieve higher scores, if they feel satisfied with the indoor school environment and policy for college admission, when they are in agreement with their teachers' subject knowledge and lesson planning, and if they are able to discuss private problems with teachers (e.g. falling grades and family circumstances etc). The community SC influences a higher score, if the community provides good security, and sufficient facilities (library and playground).

The evidence in Table 4.11 shows that the higher the qualification of the fathers the more likely it is that children will obtain higher achievements. In this study, a large proportion of the mothers of the higher achieving students have at least a bachelor's degree and many parents occupy prestigious occupations such as legislators, senior officials, managers or professionals. The results also show that the relationship between parents and children represent a crucial factor in children's achievement. As mentioned, if fathers know the children's register class number the children are more likely to score higher. Father's high expectations of good results have a stimulating effect encouraging the

exemplary achievement of children. If the father spares no expense for their children's education and school support, their children have higher MAS.

Concurring with popular beliefs, the results show that mothers do indeed have a closer relationship with their children than do fathers. The mothers who know their children's' register class number are likely to have higher achieving children. Very importantly, when a mother expresses strong trust in her child - 'no matter what happens' - the student will achieve a higher MAS. Mothers who have often spoken to their children about post-graduation plans have children who are more likely to attain higher achievements as students. Furthermore, if mothers spare no expense for children's education and school support, their children will be top achievers.

When compared with fathers, mothers are noted as building a different kind of relationship with their children. Mothers discipline themselves by keeping the child's school schedule constantly in mind. For example, if her child is in a test period or if there are deadlines for a project, the mother will change her plans to accommodate her child. Other appointments might be viewed as peripheral in the face of children's urgent academic issues. Mothers stick more to the rhythm of children's educational programmes than do fathers. In this regard, parents (both fathers and mothers) whose children are regarded as 'high achievers' are more satisfied with their children's results than parents of low achieving students. The fathers of the high achieving students' have a high level of contentment with the register teacher and acknowledge the importance

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of this teacher. On this issue, the fathers of high achieving students have a more positive view of the register teacher than do the mothers. The results also show that sharing with other mothers in social groups and collecting educational information tends to enhance their children's higher achievement. It was also noted that fathers of high achieving students maintain better relationships with teachers – more so than the kinds of relationships that mothers have with teachers. The fathers are friendlier to their children's teachers than the mothers are. Lastly, achievement is linked to parental involvement in political or citizen activity such as elections.

CHAPTER 5

FINAL ANALYSIS AND THEORETICAL ARGUMENTS: SIGNIFICANT ELEMENTS SHAPING ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Sociological analyses of the influences of family, school, and community social capital are discussed in this chapter. As stated in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3.2) the main question the study aimed to answer was, "In what ways does differential social capital acquisition account for differential educational achievement?" This research is not only focused on three types of social capitals but also on how each type of social capital is linked to the four dimensions. In offering data to answer this question, it is believed that the study makes a unique contribution to the development of educational sociology. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the extent to which the study achieves its aims and to link its results to theoretical arguments presented in Chapter 2. The main research question mentioned above was sub-divided into three more specific questions. These are as follows:

1. Does familial social capital influence educational achievement?
2. Does school social capital influence educational achievement?
3. Does community social capital influence educational achievement?

The chapter is organised in terms of four sections. First, the results of the regression analysis of the influence of social capital on mathematics

achievement scores are discussed in Section 5.2. Then, new arguments arising out of research on social capital are presented in Section 5.3. Finally, the discussion in this chapter is summarised in Section 5.4.

5.2 RESULTS OF REGRESSION ANALYSIS

As already reiterated, this study explores the influence of social capital on educational achievement based on students' mathematics scores. According to the research model in Section 3.4.1, there are three main variables pertaining to social capital as independent variables - family, school and community. Building on this, the three types of social capital are linked to four *dimensions*: physical background, relational, structural, and cognitive dimensions. To tease out the significance of these elements, social capital has been explained by means of regression analysis of the data and this explanation has been linked to the theoretical framework and literature review.

5.2.1 Results Relating To Familial Social Capital

Coleman (1988) famously contended that family background (parental SES, educational level, and occupation etc.) is more influential than school social capital. Bourdieu (1986) also maintains that student ability, skill and intelligence can be found to be attributed to parental SES. In this view, economic and class advantages reproduce privileges, thus enabling children from advantaged backgrounds to attain higher educational achievements. As mentioned in

section 3.4, the relationships between parents and children highlighted in the relational dimension are affected by networks and participation, whether the student lives at home or away, as well as the number of siblings and the birth order. The cognitive dimension reveals that sometimes parents and their children enjoy a 'shared vision', and are in agreement about educational goals and expectations in terms of higher education. For instance, if parents have high expectations of their child, they may want this child to gain a good occupation, for example, become a lawyer, medical doctor etc. If the child is in 'agreement' this may spur him/her on to great and positive outcomes. This study explored in detail the links between the results of the data analyses and the theoretical framework and literature review presented in Chapter 2.

5.2.1.1 Physical Dimension of the Familial Social Capital

Parents' academic qualifications, occupations, and income were grouped in physical background: parental SES (X11 in Research Model). When the variables are considered, father's occupation is shown to be important and mother's income is important too (though less so) for their children's achievement. In the case of father's work, if he is a 'professional' this seems to lead to significantly higher mathematics achievements of children (β=.259, t=1.998, p<.05). If a child's mother is employed with a monthly income from ₩2,000,000 (at current exchange of $1,883 on 7th November 2013) to ₩4,000,000 (at current exchange of $3,766 on 7th November 2013), the lean income creates lower mathematical achievement of her children. On the

contrary, mothers with income higher than ₩4,000,000 seem to produce children with better achievement in mathematics (β=-.302, t=-3.440, p<.05). The explanatory power of the regression model (ER[32]) is 17.6% to Model X11.

According to Bourdieu (1998: 263-290), a strategic economic approach is a prior condition for the perpetuation of a family's power rather than a student's innate intelligence and ability. For Coleman (1988), an important factor of achievement is parental SES. In Coleman's (1988) view parental SES is more influential than school or community and, therefore, is more strongly linked to educational achievement outcomes. Whilst not identical, Coleman and Bourdieu share similar ideas in purporting that parental SES is related to children's higher achievement. The findings of the current study resonate strongly with the results of Coleman and Bourdieu. However, this research shows in greater detail that the *professional occupation* of a father and *mother's income* are more important for children's higher achievement in Korea than other issues deemed relevant by other authors as 'physical' features.

Table.5.1 Influence of the PD in FSC on the Mathematics Achievement

Model (XII)	UC[33]		SC[34]	t	
	B	Std. Error	Beta		Sig.
(Constant)	89.760	1.535		58.474***	.000
Father's occupation (Professional)	11.483	5.748	.259	1.998*	.047
Mother's income	-13.929	4.049	-.302	-3.440**	.001

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

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[32] For convenience, I will refer, in this study, to 'ER', rather than the explanatory power of regression model.
[33] 'UC' is an abbreviation for 'unstandardized coefficient'.
[34] 'SC' is an abbreviation for 'standardized coefficient'.

5.2.1.2 Relational Dimension of the Familial Social Capital

The second variable in FSC is RD (X12 in Research Model). This dimension explores trust, the depth of relationships, concern and support between parents and children as explanatory variables (see Table 3.4). The RD has many explanatory variables. Therefore, they were classified according to four categories: RD1, RD2, RD3, and RD4 (see Appendix D). All RDs are measured on a 5-point scale in FSC. Only 4 variables out of 26 in the RD data were identified as significant: one variable at the RD1 level, one variable at the RD2 level, one variable at the RD3 level, and one variable at the RD4 level, as presented in Table 5.2:

Table 5.2 Influence of the RD in FSC on the Mathematics Achievement

Model (X12)	UC		SC	t		ER (%)
	B	Std. Error	Beta		Sig.	
Mother understands her child (RD 1)	6.415	2.307	.316	2.780*	.007	11.8
Any concern, I speak to my mother (RD 2)	2.470	1.218	.182	2.027*	.044	13.0
Relationship with my father is good (RD 3)	3.307	1.232	.218	2.685**	.008	14.1
Mother thinks the expense in paying fees for child's private tutoring is a burden (RD 4)	-4.860	2.364	-.233	-2.056*	.043	19.2

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

According to Coleman (1988), trustworthiness can be exemplified by the relationships between doctors and patients. Strong trust between doctors and patients leads to better patient health outcomes, apart from more amicable feelings between the parties. Similarly, this study clearly shows that strong trust between a mother and her children is more likely to lead her children to

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achieve more. When children have any concerns, they can speak to their mother. Furthermore, when trouble arises between children and their mother, if the mother tries to understand her children they can have strong trust in each other with long-lasting benefits (Bolino *et al.*, 2002). In Korea, most teenagers have better and closer relationships with their mothers than their fathers (Yim, 2011). Nevertheless, the findings in this study suggest that good relationships between fathers and children affect children's high achievement significantly. If a father and his children have a good relationship strong trust between a father and his children is linked to boosted achievement. The last variable in Table 5.2 is consistent with the parental SES. In the case of mothers, if the burden of paying fees for their children's private tutoring is small, children's achievement is higher (also see Park, Byun & Kim, 2011). From this viewpoint, one might argue that educational achievement improves through parental SES (Coleman, 1988).

5.2.1.3 Structural Dimension of the Familial Social Capital

The third variable in familial social capital is the SD (X13 in the Research Model). Here, one needs to compare the factors including residential types, number of siblings, birth order, and who children live with, for the analysis of SD. For this reason, dummy variables were processed before being used in the regression (Muijs, 2011). The educational information about parents was analysed through the five-point Likert scale. As it turned out, boarding school students were more likely to achieve higher scores in mathematics than

students living at home (β=-.848, t=-4.542, p<.01). It could be that for high school students, separation from parents facilitates greater independence. Thus students study not because they are forced to do so, or pressurised to do so, but because they can do it independently. The boarding school environments with 'communal parents' (or resident teachers) urging the group rather than the individual student to perform, works remarkably well in the Korean context.

A particular family structure also seems to bear greater success. When students live with both parents, they have a higher mathematics score (β=.298, t=2.526, p<.05). On the other hand, children living with single parents experience disadvantages. They either receive too little guidance or endure extreme pressure to perform, which is debilitating. Thus, living with a single parent might lead to lower achievement in mathematics. According to Putnam (1995b), An (2005), and Pong (1998), a single parent has fewer financial resources than a two-parent family. A single parent who is hard-pressed for time might also appear to be less ambitious and hold fewer expectations for his or her child. Single parents also tend to be less engaged in school life and with other groups of parents. Finally, single parents have smaller social networks and weaker ties with school functionaries than two-parent families (Teachman *et al.*, 1996). When students live with both parents, they have a sense of stability and more financial resources for their education (than is the case with a single parent).

When a mother possesses more educational information,[35] her children benefit by achieving strong scores in mathematics (β=.447, t=3.758, p<.01). Thus, a mother may strategically focus on her children's education through participating in various activities. Coleman (1994) explains it usefully in terms of expectations of reciprocity. Thus, when an individual needs handy information, he or she gets actively involved in wider networks to obtain significant resources to gain such information. In short, a principal motivation for cooperating with and establishing relationships with other people is directed towards larger purposes (Lin, 2011: 42). Thus, whilst people participate in relationships and groups to facilitate their particular purposes, there is also a measure of self-interest that is pursued. In this respect, Coleman's point about resources is not really about resources for the public good, but for the individual. Therefore Individuals can benefit through cooperation and the strategic manipulation of relationships (Coleman, 1994). In Korea, it is apparent that 'education fever' has affected families to the point that mothers in particular are aware that to win advantages for your children you need to be aware of new technologies, new study methods, learning resources and whatever else keeps your children in the top educational brackets. Thus, there is a flurry for staying connected to various activities to enable the collection of educational information. Through established social networks, vital information is gained, shared and exchanged (Coleman, 1994).

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[35] Which hakwan (private educational institution in Korean) is famous for guidance in essay writing? Or, do you know about a good private tutor who could help my child excel etc.?

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The role of women deserves special reiteration. Korean society expects its adult members to be superwomen and supermen (see Yang, 2011). Women in particular endure social pressures to be perfect nurturers, with neat houses, great cooking, playing the role of graceful wives, modest daughter-in-laws – these are the expectations of Korean women. Not surprisingly, most mothers face severe reprimand if their children are viewed as under-performers or deviants of some kind. It is apparent that Korean mothers greatly hope that their children will become high-achieving students with prosperous futures. That is why most mothers are resilient in searching for useful educational information. They are therefore commonly organised into associational groups.

In this regard, parents' economic advantages logically affect their children's high educational achievement as well. Associational networks and groupings take on a class character – because groups often assume an unfriendly attitude and close up to prevent outsiders or non-members access to the information and resources of the network. Groups thus usually consist of members with nearly the same SES. I would like to focus more on this finding: mother's collection of educational information (in Section 5.3) by discussing a voluntary online group 'Kukjain [36] (국자인 in Korean)' formed by Korean mothers. The explanatory power of regression model (ER) was measured as 26.1%.

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[36] Kuk means kukjegoru (international exchange in English), ja means jawonbongsa (voluntary service in English), and in means internship.

Table 5.3 Influence of the SD in FSC on the Mathematics Achievement

Model (X13)	UC		SC	t	
	B	Std. Error	Beta		Sig.
(Constant)	84.242	7.865		10.711***	.000
Stay at home	-26.057	5.737	-.848	-4.542***	.000
Live with both parents	8.887	3.518	.298	2.526*	.012
Collection of educational information (mother)	13.261	3.529	.447	3.758***	.000

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

5.2.1.4 Cognitive Dimension of Familial Social Capital

The last variable in FSC is the CD (X14 in Research Model). The CD is explained by the shared vision, educational goals, and expectations for higher achievement. The explanatory variables for the analysis of CD are as follows: following the parent's occupation; checking the child's rank after examination; checking children's homework or study; encouraging higher achievement in children; higher expectations for children's professional occupation e.g. interest in seeing the child become a lawyer, medical doctor or senior politician. All variables are measured on a five-point scale. One variable in the CD was identified as significant. Mothers 'hope' that their children make sensible choices in terms of selecting a future profession, for example, the desirable and prestigious occupations that have been mentioned above. When mothers have high expectations of professional occupations for their children, the students are likely to achieve a higher mathematics score (β=.263, t=2.493, p<.05). The ER was identified by 20.9%.

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Table 5.4 Influence of the CD in FSC on the Mathematical Achievement

Model (X14)	UC		SC	t	
	B	Std. Error	Beta		Sig.
(Constant)	47.448	10.942		4.336***	.000
High expectation of professional occupation (mother)	4.409	1.768	.263	2.493*	.014

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

Most Korean mothers sustain strong feelings and hold very high educational expectations (Kim, 2000; Lee, 2001a; Yu, 2006; Kim, 2001; Kim et al, 1999). In terms of current trends in Korean education, Korean parents' passionate motivations move children towards the top of their hierarchical society through driving them towards earning higher degrees (Chung, 1984; Kim *et al*., 2005). As mentioned in Coleman (1994) and Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), shared visions and collective action help promote integration in the cognitive dimension in FSC. From this point of view, if a mother and her children share the same vision for higher education, this will most likely lead to higher achievement.

To summarise: the most important SC in a family was identified by the structural dimension in this research (ER=26.1%). Generally speaking, the effect of parental SES was significant for children's higher educational achievement. I would like to focus on how to help low achievers in Korea in accordance with the structural dimension in a later section.

5.2.2 Results for School Social Capital

School is not only a context in which students aspire for high academic achievement. It is also a socialising space in which a youthful generation is prepared for the challenges and obstacles that face them in larger society – and in which the foundation for future success is constructed (Waddock, 1995; Haghighat, 2003). I explored satisfaction with the school by taking into account environmental conditions in PD,[37] relationships and trust in the RD, networks and participation of parents in school life in the SD, and shared expectations and goals in the CD (see Table 3.4). This section explores which part of school social capital (SSC) is most influential for higher achievement.

5.2.2.1 Physical Dimension of School Social Capital

The results were measured by school type, whether it was a boarding school or not, indoor and outdoor school environments, and satisfaction with school meals and curriculum (X21 in the Research Model). Private and public schools are largely controlled by the government in Korea (see Chapter 1). Generally, there is a more negative perception of public schools than private schools because in state schools teaching is carried out like a fixed routine that requires persistent bureaucratic procedures (Shavelson & Stern, 1981; Kim & Ju, 1980; Hong, 2006; Yun, 2003). Weighty bureaucracy and rigorous and uncreative school environments have been argued to have led to a schooling

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[37] PD is physical dimension.

crisis. In Korea, the 'collapse of schooling' (which the media describes) has been linked to what some critics refer to as a teaching and learning collapse, guidance collapse, and schools being generally in decline. Results generally attribute the level of collapse in the public schools to be much higher than that in the private schools (Yun, 2003). However, in this current study, my results indicate that public school students performed better in mathematics than private school students (β=.485, t=7.075, p<.01, ER=32.5%). This was not at all an expected finding! The two private schools that form part of my study are very famous and recognised in terms of high achievement and celebrated for professional teaching in Korea. Equally, the public school is not a 'low school' in terms of achievement. It is a highly respected school with dedicated teachers. I would like to make the findings (of their success) lead to important contributions in improving Korea's educational systems. It would seem, in considering all factors simultaneously, that a good relationship with one's father is more important for higher achievement than a student's exposure to excellent teaching[38].

Table 5.5 Influence of PD in SSC on the Mathematics Achievement

Model (X21)	UC		SC	t	
	B	Std. Error	Beta		Sig.
(Constant)	72.245	4.010		18.015***	.000
Public school student	15.845	2.239	.485	7.075***	.000

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

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[38] I will discuss following section 5.3.2 carefully.

5.2.2.2 Relational Dimension of School Social Capital

The relationship between a teacher and student was assessed, as well as counseling offered by the register teacher, and the teacher's passion for high quality education (X22 in the Research Model). As mentioned above, a teacher is one of the important elements or social actors that shape the lives of teenagers (Leana & Pil, 2006). Strong trust between a teacher and a student is vital for good educational achievement. The significance of trusting relationships between a teacher and a student can be illustrated as such: if they have strong trust in each other, the student will be able to share issues with his or her teacher, he or she may feel comfortable to discuss private concerns that he or she is affected by e.g. family circumstances, bad grades, or an alcoholic father. In my research, a good relationship based on strong trust between a register teacher and the student has an influence on higher mathematics achievement (β=.207, t=2.573, p<.05, ER=61%). The profile of an 'effective teacher' was probed and I was keen to see which characteristics of teachers could be deemed to be the most beneficial for the student (see C13 in the student's questionnaire). The most effective teacher was identified as the one offering 'affective support' to students (54.6% of the respondents stated this). Thus, it is not a professional characteristic such as good subject knowledge or being able to provide good guidance for university admission that is critical, but rather it is affective characteristics that are important.

In my experience as a current high school teacher, 'giving affective support to

students' really means that students are aware that if they require some counselling or motivation, there is someone to turn to. 'Affective support' could range from teachers taking time to ask "how was your [school] meal today?" to being available to listen to students' difficulties with personal and intimate relations. Expressions of concern and affection lead to strong trust between teacher and student. In empirical terms, as it turned out, strong trust created a basis for good achievement on the part of the student.

5.2.2.3 Structural Dimension of School Social Capital

The results referring to school staff and to sharing some information with one's social group were measured (X23 in the Research Model). Many popular researchers (Coleman, 1988; Pong, 1998; Beaulieu et al 2001; Lee, 2001a; Fursenberg & Hughes, 1995; Putnam, 1994 etc) point out that parental involvement in children's schooling is important SC for student's development (see Table 2.4). In general, it can be deduced that the more parents are engaged in school, the better their children perform and the less trouble they get into in school (Putnam, 1994).

In the present study, if the mother is also part of the school (in other words, a teacher), her children have high achievement in mathematics (β=.170, t=2.040, p<.05, ER=2.2%). To take an interest in their children's school signifies a strong interest in their children's achievement (Yan, 1999). Strong parental involvement in the school of the child (e.g. as a staff member) invites a very

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positive influence on higher achievement. Even if there are well-organised networks and parents are part of such networks, the achievement of the child appears to be more visible if parents become actively involved in the life of the school. Positive interaction between parents and schools, parents and other parents, generates social capital that has positive spin-offs resulting in higher achievement.

In my current high school, we have a special mother's group called 'Boramjikimi (보람지킴이 in Korean)'. The mothers visit the school once a week under the banner of this group. One of the missions of the mother's group is to inspect the school to detect problems such as the availability of clean drinking water etc. The mothers take opportunities to meet the children's teacher and engage the teacher about children's performances, school life, and general issues of interest. Schools welcome these civic interventions and appreciate the fact that mothers take collective interest in their work and in considering ways in which children can strive for better performances. Clearly, there is acknowledgement that mother's involvement is beneficial and keeps the school vigilant in its responsibilities. In the next section, more detail with regard to parental involvement is offered.

5.2.2.4 Cognitive Dimension of School Social Capital

The results of the following issues were measured: contentment with school discipline and policy for college admission, respect for school's teachers, and

how the school influences students planning for the future (X24 in Research Model). When there is contentment with the school policy (e.g. with regard to guiding or preparing students for university admission) this leads to higher mathematics achievement (β=.222, t=2.945, p<.01, ER=8.2). As I mentioned before, a shared vision tends to promote integration (Coleman, 1994; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998). In this study, shared visions for higher education between the school, school policy, and the students themselves has positive effects: when students are pleased with the school policy and are in harmony with it, this 'agreement' boosts high achievement.

Table 5.6 Influence of the RD, SD, and CD in SSC on the Mathematics Achievement

Model	UC		SC	t		ER (%)
(RD=X22, SD=X23, and CD=X24)	B	Std. Error	Beta		Sig.	
Strong trust between a teacher and student (RD)	2.768	1.076	.207	2.573*	.011	6.1
The mother is part of school staff (SD)	8.544	4.189	.170	2.040*	.043	2.2
Contentment with the school policy (CD)	2.973	1.009	.222	2.945**	.004	8.2

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

5.2.3 Results for Community Social Capital

As was evident in the literature review, many researchers writing about SC are interested in communities and recognise their importance as agents of collective cooperation (Sanders, 2001; Heath & McLaughlin, 1987; Epstein, 1995; Toffler & Toffler, 1995; Boyd & Crowson, 1993; Braatz & Putnam, 1996). From this point of view, family and school are not the only critical forces augmenting higher achievement, but the community as well. Putnam (1995b,

2000), for example, advocates the community as a vital source of SC. Parental involvement in the community through community forums, keeping streets safe at night, discussing politics in the neighbourhood, sustaining strong bonds among community's members etc. as well as participation in parent-school bodies can be an indicator of civic engagement and how deeply social trust runs through associational memberships (Putnam, 1995b).

Residential district assumes a very meaningful position in Korea in terms of this discussion on achievement (Seo, 2004). It represents not only a residential brand in terms of economics, but holds an impression of prestige, social status and the place of progress.

5.2.3.1 Physical Dimension of Community Social Capital

The results in respect of 'physical dimension' or background were measured in terms of the environmental conditions in the community: good security, enjoy festivals for youth, and sufficient facilities (e.g. library and playground) (X31 in the Research Model). All the explanatory variables in PB of CSC are measured by a 5 Score Scale. Coleman (1994) contends that social capital in a well-knit community would be exemplified by member's ability (irrespective of age) to walk safely on the street without fear of being attacked. The benefit of a tight community accrues not to private things but to collective meanings as a whole, resulting in a happier and more pleasant community. Better security in the community promotes higher mathematics achievement (β=.204, t=2.670,

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p<.01, ER=6.6%). It might be inferred from the result that security in the community has something to do with residential district. This idea can be extended to understand the structural dimension of community social capital.

Table 5.7 Influence of the PB in CSC on the Mathematics Achievement

Model (X31)	UC		SC	t	
	B	Std. Error	Beta		Sig.
(Constant)	70.356	4.979		14.131***	.000
Good security in the community	3.068	1.149	.204	2.670**	.008

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

5.2.3.2 Relational Dimension of Community Social Capital

Interaction among the community's members was examined (x32 in Research Model; see Table 3.4). Significant findings, however, could not be discerned in the relational dimension of community social capital.

5.2.3.3 Structural Dimension of Community Social Capital

The results were measured in terms of networking and participation in the community: residential district, residential homogeneity, parental voluntary services, student's participation in voluntary services, parent and student involvement in religious organisations etc. (X33 in the Research Model). In Seo's study (2004), the variable 'parental influence on children's education' was carefully interrogated. One of the results was that residential district and mother's educational level was equally crucial. As mentioned earlier, the

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residential district in which one lives is very important in defining one's social position in Korea. It reflects economic class, but also prestige in terms of status and privilege such as what one witnesses in the 'Gangnam' district. A Korean popular drama produced in 2007, popularly represented Gangnam's mothers' as obsessive and overly-anxious about their children's education. As an indicator of SC, residential area is strongly linked to civic engagement (Putnam, 1995b). More points about the ''Gangnam' district will be discussed at the end of the section.

Table 5.8 Influence of the SD in CSC on the Mathematics Achievement

Explanatory Variable		High N (%)	Middle N (%)	Low N (%)	Total N (%)	χ^2 (p)
Residential district	Gangnam-gu	10(14.3)	7(12.3)	7(10.8)	24(12.5)	50.750**
	Seocho-gu	3(4.3)	16(28.1)	38(58.5)	57(29.7)	(.000)
	Songpa-gu	7(10.0)	2(3.5)	1(1.5)	10(5.2)	
	In Seoul	10(14.3)	8(14.0)	4(6.2)	22(11.5)	
	Except Seoul	40(57.1)	24(42.1)	15(23.1)	79(41.1)	

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

5.2.3.4 Cognitive Dimension of the Community Social Capital

The results of shared expectations and goals in the community were measured: here the importance of roles and decision-makers in the community were assessed (X34 in the Research Model). According to Putnam (1993, 2000), parents who are more interested in their children's education and thus more involved, tend to also be more actively involved in political issues. In addition, political participation of members differs in each community; it

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depends on the level of interest and commitment to the community. However, in the study, the importance of decision-makers in the community was not significantly linked to higher achievement (β=-.238, t=-2.002, p<.05, ER=6.6%). Apart from a few variables, CSC can be seen to be less important in influencing a student's educational achievement in Korea; however, we should not be hasty in dismissing it outright and suggesting that it is irrelevant as a socially constructing mechanism. It should be constantly probed to consider its consequences for student's higher achievement.

5.2.4 Summary

This study offers a **research model** to consider and explain (see Section 3.4.1) the elements of social capital that have a formidable and significant influence on higher achievement in mathematics. Mathematics, as a main subject that students seek to excel in, offers a proxy and lens into the general academic achievement of Korean 11-th graders.

Three types of social capital were considered in the research model. It was found that the structural dimension (X13) has a strong influence in **Family Social Capital** (ER= 26.1%): this includes students living in a boarding school, living with both parents, and the situation where mothers collect information (and stay informed) about issues related to advancing her children's education. In **School Social Capital**, physical background (X21) promotes higher achievement (ER=32.5%). Public school students have stronger indications of

school social capital for higher achievement. This requires further explanation and debate. Understanding the potential of public schools and how they can mobilise various kinds of resources and social capital to shape higher achievement could be an important solution for the prevalent 'educational gap' (between low and high achievers) in Korea. The structural dimension (X33) is the most noteworthy in **Community Social Capital** (ER=33.1%). Here, it was established that residential district was related to higher achievement.

5.3 NEW ARGUMENTS ON SOCIAL CAPITAL: ORIGINAL FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to consider seriously the place of social capital in encouraging high academic achievement in Korea. Whilst the trend of many developing states is to place emphasis on economic investments and political interventions, it is often the case that social strategies at the micro-level that have been proven successful and on-going are not given sufficient credit or are treated simply as peripheral. In this study, close attention was paid to the specific types of social capital that exert influences on the performance of scholars who are regarded as high-achieving students. Strictly speaking, the intention was to examine what works for the top-achievers and what could be applied to improve the performances of the low achieving students. Thus, the solutions for the development and promotion of high educational achievement in Korea could be examined in terms of - not economic resources primarily - but rather social capital (non-economic resources).

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As a starting point, background information on the republic of Korea's educational system and society were offered in Chapter 1. The tradition of education in Korea is founded upon the legend of *Dangun* who taught the value of *Hongik-ingan*. In terms of his teachings one must be of benefit to humanity in order to be part of humanity (Choi, 2006: 17). For the past few decades, however, Korean education has not been guided by these standard values (*Hongik-ingan*), but has rather been characterised by intense competition for jobs, status and prosperity similar to the way other growing economies (and their educational systems) have succumbed to the pressures and dynamics of the vibrant global environment.

Korean citizens commonly recognise that education is the most effective way in which people (and families) can move into a higher class position. The educational system has had to react to the demands of both parents and students to provide top class and progressive education (Sorensen, 1994: 13-14). In particular, the fiercest competition is for a place in a prestigious university – the particular school, thus, is harshly judged if the school is not able to prepare the student to attain top scores. Thus, the purpose of this research was to explore the three kinds of social capital that were hypothesised as accounting for differential educational achievement. The research framework was based on the work of the three great thinkers on social capital: Coleman, Bourdieu and Putnam. This section reiterates and reflects on the original findings derived from the research model.

5.3.1 Familial Social Capital

As mentioned in Chapter 2, previous researchers maintained that the family is important for a child's educational achievement. This study finds the specific strands that work together to make family a vital source of achievement. First, with regard to *physical* background, father's educational level has an influence on his children's education (Phang and Kim, 2001: 26-27). However, in the present study, *father's occupation* has a stronger influence on higher achievement for his children than does his educational level. It was found from the results that parental SES has a clear effect on their children's higher educational achievements. Bourdieu (1998), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (1995b), all pointed out that family social capital in terms of its specific resources promote a higher achievement. In particular, Coleman and Bourdieu refer to the reproduction of socio-economic status as applicable to children's higher achievement. In this regard, my finding regarding family is not different from that of Coleman's and Bourdieu's. However, my study identifies professional occupation of father as of crucial importance, more so than other forms of parental SES, for children's higher achievement in Korea (Table 4.11).

Interestingly, mother's income does not appear to be extremely significant for higher achievement in Korea. Being a full-time housewife in Korea has a more significant and positive effect on children's educational outcomes (Table 4.11). Anecdotal evidence seems to suggest that more and more professional

women in Korea are taking time off in the period when their children are in school – this study confirms the advantage of full-time housewives dedicating time and effort in working with schools to improve and monitor their children's academic work. According to a major Korean newspaper (Kang, 2011), working mothers are experiencing strong distress because they are excluded from mothers' networks that are active during the early hours of the day. Most meetings between school-officials and parents are held during the day, which is why working Korean mothers are unhappy about their inability to be part of these initiatives. Another interesting reality is that, as reflected in Korean newspapers, mothers in Deachi-dong, located in one of Gangnam's areas, make time to have meetings about their children's education. They are critical of working mothers who do not have enough time for meetings. For this reason Deachi-dong mothers do not allow working mothers to join their meetings, and restrict membership to full-time stay-at-home mothers. It seems to be that working mothers are thus isolated from such mothers' networks. In this regard, the high achievement 'recipe' entails at the physical level of familial capital, a father with high occupational status and a *mother with dedicated time* and opportunity to stay focused on children's education – and mother-centred networks collaborating to share ideas and information.

Second, there are four meaningful findings in terms of the *relational* dimension. Some of them once again relate to the mother: these include that the mother *understands* the child and that a *close bond* between the mother and her children is built. A good *caring relationship between a father and his children* is also

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significant for the attainment of their success at school. Thus, a father who leaves the task of nurturing children to his wife, and believes he should play a marginal role – is denying them the full benefits of scholarly achievement. The last finding here pertains to the use of available economic resources. If mothers take the initiative to pay fees for their children's private tutoring, without concern for the expenses that may be involved, the students become excellent achievers. Parental socio-economic status does then shape academic outcomes – but it is not as simplistic an association as that. Sometimes high-earning parents are reluctant to invest large sums of money in extra-tuition. Thus, the data shows that where *mothers 'spare no expense'* the willingness to invest in the child becomes influential capital for their children's higher education.

As Coleman (1988) points out, inherent in the actions of parents is the element of trust. *Strong trust*, that is evident for all to see, creates the environment for higher educational achievement. Many previous researchers point out that dialogue between parents and their children are very important (Table 2.3). While this is clearly valuable, the relationship between a mother and her children appears to be currently more influential as social capital for higher achievement in the case of Korea. In families where mothers play such roles and *fathers too* sustain excellent relationships with their children, the children are set for very good academic performances (ER=14.1%).

In most societies, fathers are regarded as breadwinners, and their status is

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seen in terms of their instrumental roles and the contributions they make to the economic upkeep of the household. Consequently, a division of labour exists with fathers remaining active in the external domain and mothers relegated to bringing up children and taking full charge of child-rearing and most of the decisions within the domestic setting (Cabrera, et al., 2000). Increasing female employment is reshaping such conventional divisions – with women being more active in the workplace, men are being encouraged to play more involved roles within families. Thus, a good relationship between a father and his children could simply mean more quality contact and nurturing interaction between a father and his school-going children (Soblewski & King, 2005: 1210; Carlson, 2006).

The issue of 'more contact' with father can be further interrogated. In my study, I considered carefully the issue of 'more contact' through data analysis (see Table 4.12). The more contact with father could be that he would take greater interest in his children's school experiences and have more conversations with them about their experiences. He could ask: Which register class are you in this year? How are your studies going? And, do you need some books or special learning aids to improve your studies? The impact of this interest, concern and involvement is enormous.

Third, students are more likely to achieve higher mathematics scores if they *stay in a dormitory* at school rather than at home. This is a curious result against the background of the earlier recognition of the role of the mother and

father in determining achievement outcomes. It seems though that leaving home at an early age and living in a communal school context encourages strong learning and a competitive learning spirit. Parents keep in touch over a distance and students have the space to become independent and take charge of their own learning – driving themselves to become top achievers. In this regard, students are not forced to study and are free of parental pressure; instead, they are aware of what the family wants of them, and keep that in mind whilst motivating themselves at their own pace.

Of those who live at home and leave to school on a daily basis, there appears to be a clear distinction between single-parent households and those in which *both parents are present*. In the family structure, when the student lives with both parents, they tend to have a higher achievement. On the other hand, children living with a single parent attain lower scores and generally have lower levels of achievement. This could be due to the fact that single parents have fewer economic and social resources. They are not able to fully motivate students, pay for extra tuition and offer them the enormous amount of time and dedication that e.g. a stay-at-home mum and professional father can (as a collective unit). In addition, the single parent is less able to be part of groups that engage the school in the interest of children's higher achievement.

Mother's information-gathering has been identified as highly significant. It seems though that such information-gathering is largely the domain of full-time, stay-at-home housewives. A working mother cannot join a high quality network

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group with other full-time housewives. What is the usefulness of such a network? I will now elaborate further on the the 'Kukjain', an online group established by mothers in Korea. The Kukjain, entailing an online voluntary community in Naver, Korea, shares and circulates relevant educational information amongst mothers concerned about ensuring that their children are not left behind with regard to methods, texts and information in general. The word Kukjain contains a meaning in three parts. 'Kuk' in Korean means international exchange, 'ja' in Korean means voluntary service, and 'in' in Korean means internship and extracurricular activities. The network was initiated on 20 October 2006 (http://cafe.naver.com/athensga/) and is still going strong.

The admission criteria for college have changed a little between 2009 and 2014, in Korea. Previously college admission was determined by the College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT) (see Section 3.3.1) run by the state, but the changed type that is now required is CSAT plus extracurricular activities. Extracurricular activities are largely voluntary but they reveal important qualities e.g. whether the student exhibits leadership qualities in high school, and how much advanced preparation has been done for the student's preliminary major (specifically, extra books read or extra training pursued)?

Therefore, Korean students need to study not only for the CSAT, but also need to participate in various extracurricular activities. This has been referred to informally (by Korean students) as 'double torture'. This double-bind has

possibly been the impetus for groups of mothers becoming active to gain information about school issues (including extracurricular activities) for their children's higher education. That is why, as stated above, the Dechi-dong mothers seem to be organised quite exclusively and rigorously. Whilst working mothers are excluded, the 'Kukjain' has some smaller groups that cater for them. This can become very helpful for working mothers if they are supported and become more established as sites for information-gathering.

Fourth, most Korean mothers have *high levels of educational expectations* for their children (Kim, 2000; Lee, 2001a; Yu, 2006; Kim, 2001; Kim et al, 1999). In this study, it was important to note that when mothers exhibit high expectations for their children's future professional occupations, the children are likely to be high achievers. Korean parents' strong 'educational fever' is driven by desires to reach the top of hierarchical society in terms of economic status (Chung, 1984; Kim et al., 2005). As mentioned by Coleman (1994) and Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), shared visions and collective action help promote integration in the cognitive dimension.

Mothers of higher achievers have frequently spoken to their children about what she/he will do after graduation, they know their child's register class number, and understand their children as teenagers etc. (see Table 4.13). Because of these strong relationships, regular conversations, and more shared concerns between mother and children it seems to be possible to attain higher achievements. The relational dimension works in conjunction with the cognitive

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dimension to produce exemplary academic results.

5.3.2 School Social Capital

Schools are often studied to investigate their role and effectiveness in producing good academic results (Boyd & Crowns, 1993; Waddock, 1995; Scheerns & Bosker, 1997 etc). School is regarded as more than simply the place for academic achievement, but as the foundation for the next generation's social and economic progress (Waddock, 1995; Haghighat, 2003). Korean high schools (whether public or private) are under the jurisdiction of the government (Chapter 1). Korean, mathematics, and English [39] of all the elective subjects (see Table 3.3) are afforded greater importance for college admission. For this reason, most Korean schools want to ensure that the three subjects are taught fairly well during class hours. All the schools follow similar curricula in Korea because they work under the government.

However, only an *autonomous private high school* can organise a unique curriculum for itself in Korea. In my study, *two* of the three schools are autonomous private high schools. The two schools stick to their own curricula and have more than the three main subjects during school hours than do public high schools. However, it was found from the results that the *public school* had significantly better results in their mathematics scores than private schools. This was ascertained through regression analysis (β=.485, t=7.075,

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[39] Normally, we refer to the 'main three subjects' meaning Korean, Math, and English in Korea.

p<.01, ER=32.5%). This was, as already shown, an unexpected result due to social capital influences on public school performances (the school in question is Yangjae High School: YHS). The students of the YHS have a *closer relationship with their father* than the students of the other two private high schools. This result emerges from the relational dimension in familial social capital. To put it more concretely: when the public high school students have any concerns about school matters (teachers or friends), they discuss these problems with their father, rather than their mother. Trust is built into the notion of 'relationship'. Strong trust in regard to the relationship between parents and children may contribute to strong educational and work-related attainments on the part of the children (Coleman, 1994: 334).

Specifically, the relationship between a father and his children has an important bearing on their educational attainment especially when the relationship is mutually respectful and there is strong trust in each other. 'More contact' with father is of great value for student's wellbeing, self-confidence and academic results. If the children can freely discuss things with their father and he offers counsel about such things (whether it's about unhappiness regarding school-friends or teachers, or something regarding school subjects) strong trustful bonds are reinforced. Public high school students have closer bonds and strong trust in fathers and this, as is seen in this study, is related to higher achievement.

In general, when both parents are in harmony and in tune with the school

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environment, its ethos and rhythm (curricula, school policy, classrooms), their children are likely to attain higher achievements (see Table 4.14). Parents working as a team with their children instil a sense of contentment within them. As has been noted in this study, when the student is at ease with the school policy (specifically with regard to preparation for college admission) they are *cognitively driven* and tend to be better achievers. Feelings of satisfaction are very high when parents, students, and the school have *shared visions* and work with common purpose. In this study, I would like to emphasise that higher achievement was clearly linked to communication between the parent, the student, and the school. If the communication is good – particularly regarding school policy – and there is close interaction, they have greater satisfaction with each other and virtually the same thinking in term of school policy.

A further interesting and significant finding relates to the mother's involvement at her children's school as a member of staff. Parental involvement, as already established, is very important for children's educational attainment (Coleman, 1988; Pong, 1998; Beaulieu *et al*., 2001; Lee, 2001a; Fursenberg & Hughes, 1995; Putnam, 1994 etc). 'Engaged' parents have more high-performing and fewer troublesome teenagers (Putnam, 1994). In my study, when the mother was part of the staff (mainly a teacher) at the school, it caused a higher mathematics achievement (β=.170, t=2.040, p<.05, ER=2.2%). If mothers are more involved in the children's school as staff, the contact with their children's teachers could be quite intensive: they can talk about their children's school issues and raise questions about their problems and how to address them.

This could also be a strategic decision on the part of the mother: to be employed at the same school to protect her child's interests in attaining excellent results and better future prospects.

Thus, as the present study concurs, strong parental involvement in children's school lives has a very positive influence on the child's growth, development and higher achievement. Even if there are well-organised networks to which parents can attach themselves, these shape educational performance more meaningfully if parents are fully involved: and interact with the school, with other parents, and with their child in the home.

Mother's groups have already been mentioned – but a further note can be referred to. We have a special mother's group in my current high school: it is called 'Boramjikimi[40] (보람지킴이 in Korean)'. The members of 'Boramjikimi' consist of 20 mothers: two mothers (of this group) visit the school in rotation every day! This is on a purely voluntary basis. Some of their tasks entail looking around the school to identify possible problems. Each member also seeks out and accumulates educational information about, for example, private institutions with professional programmes or the availability of special teachers. The members pool the quality information and talk extensively amongst each other about how to keep the standards high. Mother's involvement in Korean children's school lives clearly leads to higher achievement.

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[40] Boram means 'worth' and jikimi means 'keeper' in English.

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A teacher is one of the most influential factors for students' successful futures (Leana & Pil, 2006). How do teachers influence the learning outcomes of students? Here's an example of how higher scores can be attained. A good score for a student is linked to who the subject teacher is and how the student relates to the teacher. If the relationship[41] between a subject teacher and student is strong, the subject score was higher than that of other subjects. An effective teacher was probed in the questionnaire to identify the characteristics most valuable and to the greatest benefit of students (see the student's questionnaire, C13). The most effective teacher was identified as the one *giving affective support* to students (54.6% of the respondents). It was a most unexpected result because the current discourse in Korea suggests that the most effective teacher is the professional who has the sharpest subject knowledge, is content-driven, provides good guidance for college admission, and is a strong disciplinarian. Here, my data shows that a caring teacher attentive to the student's feelings may have indeed more success in nurturing top achievement than a brilliant teacher who is instrumental in his/her teaching responsibilities. Thus, strong trust between a teacher and a student can lead to bringing out the student's full potential and boost his or her confidence enhancing academic progress.

What precisely could 'giving affective support to students' mean? As stated

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[41] It means that the teacher knows my name and my class (student) number or when my grades dropped, the teacher encouraged me etc. After the interaction between the teacher and I, I have trusted the teacher more and get better scores as well in the subject.

above, there has to be constant reminder of the fact that regular contact with parents, especially fathers, is a vital ingredient for higher achievement. *'More contact' with their teacher'* is also a practice that brings exceptional results. More contact with teachers can be the holding mechanism that encourages them – whether it is through counselling or routine discussions about everyday affairs (such as 'how is your father?' Are you on track with your test preparations?' 'Did you cut your hair?'). Students respond warmly to these signs of affection and concern and it builds trust between the teacher and the student. The trust must be seen as not merely peripheral or 'nice to have' but as integral to the academic enterprise. Without it, and in an environment of high pressure, students as social beings will find themselves debilitated and unable to rise to the peak of their academic performances. In short, strong trust influences and constructs higher achievement. This element was much stronger in the public school, and consequently led to, to my surprise, the generation of social capital for higher achievement.

However, the success of the public high school is not merely due to a school attribute, but because of the link to family social capital. Higher educational results (top scores) might be best assured through the combined energies of school and family: closer relationships with fathers (in the relational dimension of familial social capital) as well as strong trust between teachers and students is important for higher attainment. Thus, Coleman's (1994) study on educational achievement echoes in my study: strong trust based on close relationships must surely contribute to strong educational and future work-

related attainments.

5.3.3 Community Social Capital

'Gangnam style'[42] is a song performed by a Korean singer called Psy. According to the lyrics, 'Oppa[43] is Gangnam style.' It means that the 'oppa' (the man) acts superior to other people because he is living in the Gangnam area in Seoul. Gangnam is one of the richest and most affluent neighbourhoods in Korea. The houses in this area are generally striking and attractive and the neighbourhood is well maintained and prestigious: there are enough amenities and the quality of local public service is very good (Bae & Chung, 2013).

In Korea, the 'education characteristics' of the neighbourhood and community, and the positioning of schools within them, can increase the prices of houses (Jin & Son, 2005). To put it more concretely, the Gangnam area has high housing prices, both in terms of selling and leasing. There is also a higher ratio of educational qualifications among the residents and many famous private high achieving institutions in the area (Jin & Son, 2005); thus, it is no wonder that there is a higher rate[44] of students from Gangnam gaining acceptance for

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[42] The 'Gangnam style' was showcased by YouTube on 15th July, 2013. It was a hit song on iTunes and ranked no. 2 on Billboard Hot 100 in USA.

[43] Usually, Oppa has two meanings in Korea. One means 'old brother' in the family and the other means 'beloved man'. The latter is reflected in the song.

[44] The enrolled students were 173 per 10,000 students at Seoul National University in

degrees in Seoul National University (Kim, 2012). Thus, high attainment depends somewhat on socio-economic environment and place of residence. If students live in affluent, well-endowed, neighbourhoods, residents have higher SES and there are better private institutions than less well-off neighbourhoods in terms of property, they have a stronger chance of success. Though, as already maintained, material resources are not the full picture – and affective elements are fundamental as determinants.

A very famous lecturer, Lee (2006: 5) suggested that Korea is the 'republic of Hakgwan' (private educational institution in Korean). By this he meant private institutions lead the way to solve educational challenges in Korea. Accepting this view, many parents are desperate to buy properties and move into areas like Gangnam, largely to gain access to better private institutions for their children's education (Kim, 2012). It is from this point of view that the Gangnam has in Korea become a sought-after rich neighbourhood.

This Korean issue can be looked at from a different angle. Which dimension of social capital works to drive higher achievement (apart from SES) in the Gangnam area? The most unique difference, as shown in my study, between the Gangnam area and the other areas was, of course, *mother's concern about their children's education*. When Gangnam mothers do their planning they consider simultaneously their child's school schedule, e.g. test periods or deadlines of project (β=.952, t=3.641, p<.05). This result is not significant for

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2011.

all the areas *but only in the Gangnam area* for my study. Sometimes mother's obsessive concern for their children's education leads to negative results, demoralising them and leading them to lower achievement. In general, though, mothers' concern for children's performance at school produces positive outcomes. Mothers who are not necessarily the most financially stable, might compensate by taking extra interest in the child's project deadlines and outcomes – and in their work in general.

There are a number of questions that scholars ask community members in attempting to consider CSC. These include: Are you proud of your community? To what extent are you satisfied with your community? Do you feel safe in your residential district at night? I was concerned to establish how, if at all, community social capital can be argued to influence higher academic achievement? According to Putnam (1995b, 2000), higher achievement is contingent upon and interwoven with community social capital. If higher achievement is tempered and enhanced by CSC, which element is the most significant? It was interesting to note that a well-knit community that guarantees safety such as walking freely on the street without fear holds benefits for academic achievement. It seems to be that *good security* relates to wealthier, economically stable, residential areas. Good security in the community promotes higher mathematics achievement in Korea (β=.204, t=2.670, p<.01, ER=6.6%). The other results relating to educational achievement and community social capital have expected outcomes and with no clear evidence of specific and significant influences on education. This said,

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community social capital should not be disregarded as a resource for children (Israel et al. 2001: 62); they have a taken-for-granted value and if this (CSC, for example) deteriorates, the negative effects and repercussions could reduce the gains currently witnessed in Korean education.

5.4 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the extent to which the aims of this study and theoretical arguments in Chapter 2 can be linked to the study's empirical findings and to answer the main research question based on the data analysis. The main research question was: **In what ways does differential social capital acquisition account for differential educational achievement?** The question was operationalised into three specific questions. Then each question was divided into four sub-questions, to be answered according to the results of the analyses above. Each sub-question is presented and answered separately below.

First, **does the family's social capital exert a significant influence on students' educational achievement?** Based on what was discussed above, we can conclude confidently that familial social capital helps higher achievement of students. Coleman and Bourdieu point out that parents' SES is beneficial for children's higher achievement. The findings in this research are similar to Coleman and Bourdieu's findings. However, this research also confirms that father's professional occupation is significant, and from the point

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of view of the relational dimension in social capital, a mother's understanding and her concern about education (affective elements) have positive effects on children's higher achievement. Good relationships with a father are also linked to higher achievement. When the structural dimension is scrutinised, it is evident that higher achieving students are those who stay in a dormitory at their school. This may be due to the fact that whilst close bonds are crucial for children's success, some degree of separation works to their benefit because it facilitates independence and taking ownership of their own learning outcomes at the high school level. When both parents are integral in the lives of children, as opposed to the situation in a one-parent family, achievement is more substantial.

Mother's active collection of educational information should never be underestimated. Oddly enough, there is much wisdom in a Korean joke: It has been suggested that if you want your children to enter a prestigious university you need *three powers:* one's grandfather's economic power, father's power and interest in his children's education,[45] and mother's power of information (SBS, 2009). What is most important, however, is mother's power to collect relevant information about education. Most high-achieving students' mothers are ambitious for their children and have in mind good possible professional choices such as becoming a lawyer, medical doctor, or a senior politician. Hence, mother's high expectations for her children's professional futures facilitate their higher academic achievement.

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[45] As stated above, father's indifference is not meaningful in this study.

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Second, **does school social capital have a significant effect on students' educational achievement?** The importance of school should not be undervalued, but it should not be simplistically assumed that private schools are always advantageous and public schools incapable of generating excellent results. The public school in this study did remarkably well. Strong trust and parental involvement created a foundation for excellent performance. In this study, fathers of public school scholars (YHS) maintain closer relationships with their children than parents of the private high schools in this study. The core results show that *strong trust and good relationships* between a father and his children have an immense influence on the children's higher education.

Teachers are social agents who craft higher education outcomes too. Strong trust between a teacher and a student positively contributes to students' educational achievement. 'Giving affective support to students' engenders deep trust more so than having expert subject knowledge. Mothers as staff members and mothers in recognised and well-organised networks all facilitate higher achievement for the children's education in terms of the structural dimension.

From a cognitive perspective, when high achieving students are satisfied and agree with the school's policies, this leads to higher achievement. The results indicate that when a school and its students communicate well regarding school policies through close interaction, there is mutual satisfaction and

shared thinking and values in terms of school policies.

Third, **does community social capital influence educational achievement?** Unfortunately, the results for community social capital are insignificant. Nevertheless, the structural dimension of residential district is important in influencing higher achievement outcomes. It is true that Gangnam is a rich neighbourhood in Korea. Gangnam looks as if it is the economic capital of Korea. It is uniquely different when compared to other districts. Gangnam mothers exhibit their own 'Gangnam style' – they are very deeply concerned about children's schedule and activities, they are focused in making plans, and they take deliberate steps to ensure that their children reap advantages. As Coleman (1994) and Putnam (1995b, 2000) point out, good security is a resource in social capital enhancing educational progress positively. However, items like community social capital, public trust, and civic responsibilities, that Putnam (2000) views as key did not appear as strong factors in this study.

In this study the **three social capitals** as conceptualised initially by Nahapiet & Ghoshal (1998) were examined. The framework for the research had various sides, integrating trust, understanding etc. in the relational dimension, network and participation etc. in structural dimension, and shared expectations etc. in the cognitive dimension. The model shown in Figure 5.1 includes variables (factors) identified as significant in the regression analyses (below). This model represents the original contribution of the thesis, which is applicable largely in the Korean context, but which can be considered as a resource for other

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countries seeking to pinpoint strategies that would drive high achievement and nurture skills and renew institutions of learning.
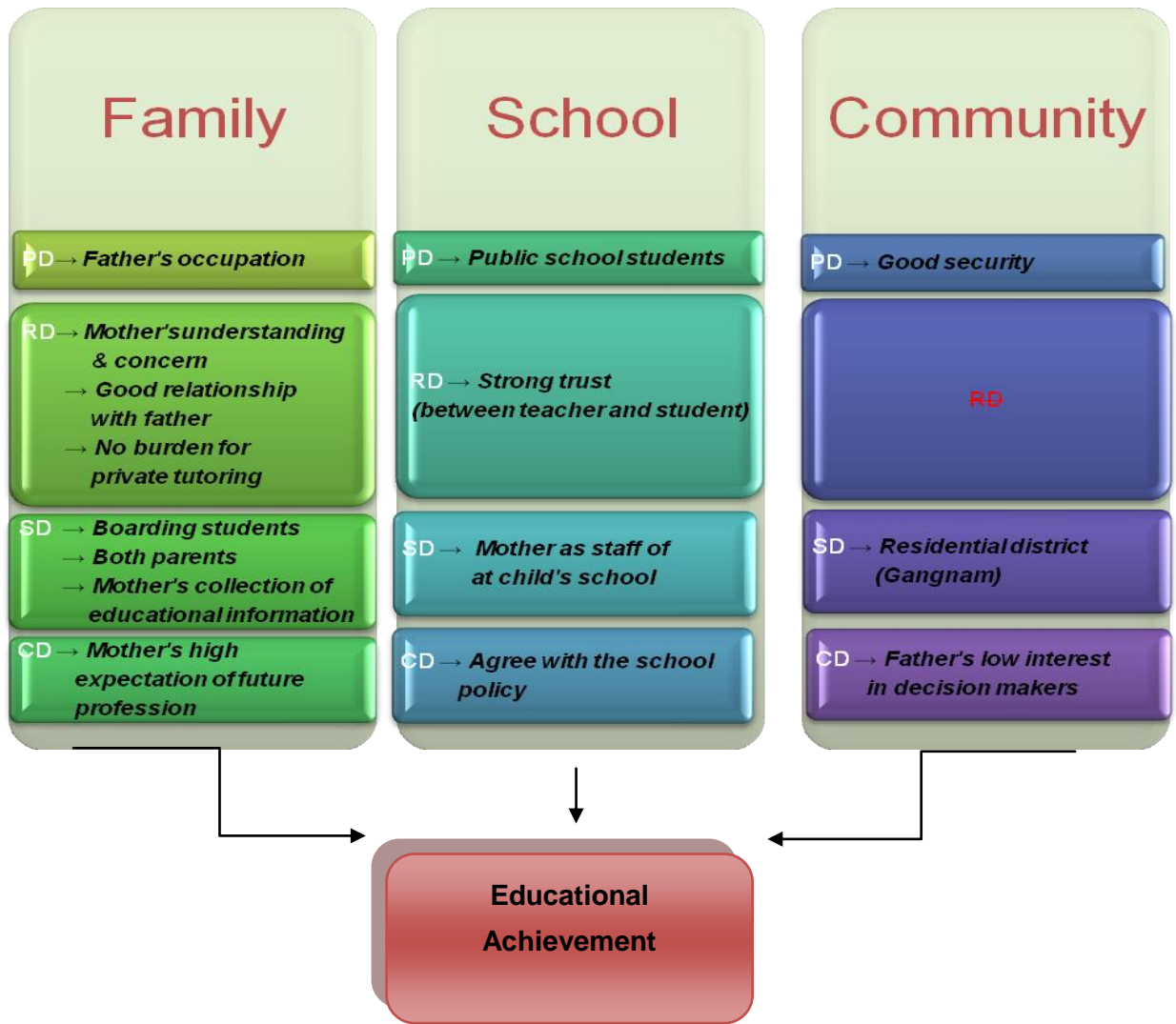
Figure 5.1 Model of Social Capital Influence

Note: Strikethrough font indicates dimension which is not significant.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUDING THE STUDY: MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This research analysed survey data on social capital in Korea to identify the causal effects of social capital on educational achievement by focusing on high achieving students. Although most Korean parents and students tend to believe that they can advance to prestigious universities such as SKY and move to higher social classes and upper economic brackets, I am here mainly concerned not with inherited economic wealth, but non-economic or social capital: trust, networks, and forms of social interaction among students, their parents, and their teachers.

This chapter is divided into four sections. First, I present recommendations to improve the performances of low-achieving students. The comments here include points for their parents, as well as the school and community (section 6.2). This is followed by comments on the contribution of the study to Korea's sociology (section 6.3). Finally, larger conclusions are drawn in section 6.4.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

6.2.1 Recommendations for Low-Achieving Students and Their Parents

This study reveals that there are multiple factors shaping social capital leading to the high achievement of many students in Korea. These factors should be considered by families and students who are amongst those attaining low/lower results or deemed to be 'underachieving'. The recommendations made here are focused on familial social capital and borne out of the data analysis of the thesis. All the following recommendations pertain to non-economic capital.

Recommendation 1: **Prioritise the Building of a Genuinely Affectionate Relationship between a Father and His Children**

Masculine norms dictate that men play the breadwinner role and leave the responsibility for bringing up children to women. Father's roles tend to be defined by their economic contributions in the family, thus, decision-making at the domestic and expressive levels, whether it is about choice of schools or child-rearing in general is often seen as the domain of wives or mothers (Cabrera et al., 2000). It is therefore not uncommon to see fathers remaining on the couch during weekends with the television remote control fixed in their palms. During this time they are oblivious to the presence of their children and unaware of their needs. This routinised social pattern whilst harmless on the surface, denies students quality time with their fathers and creates the conditions for low achievement. Fathers should be actively encouraged through the media and school newsletters and other networks to engage in new family-friendly routines with advice such as: Go to your son's room and ask him: do you have any problem at your school? Child-education and rearing should not only be 'mother's work'. This study shows that genuinely affectionate bonds and strong trusting relationships between father and children result in higher achievement for children.

Thus, the sociological results lead us to conclude that Korean fathers as a collective force have to take a bigger interest in their children's education and school life. Sustaining closer contact (Soblewski & King, 2005: 1210; Carlson, 2006) and spending more time with children engenders more self-assured and focused children. Thus, the importance of a 'close relationship between father and children' cannot be over-emphasised, in the interests of high achievement, but also in the interests of building an equitable society: one that acknowledges that fatherhood should be equally important as motherhood in the life of the child.

Recommendation 2: **Encourage Students to Take Responsibility for Their Own Learning Outcomes**

This study has shown that boarding school students have a significantly higher achievement than students who stay at home. Leaving home at an early age seems to result in better academic results than does leaving home at a later stage. It may be that separation from parents at the high school level creates a 'creative and independent space' facilitating better results and an opportunity to excel. Students living at home face enormous pressure to perform; much of this is done with good intentions but it may stifle their spirit to attain exceptional results. Thus, boarding school students work in a self-directed way (Naidoo, 1996), prompted by their own initiative rather than parental force. Students should recognise that there is no substitute for conscientious study, but that this is largely their initiative. A self-study process can be effectively used as a base for effective planning and is likely to have a great effect on achievement (Kells, 1980; Kim 2011). Although emphasis has been placed on building good relationships between fathers and their children, studying is really an activity paced and pursued by individual students. Parents, educators, and policymakers should undertake to place more emphasis on improving student capabilities for self-directedness and self-study.

Recommendation 3: **Build Greater Understanding and More Concern Between Parents and Children**

Korean high school students have been subjected to extreme stress in their high school studies. At the same time, adolescents are being increasingly exposed to various kinds of violence through the media, the internet, in the communities and social environments. Some argue that the ratio of violence to individual young persons is today higher than ever before in Korea (The Foundation for Preventing Youth Violence, 2002, 2006). When faced with levels of increasing violence, trust diminishes and there are few people apart from

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family, in particular parents, who can be turned to for problem-solving and interventions. When troubles arise, parents should be available and make efforts to understand their children as teenagers – rather than become judgmental or dismissive. A display of strong trust and understanding can and will improve children's educational achievement (Coleman 1988). Korean parents should be willing to work at becoming more understanding towards their children, especially when they are teenagers and experiencing various social and physiological changes. The research confirmed that mother's concerns: such as knowing their children's weak subjects and monitoring television and computer games, were highly beneficial. Keeping in mind children's school schedules (e.g. test periods and deadlines for projects etc.) and being vigilant and concerned about one's children's school life can improve and have progressive effects on children's educational achievement (Coleman 1988).

Recommendation 4: **Participate in Networks and Collect Information of Value for Children's Successful Performance**

This study reveals that the structural dimension of social capital is important. The research shows that most high achieving students' mothers are involved in their children's school life (Coleman, 1988; Pong, 1998; Beaulieu *et al.* 2001; Lee, 2001a; Fursenberg & Hughes, 1995; Putnam, 1994). These mothers also shared and exchanged educational information potentially leading to high achievement through their networks (Coleman, 1994). They preoccupied themselves collecting educational information, for example, to find out about well-known private educational institutions and effective tutoring for higher achievement. A large proportion of high-achieving students' mothers were full-time housewives and they involve themselves in select offline groups. These groups however exclude working mothers. Therefore, policymakers and educators need to consider the situation of working mothers and actively promote online networks that incorporate their interests (stated above in section 5.3.1). Hence providing high quality educational information for working mothers should be supported. Furthermore, school policymakers need to secure evening

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time to accommodate and be accessible for working mothers.

6.2.2 Recommendations Regarding School and Community

The research studied the improvements and effectiveness of schools pertaining to educational achievement (Boyd & Crowns, 1993; Waddock, 1995; Scheerns & Bosker, 1997 etc), and the role of communities that influence higher achievement (Putnam, 1995b, 2000). Therefore, some recommendations can be made for Korean education. We can list these as recommendation 5 & 6.

Recommendation 5: **Nurture Amicable Relationships between Teachers and Students**

Students seem to think that 'a good teacher' and 'good teaching' is not quite the same thing. A strict temperament might be seen to be characteristic of thorough and orderly or good teaching – but the person performing as such in the classroom is rarely considered by students to be the 'good teacher' (Murphy et. al., 2004). Schools should promote the idea of a good teacher as a good person, one who communicates effectively, meticulously, and with enthusiasm. Namely, a good teacher is one who understands his/her role in relation to the class (Hamachek, 1969). As a group of social actors with a collective societal responsibility 'good teachers', in a sociological sense, need to demonstrate trust.

The research confirmed that high-achieving students have strong trust for their teacher. When the students have very private concerns such as financial problems, dropping grades, an alcoholic father etc., they should feel comfortable to ask for their teacher's advice without hesitation. A 'good teacher' therefore should take time to get to know his/her students and their personal circumstances – in effect, they need to re-think the role of teachers by integrating an affective, counselling, compassionate component. The new global environment requires teachers who are versatile and dynamic and not simply instrumental and task-driven.

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Recommendation 6: **Establish Consensus on School Policy**

The academic emphasis or ethos of schools was also related to students' achievement, even when SES was excluded (Hoy *et al.*, 1991). To develop high achievement, schools cannot help but manage a good quality school policy such as for college guidance and admission. My research reveals that acceptance of, and contentment with, the school policy has positive spin-offs leading to strong achievement. Therefore, in terms of building consensus, school policymakers need to structure time to have open discussions and on-going communication with school staff, students, and their parents. This contributes to more than achievement: it promotes positive attitudes and commitment towards the school and its governing forces.

Recommendation 7: **Improve Community Security**

Community security and educational achievement are positively correlated (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000; Israel *et al.*, 2001; Sun, 1999). Good security is a good resource in the community, particularly when people of all ages are able to walk on the street without fear or anxiety (Coleman, 1994; Putnam, 1993, 1994). Previous research shows that social trust or political cooperation and participation etc. in the community is positively related to good educational outcomes (Braatz & Putnam, 1996). The current study reiterates that by strengthening community safety throughout Korean society, the phenomenon of 'safe communities' is likely to facilitate higher achievement amongst a wider spectrum of students. Admittedly, good community security coincides with the status of neigbourhoods and their economic resources.

Community policymakers should thus improve and actively promote safety in communities. Peaceful and safe streets in communities will influence not only education but also promote a positive attitude toward communities and the country as a whole.

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6.3 THE STUDY'S CONTRIBUTION TO KOREA'S SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Korean parents and students have very strong faith in education. Education is regarded as having enormous power: it is viewed as a magic wand (like in fairy tales) that can rapidly change one's socioeconomic status (SES) or function as an instrument for obtaining a high status job (Lee & Brinton, 1996; Sorensen, 1994; Jeong & Armer, 1994). High educational credentials represent the explanation for the attainment of better occupations. Education carries social status to the extent that economically successful persons will find it difficult to retain social esteem if they do not hold good educational qualifications (Sorensen, 1994: 24).

Thus to be responsible parents, as a matter of course, Korean parents monitor their children's education passionately, and spend excessive amounts of money on their private tutoring (Song, 2009; Lee, 2011). Parental SES is a very important determinant of children's future success. The research, however, shows that the reproduction of economic advantages is not the key issue here, but rather the non-economic aspects in terms of social capital. This section highlights the contributions made to Korea's *sociology of education* and the findings might be given several important implications for developing high achievement.

Many previous researchers tended to focus only on family social capital, family and school social capital, or family, school, and community social capital. The focus of this study is not just on family, school or community. It is also on the four dimensions of social capital: physicality (material or environment), relation, structure, and cognition. Namely, in the research, each of the three social capitals (family, school, and community) was linked to four dimensions, for example, family social capital was explored in terms of family physicality, the family relational dimension, the family structural dimension, and the family cognitive dimension (see Chapter 3).

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The questionnaires raised a variety of questions. It considered which dimension asserted more influence on the three social capitals for higher achievement. Issues such as the following were reflected on: When examining family social capital how can the relational dimension be seen to be a powerful factor for higher achievement? What about the structural dimension? Social capital is a complex, and highly contested construct, regarded as having many different attributes. The current study clarified the most critical dimensions of relevance in the sociology of educational context. Therein lies the contribution of this study. Future research in Korea and elsewhere should focus on the various mechanisms that can further develop and improve Korean education.

An important point made in this study is that family-based social capital of high-achieving students has a powerful influence. Non-economic resources: close relationships between fathers and their children, mother's concerns, and mother's collection of educational information, place the 'human factor' rather than 'the economic factor' at the centre of analysis. Parental economic advantage cannot be ignored as a determinant of student's future privileges. However, social capital might mitigate and level the playing fields to a greater extent than previously thought possible. Thus, higher achievement is not only about all the economic support that a family can muster (or a State can deliver).

The theoretical framework of this study has its roots in the work of Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam. As is the criticism against all western-originating research when applied to different contexts, reservations could be raised about its applicability and usefulness in Korea. Could the fields and contexts of the three researchers be seen as inconsistent with the Korean educational context? Here, I would like to argue that Coleman's social capital is 'family- based' and Putnam's social capital is 'community-based' with relevant strands and linkages to Korea's transforming and modernistic place in the global economy (Braatz & Putnam, 1999). This study reveals that family-based social capital influences the high achievement of students. Therefore, significantly, I find Coleman's ideas on social capital, in particular, highly applicable to education in Korea.

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6.4 CONCLUSION

Social capital is a powerful analytical tool. Sociologists should interrogate its dimensions and apply it readily to various educational systems. In this study, I aimed to identify the most powerful strands of social capital that need to be better understood and accepted by policymakers if it is to make a contribution to higher achievement in Korea. This study explored the influence of social capital on educational achievement by using the mathematics score. Whilst the findings have important implications, there are also limitations in this study that can be referred to.

Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1986) have validity: parental SES influences students' achievement. However, apart from parental SES, family-based social capital in terms of Coleman's conceptualisation impacts powerfully on higher achievement in Korea. In contrast to Coleman, Putnam's ideas do not resonate strongly in my research: political participation and civic involvement are noteworthy but not defining features of educational achievement (Putnam, 1995b). The research confirms that father's low interest in decision-making at the community level has some bearing on children's higher achievement. To Coleman credit, the claim that parents need to develop good relationships with children is much more useful than the urging to get involved in political processes to improve institutions such as education.

Education, in Korea, particularly for high school students is extremely competitive. Students' have always expressed strong desires to enter into prestigious universities, such as Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University. The path to university admittance is greatly facilitated by strong trust produced through the relational dimension: generated between father and children, mother and children, and between teacher and student.

[Fundamentally… and in the final analysis] social capital must be understood as a

> *relational construct. It can only provide access to resources where individuals have not only formed ties with others but have internalised the shared values of the group (Field, 2008: 161).*

An additional point is worth mentioning. It was not included in the findings, but this study explored self-perceptions of students (see student questionnaire, E5). Self-perception in this study included self-perceived ability, self-satisfactions, and self-confidence etc. that students might hold. The study confirmed that positive self-perceptions influenced higher achievement (Valentine *et al.*, 2004; Stringer & Heath, 2008; see Appendix E). If self-perceptions are unfavourable, a negative effect such as self-dissatisfaction will be dominant, which will ultimately lessen academic motivation.

There are several limitations of the research that can be identified. This study clarified the dimensions of social capital in its relation to achievement based on family, school, and community. For this reason, one limitation of this study is that the questionnaire is quite voluminous and complicated. In future studies of a similar nature, it is advised that a more concise questionnaire be implemented.

Given the scope of this study, educational achievement was measured by using one indicator only, the mathematics score. It may well be that other school subjects could be taken into account in further studies.

Surveys capture a snapshot of reality at a given point in time. A longitudinal approach, which is beyond the parameters of a doctoral study, could be invaluable in revealing changes in academic achievement over time, as policy is applied and relationships between parents and children, schools and communities, deepen and become more sensitised to the concerns of building social capital in all the relevant dimensions.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire for students

Social capital and educational achievement in the Republic of Korea

This survey is about social capital and educational achievement in the Republic of Korea. We are going to ask about yourself, relationships with your father and mother, satisfaction at school, relationships with your teachers and friends, the community, your health, siblings, and self- perception and the future. The purpose of this survey is to explore the factors influencing Korean high school students' educational achievement in particular, the school, the family and the community. Your participation in this process will make a huge difference in understanding which factors have an influence on educational achievement with regard to social capital.

When you complete the questionnaire, it is important that you answer all questions that you are able to. If there is a question you cannot answer, just skip it and go on to the next one.
It will take you about 15 minutes to complete the questionnaire.
Thank you for your participation.

If you have any questions about this research, you may contact me.

Contact details: Email: lodas@hanmail.net   **Phone:** 032 508 2927 (Home)

011 9638 2927 (Mobile)

Formal acknowledgement of consent

I, _____ on _____ (day) of _____ 2009, agree to be surveyed for the PhD research on social capital and educational attainment in South Korea as explained above.
I understand that I will answer questions according to my best knowledge and experience.

Signed _____.

Questionnaire Number   V1 ▭

SECTION A : Yourself

The following questions are about yourself.

A1   Are you a female/male?   V2 ▭

1 Female ▭   2 Male ▭

A2   Where do you rank in birth order in your family?   V3 ▭

1 The first child ▭   2 The second child ▭
3 The third child ▭   4 The fourth child ▭
5 The fifth child ▭   6 The youngest child ▭
7 Other (specify) _____.

A3   How many children are there in your family, including you?   V4 ▭

1 One ▭   2 Two ▭   3 Three ▭
4 Four ▭   5 Five ▭   6 More than six ▭

A4   Who do you live with? (mark the first option that applies to you)   V5 ▭
1 I live with both my parents
2 I sometimes live with my father and sometimes with my mother
3 I live only with one of my parents
4 I live with my grandparents
5 I live only with my grandparent
6 I live with my siblings (brothers/sisters)
7 I live with friends
8 I live alone
9 None of the above is appropriate

A5   Do you live at home/away from home?   V6 ▭

1 At home ▭ → go directly to A7
2 Away from home ▭ → go directly to A6

A6   If you answered away from home in A5, what kind of accommodation do you live in?   V7 ▭

1 Dormitory at school ▭
2 Lodging ▭
3 Kin's house
4 Other (specify) _____._____

A7   What is your religious affiliation?   V8 ▭

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1 Buddhism ☐ 2 Roman Catholic ☐
3 Protestantism ☐ 4 Confucian ☐
5 Muslim ☐ 6 No religious affiliation ☐
7 Other (specify) _____.

A8   How would you describe your living conditions?

1 Upper class (extremely wealthy) ☐
2 Upper-middle class (wealthy) ☐
3 Middle class (comfortable) ☐
4 Lower-middle class (good standard of living) ☐
5 Working class (meeting basic needs) ☐

A9   Do you have a girlfriend/boyfriend?

1 Yes ☐   2 No ☐

A10   Do you think that girls and boys should follow different occupations?

1   Yes ☐   2 No ☐
3 Don't know ☐

A11   What is your residential district?

1 Gangnam-gu ☐
2 Seocho-gu ☐
3 Songpa-gu ☐
4 In Seoul ☐ → go to A12
5 Expect Seoul ☐ → go to A13

A12   If   in   Seoul   to   A11,   give   V13
details _____.

A13   If   local   area   to   A11,   give   V14
details _____.___

SECTION B : Relationships with your father and mother

The following questions are about relationships with your father and mother. I would like to know how much your father and mother knows about you, and how much your father and mother are concern about your school work and education.

B1   How is your relationship with your father?

1 I agree completely	2 I agree	3 I neither agree nor disagree	4 I disagree	5 I disagree completely

	1 I agree completely	2 I agree	3 I neither agree nor disagree	4 I disagree	5 I disagree completely		
• My father knows what my weak subjects are						**V15.1**	▢
• My father knows who my close friend is						**V15.2**	▢
• My father knows my register class number						**V15.3**	▢
• If I have any concern, I speak to my father						**V15.4**	▢
• When I have worries, I talk with my father						**V15.5**	▢
• When I have any concern about school matters (teachers, friends), I discuss them with my father						**V15.6**	▢
• I can feel that my father makes an effort to understand me in all cases						**V15.7**	▢
• When I make a mistake at home, my father reprimands me about my mistake						**V15.8**	▢
• My father always explains the rules he sets for me						**V15.9**	▢
• My relationship with my father is good						**V15.10**	▢
• When I have to choose something, my father always gives me advice						**V15.11**	▢
• I have changed my decision as a result of my father's advice						**V15.12**	▢
• My father provides encouraging atmosphere (not disturb for example when a test period, keep quite) for my studies						**V15.13**	▢
• When I receive a prize, my parents always congratulate me						**V15.14**	▢
• My father collects educational information such as news and advertisements for me						**V15.15**	▢
• My father wants to know my rank after examinations						**V15.16**	▢
• When I help with housework, my father praises me						**V15.17**	▢
• My father controls how much time I spend watching TV and playing computer games						**V15.18**	▢
• Sometimes, My father checks my homework or study						**V15.19**	▢
• When I am in a test period, my father schedules his program to facilitate me						**V15.20**	▢
• My father is very keen to see me succeed in my studies						**V15.21**	▢
• Sometimes, I feel that my father pushes me too much to succeed academically						**V15.22**	▢
• My father pushes me more for educational performance than my mother						**V15.23**	▢

B2 How is relationship with your mother?

	1 I agree completely	2 I agree	3 I neither agree nor disagree	4 I disagree	5 I disagree completely		
• My mother knows what my weak subjects are						**V16.1**	▢
• My mother knows who my close friend is						**V16.2**	▢
• My mother knows which my register class number						**V16.3**	▢
• If I have any concern, I speak to my mother						**V16.4**	▢
• When I have worries, I talk with my mother						**V16.5**	▢
• When I have any concern about school matters (teachers, friends), I discuss them with my mother						**V16.6**	▢
• I can feel that my mother makes an effort to understand me in all cases						**V16.7**	▢
• When I make a mistake at home, my mother reprimands me about my mistake						**V16.8**	▢
• My mother always explains the rules she sets for me						**V16.9**	▢
• My relationship with my mother is good						**V16.10**	▢

• When I have to choose something, my mother always gives me advice						**V16.11**
• I have been changed my decision as a result of my mother's advice						**V16.12**
• My mother provides encouraging atmosphere (not disturb for example when a test period, keep quite) for my studies						**V16.13**
• When I receive a prize, my mother always congratulates me						**V16.14**
• My mother collects educational information such as news and advertisements for me						**V16.15**
• My mother wants to know my rank after examinations						**V16.16**
• When I help with housework, my mother praises me						**V16.17**
• My mother controls how much time I spend watching TV and playing computer games						**V16.18**
• My mother checks my homework or study						**V16.19**
• When I am in a test period for, my mother schedules her program to facilitate me						**V16.20**
• My mother is very keen to see me succeed in my studies						**V16.21**
• Sometimes, I feel that my mother pushes me too much to succeed academically						**V16.22**
• My mother pushes me more for educational performance than my father						**V16.23**

SECTION C : Satisfaction at school
Relationship with your teachers and friends

The following questions are about satisfaction at school and relationships with your teachers and friends.

C1   How proud are you of your school?   **V17**

    1 Very proud

    2 Proud

    3 Not particularly proud

    4 Not proud

    5 Don't know

C2   Have you changed to another school during your high school career?   **V18**

1 Yes   → go to C3   2 No   → go to C4

C3   If you answered yes in C4, how many times?   **V19**

1 Once   2 Twice

3 Three times   4 Four times

5 More than five times

C4   Do you live in the same area where you go to school?   **V20**

1 Yes   2 No

C5   What is your school type?   **V21**

1 Public school   2 Private school

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C6 **How satisfied are you with regard to the following at your school?**

	1 Very satisfied	2 Satisfied	3 Not particularly satisfied	4 Not satisfied	5 Do not know	
• The indoor school environment, e.g. class rooms, equipment						**V22.1**
• The outdoor school environment, e.g. the school grounds, library						**V22.2**
• The school's curriculum						**V22.3**
• The discipline at school						**V22.4**
• The school policy, e.g. policy for a college admission						**V22.5**
• The school meals						**V22.6**

C7 **Have you been bullied by fellow student at school?**   **V23**

1 Yes ☐ → go to C4   2 No ☐ → go to C5

C8 **If you answered yes in C3, how many times in the past year?**   **V24**

1 once ☐   2 Twice ☐
3 Three times ☐   4 Four times ☐
5 Five times ☐   6 Six times ☐
7 More than six times ☐

C9 **How important are friendships to you?**   **V25**

1 Very important ☐
2 Important ☐
3 Not particularly important ☐
4 Not important ☐
5 Do not know ☐

C10 **How satisfied are you with your school record?**   **V26**

1 Very satisfied ☐
2 Satisfied ☐
3 Not particularly satisfied ☐
4 Not satisfied ☐
5 Do not know ☐

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C11 **How, in your opinion, are your teachers?**

	1 I agree completely	2 I agree	3 I neither agree nor disagree	4 I disagree	5 I disagree completely		
• Students and teachers are respectful towards the teacher at school						**V27.1**	
• My register teacher's tutorial is beneficial , e.g. morning moral discourse (Ahchim Hunhwa), discipline in my class room						**V27.2**	
• Most of our school's teachers make a fair evaluation, e. g. assignments						**V27.3**	
• I respect most of our school's teachers						**V27.4**	
• I respect my register teacher with regard to integrity						**V27.5**	
• Most of our school's teachers have a good subject knowledge						**V27.6**	
• Most of our school's teachers have a passion for high quality education						**V27.7**	
• Most of our school's teachers put a tremendous effort in preparing lessons						**V27.8**	
• I think teacher has big influence on most of the students in planning their future						**V27.9**	
• When I have concerns, e.g. falling grades, family circumstances etc, I ask my register teacher's advice						**V27.10**	

C12 **How, in your opinion, are your friends?**

• I spend most of my time on my own after school						**V28.1**	
• I have a good relationship with my friends						**V28.2**	

C13 **Which characteristics should an effective teacher have to benefit the students? (mark only one option)**

V29.1
1 Good counselor to students   **V29.2**
2 Good subject knowledge   **V29.3**
3 Providing good guidance for college admission   **V29.4**
4 Giving affective support to students   **V29.5**
5 Understanding of students learning   profiles   **V29.6**
6 Good classroom manager   **V29.7**
7 Good disciplinarian

C14 **How is your school record?**   **V30**

1 Excellent   □ → go to C15   2 Very good   □ → go to C15
3 Good   □ → go to C16   4 Fine   □ → go to C16
5 Poor   □ → go to C16

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C15 **If you answered excellent and very good in C13, Which higher rank applies to you?**

1 Top 3%   2 Top 10%
3 Top 20%   4 Top 30%

C16 **Do you attend Hakgwan (private institution in Korea)?**   V32

1 Yes   → go to C17   2 No   → go to C18

C17 **If you answered yes in C15, do you think Hakgwan is helping to your improve studies?**   V33

1 Yes   2 No

C18 **Do you receive Goawoe (private extra lessons in Korea)?**   V34

1 Yes   →   go to C19   2 No   → go to C21

C19 **If you answered yes in C18, do you think Goawoe is helping to improve your studies?**   V35

1 Yes   2 No

C20 **If you answered yes in C18, what subjects do you receive Goawoe?**   V36

1 Korean   2 English   3 Math
4 Science   5 Social study
6
(specify) _____ .

C21 **What is your favorite subject? (mark only one option)**   V37

1 Korean   2 English   3 Math
4 Science   →   go to C22
5 Social study   →   go to C23
6 Art
7   8 Physical education
Music
9   Other
(specify) _____ .

C22 **If you answered science in C21, which one is your favorite subject? (mark only one option)**   V38

1 Physics   2 Chemistry
3 Biology   4 Earth science

C23 **If you answered social study in C21, which one is your favorite subject? (mark only one option)** | **V39** |

1 Korean geography   2 World geography
3 Economic geography   4 Korean History
5 Law and society   6 Society and culture
7 Politics   8 Economics
9 World history
10 Korean modern and contemporary history

C24 **How is your math marks in national exams on 17th of November?** _____ . | **V40** |

SECTION D : Community

The following questions are about your community.

D1 **Do you participate in voluntary services for your community?** | **V41** |

1 Yes [ ] → go to D2   2 No [ ] → go to D3

D2 **If yes to D1, What kind of participation? (gives details)** | **V42** |

_____

D3 **Are you involved in a religious organization?** | **V43** |

1 Yes [ ]   2 No [ ]

D4 **Here are some statements about your community. How, in your opinion, is your community?**

	1 I agree completely	2 I agree	3 I neither agree nor disagree	4 I disagree	5 I disagree completely	
• I am very proud of my community						**V44.1**
• Educational information is available , e.g. for college admission, in the community						**V44.2**
• The security in the community is good						**V44.3**
• The festivals, e.g. cultural activities for youth in the community are adequate						**V44.4**
• The facilities, e.g. library and playground in the community is sufficient						**V44.5**
• The community encourages me to participate actively in youth social clubs						**V44.6**
• The role of the community is important for my educational support						**V44.7**

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D5   **Is there a possibility for you to influence decision making in your community?**   **V45**

    1 Very large possibility
    2 Large possibility
    3 Slight possibility
    4 No possibility
    5 Do not know

Please turn page, question options continue on next page

D6   **Have you been informed about youth programs in your community?**   **V46**

    1 Yes   2 No

D7   **How important do you think is it that decision makers in the community should meet with youth and discuss matters?**   **V47**

    1 Very important
    2 Important
    3 Not particularly important
    4 Not important
    5 Do not know

D8   **If you are given a chance, would you like to address matters in the community?**   **V48**

    1 Yes   2 No

D9   **What is your opinion about the following things in your community?**

	1 Very good	2 Rather good	3 neither good nor bad	4 Rather bad	5 Very bad	
• The community environment						**V49.1**
• Places for youth to meet						**V49.2**
• Support to associations/clubs						**V49.3**
• Support cultural and recreational activities (e.g. museum, sports center, recreation center) for youth						**V49.4**
• Effort against crime						**V49.5**

D10   **How interested are you in societal matters?**   **V50**

    1 Very interested
    2 Interested
    3 Slightly interested
    4 Not interested at all

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SECTION E: Health, Siblings, Self- perception and the Future

The following questions are about how you feel and how you view yourself and your health

E1   **How would you describe your general health?**   **V51** ▢

    1 Very good   2 Good
    3 Reasonable   4 Bad
    5 Very bad

E2   **How often are you ill?**   **V52** ▢

    1 Often   2 Seldom
    3 Never

E3   **Have you had the following trouble as a result of studying during the last 6 months? (mark only one of the most serious trouble)**   **V53** ▢

    1 Headache   2 Stomach ache
    3 Difficulty to fall asleep   4 Been under stress
    5 Tired at daytime   6 Slept badly at night
    7 Never

E4   **Do your parents allow you to drink alcoholic beverages?**   **V54** ▢
    1 Yes   2 No
    3 Don't know

E5   **Here are some statements about your self-perception. How do you view your self-perception?**

	1 I agree completely	2 I agree	3 I neither agree nor disagree	4 I disagree	5 I disagree completely	
• I am happy with myself						**V55.1** ▢
• I am satisfied with my appearance						**V55.2** ▢
• I can do well in whatever I do						**V55.3** ▢
• I have a strong character to take care of myself whatever my circumstances						**V55.4** ▢
• When I start something, I am satisfied when finishing it						**V55.5** ▢
• I am important to others						**V55.6** ▢

Please turn page, next question continue on next page

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E6 **What do you think you will pursue after high school? (mark only one option)** | **V56** |

1 Study at a university in Korea
2 Study abroad
3 Work somewhere else in Korea
4 Work abroad
5 Travel
6 Stay at home and just take it easy and decide later what to do
7 Other (specify)
8 Do not know

E7 **Do you have a good relationship with your siblings? (if you are not an only child)** | **V57** |

1 Very good
2 Good
3 Neither good or bad
4 Bad
5 Very bad

E8 **How do you view your own future in general? Reply by using the scale below. (mark only one option)** | **V58** |

I am very positive	I am positive	I am slightly positive	Neither positive nor negative	I am slightly negative	I am negative	I am very negative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Thank you very much for your participation and time!

Appendix B: Questionnaire for parent

Social capital and educational achievement in the Republic of Korea

(for parent)

This survey is about social capital and educational achievement in the Republic of Korea. We are going to ask about your-self, relationships with your child, your child's school, teacher and education, community and politics. The purpose of this survey is to explore the factors influencing Korean high school students' educational achievement in particular, the school, family and community. Your participation in the process will make a huge difference in understanding which factors influence your child's educational achievement with regard to social capital.

When you fill in the questionnaire, it is important that you answer all questions that you are able to.
If there is a question you cannot answer, just skip it and go on to the next one.
It will be given to you by your child to complete the questionnaire.
Thank you for your participation.

If you have any questions about this research, you may contact me.

Contact details: Email: lodas@hanmail.net
Phone: 032 508 2927 (Home)   011 9638 2927 (Mobile)

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Questionnaire Number

SECTION A : Yourself

The following questions are about yourself.

A1   Are you a female/male?

1 Female   2 Male

A2   Which year were you born in?

1 1955 ~ 1959   2 1960 ~ 1963
3 1964~ 1967   4 1968 ~ 1970
5 1971~ 1974   6 Other
(specify) _____
____.

A3   What is your highest academic qualification?

1 No schooling   2 Preschool
3 Middle school   4 High school
5 Bachelor's degree   6 Master's degree
7 Doctoral degree   8 Other
(specify) _____.

A4   What is your occupation?

1 **Legislator/ senior official/ manager** e.g. Senior government officials in central (local) government affair, Enterprise senior official, Production and operation department manager in agriculture, forestry and fishing etc	
2 **Professional** e.g. Sociologist, political scientist and related professional, Computer related professional，Motion picture, theater and broadcasting related Professional, Ministers of religion, Legal professional, Accountant, College, university, and secondary education teaching professional etc	
3 **Technician/associate** professional e.g. Natural science related associate professional, Computer related assistant, Construction civil engineering technician, Aeronautic mechanical engineering technician, Photographer, Ship's master etc	
4 **Clerks** e.g. Office, sale and production related clerk, Secretary, Mail related clerks, Cashiers, tellers and related clerks etc	
5 **Service workers** e.g. Hairdressers, barbers, beauticians and related Workers, Cook and food services worker, Tour guide, Police officer, Fire-Fighter etc	
6 **Sales worker** e.g. Wholesale and retail salesperson，Petrol pump attendant，Salesmen via telecommunication order，Models and demonstrator etc	
7 **Skilled agricultural/ forestry/ fishery worker** e.g. Field crop grower, Dairy producer, Apiarist and sericulturist, Fish farm worker etc	
8 **Craft/ related trade worker** e.g. Miner, Construction carpenter, Gas pipe	

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fitter, Electrical equipment fitter and mechanic, Baker and dry bakery product makers Tailor etc	
9 **Plant/ machine operator/ assembler** e.g. Boiler operator, Automated assembly line operator, Textile and leather sewing machine operator, Dry cleaning machine operator, Motor vehicle driver etc	
10 **Elementary occupations** e.g. Domestic and related helper, cleaner and launderer, Ticket collector, Newspaper deliverer, Garbage collector, Porter etc	
11 **Armed force**	
12 **Full-time housewife**	
13 **Unemployed** → go directly to A6	

A5   **What is your religious affiliation?**   **V6**

1 Buddhism   2 Roman Catholic
3 Protestantism   4 Confucian
5 Muslim   6 No religious affiliation
7 Other
(specify) _____
.

A6   **How much is your income per month?**   **V7**

1 Less than ₩ 2,000,000
2 Between ₩ 2,000,000 and ₩ 3,000,000
3 Between ₩ 3,000,001 and ₩ 4,000,000
4 Between ₩ 4,000,001 and ₩ 5,000,000
5 Between ₩ 5,000,001 and ₩ 6,000,000
6 Between ₩ 6,000,001 and ₩ 7,000,000
7 Between ₩ 7,000,001 and ₩ 8,000,000
8 More than ₩ 8,000,000

SECTION B : Relationships with your child

The following questions are about your relationships with your child. I would like to know your concerns about your child's school work and education. Please tell me the following about your child.

B1   **How is your relationship with your child?**

	1 I agree completely	2 I agree	3 I neither agree nor disagree	4 I disagree	5 I disagree completely	
• I know what my child's weak subject is						**V8.1**
• I know who my child's closest friend is						**V8.2**
• I know my child's register class number						**V8.3**
• I have high expectations for my child's education regarding to good results						**V8.4**

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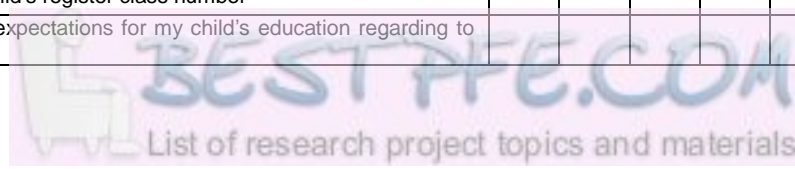
• My child has a strong sense of responsibility						**V8.5**
• I trust my child in whatever happens						**V8.6**
• When trouble has arisen between my child and I, I try to understand my child as a teenager						**V8.7**
• When my child makes a mistake, I reprimand my child about the mistake						**V8.8**
• I have often speak to my child about what she/he will do after graduation						**V8.9**
• I have rules for my child and explain why they are necessary						**V8.10**
• When my child makes choices about something, I usually give some advices						**V8.11**
• I approve of my child's acquaintances of the opposite sex						**V8.12**
• I hope my child has a good choice in terms of profession e.g. lawyer, medical doctor, politician						**V8.13**
• I spare no expense for education and school support						**V8.14**
• When I do my planning, I consider my child's school schedule, e.g. test period, deadline of project						**V8.15**
• I emphasize about fraternal love to my child (if you have more than two children)						**V8.16**

B2   Does your child have a girlfriend/boyfriend?   **V9**

1 Yes   2 No
3 I do not know

B3   How important is studying for your child's social success?   **V10**

1 Very important
2 Important
3 Not particularly important
4 Not important
5 Do not know

SECTION C :   Child's school, teacher and education

The following questions are about satisfaction with your child's school and teacher.

C1   How satisfied are you with your child's results?   **V11**

1 Very satisfied
2 Satisfied
3 Not particularly satisfied
4 Not satisfied
5 Do not know

C2   Are you on the staff of your child's school?   **V12**

1 Yes   2 No

C3   How often have you gone to your child's school during the last twelve   **V13**

months? (e.g. parents association, counseling on tertiary education)

1 Never	☐	2 Once	☐
3 Twice		4 Three times	
5 Four times		6 Five times	
7 Six times	☐	8 More than six times	☐

C4 **How satisfied are you about your child's school with regard to the following?**

	1 Very satisfied	2 Satisfied	3 Not particularly satisfied	4 Not satisfied	5 Do not know	
• The indoor school environment, e.g. class rooms, equipments						**V14.1**
• The outdoor school environment, e.g. the school grounds, library						**V14.2**
• The school's curriculum						**V14.3**
• The discipline at school						**V14.4**
• The school policy, e.g. policy for college admission						**V14.5**
• The school meals						**V14.6**
• The register teacher of your child						**V14.7**

C5 **Have you relocated during the last three years?** **V15**

1 Yes ☐ → go to C6   2 No ☐ → go to C7

C6 **If you answered yes in C5, what was the purpose for relocation? (mark only one option)** **V16**

1 Better school area for my child's education ☐
2 Change of my/my partner's workplace ☐
3 For property investment ☐
4 Bigger house for more space ☐
5 Outdoor area environment (e.g. bank, hospital) ☐
6 Financial obligation ☐
7 Accessibility ☐
8   Other
(specify) _____ .

C7 **Do you have a social group to share your child's education with other parents?** **V17**

1 Yes ☐ → go to C8   2 No ☐ → go to C9

Please turn page, next question continue on next page

C8 **If you answered yes in C7, how many members are in the group?** **V18**

1 Less than 5   ☐   2 From 5 to 10   ☐
3 From 11 to 15
4 From 16 to 20
5 More than 20

C9   **What do you think about the importance of a register teacher?**   **V19**

1 Very important   ☐   2 Important   ☐
3 Not particularly important   4 Not important
5 Do not know

C10   **Which characteristics, in your opinion, apply to an effective teacher for your child? (mark only one option)**   **V20**

1 Good counselor to students
2 Good subject knowledge
3 Providing good guidance for college admission
4 Giving affective support to students
5 Understanding of students learning profiles
6 Good classroom manager
7 Good disciplinarian

C11   **Have you collected educational information (e.g. about essay writing, well known Hakgwan and effective tutoring)?**   **V21**

1 Yes   ☐ → go to C12   2 No   ☐ → go to C13

C12   **If you answered yes in C11, from which source did you get it mainly?**   **V22**

1 Internet
2 Advertisements on TV
3 Flyer
4 Other parents
5 School teachers
6 Recommender by Hakgwan
7 Other
(specify) _____ .

Please turn page, next question continue on next page

C13   How, in your opinion, are his/her teachers?

	1 I agree completely	2 I agree	3 I neither agree nor disagree	4 I disagree	5 I disagree completely	
• Students and teachers are respectful each other at the school						**V23.1**
• I agree with register teacher's tutorials e.g. class management						**V23.2**
• Most of the school teachers are reasonable in terms of evaluation						**V23.3**
• Most of the school teachers have a good subject knowledge for teaching						**V23.4**
• Most of the school teachers have a passion for high quality education						**V23.5**
• I think teacher has a big influence on most of the students in planning their future						**V23.6**
• I am proud of my child's school						**V23.7**

C14   Do you think Goawoe is helping to improve your child's study?   **V24**

1 Yes ☐   2 No ☐

C15   Do you think Hakgwan is helping to improve your child's study?   **V25**

1 Yes ☐   2 No ☐

C16   What do you think about the burden of expense in paying fees for your child's private tutoring?   **V26**

1 Very burdensome ☐
2 Burdensome ☐
3 Not particularly burden ☐
4 Not burdensome ☐
5 Do not know ☐

SECTION D : Community, politics

The following questions are about the community, your interest in social matters, and political participation.

D1   Have you been informed about youth programs in your community?   **V27**

1 Yes ☐   2 No ☐

D2 **Here are some statements about a community. How, in your opinion, do you regard your community?**

	1 I agree completely	2 I agree	3 I neither agree nor disagree	4 I disagree	5 I disagree completely	
• I am very proud of my community						**V28.1**
• The educational information e.g. announcement of college admission and information on going to university in the community is available						**V28.2**
• The community security is good						**V28.3**
• The festival e.g. cultural activities for youth at community is adequate						**V28.4**
• The facilities e.g. library, playground, cultural courses in the community is enough						**V28.5**
• The community encourages me to participate actively in social club						**V28.6**
• The role of the community is important for educational support to parents						**V28.7**

D3 **Do you participate in voluntary services at your community?**   **V29**

1 Yes [ ]   2 No [ ]

D4 **If yes to D3, What kind of participation?** _____.   **V30**

D5 **What is your opinion about the following things at your community?**

	1 Very good	2 Rather good	3 neither good nor bad	4 Rather bad	5 Very bad	
• The community environment						**V31.1**
• Places for youth to meet						**V31.2**
• Support to associations/clubs						**V31.3**
• Support for cultural and recreational activities (e.g. museum, sports center, recreation center) for youth						**V31.4**
• Effort against crime						**V31.5**

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D6   **Do you participate in a religious organization?**   **V32**

    1 Yes   [ ]   2 No   [ ]

D7   **Is there a possibility for you to influence decision making in your community?**   **V33**

    1 Very large possibility
    2 Large possibility
    3 Slight possibility
    4 No possibility
    5 Do not know

D8   **How important do you think is it that decision makers in the community should meet with youth and discuss matters?**   **V34**

    1 Very important
    2 Important
    3 Not particularly important
    4 Not important
    5 Do not know

D9   **If you are given a chance, would you like to address matters in your community?**   **V35**

    1 Yes   [ ]   2 No   [ ]

D10   **How interested are you in societal matters?**   **V36**

    1 Very interested
    2 Interested
    3 Slightly interested
    4 Not interested at all

D11   **How interested are you in politics?**   **V37**

    1 Very interested
    2 Interested
    3 Slightly interested
    4 Not interested at all

D12   **Have you at any time during the last four years participated in any election?**   **V38**

    1 Yes, always
    2 Yes, sometimes, I could participate in some of the elections or sometimes, I could not participate in some of the elections
    3 No, I never participated

D13   **How interested are you in what happens in other countries?**   **V39**

    1 Very interested
    2 Interested

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3 Slightly interested
4 Not interested at all

SECTION E : Self-perception

The following question is about your view.

E1 **How do you view yourself in general? Reply by using the scale below. (mark only one option)** **V40**

I am very positive	I am positive	I am slightly positive	Neither positive nor negative	I am slightly negative	I am negative	I am very negative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Thank you very much for your participation and time!

Appendix C: Questionnaire for Teacher

Social capital and educational achievement in the Republic of Korea

This survey is about social capital and educational achievement in the Republic of Korea. We are going to ask about yourself, the school, the students and colleagues, relationship with students and parents, your opinion of Goawoe and Hakgwan, community, social matters and politics, and self-perception. The purpose of this survey is to explore the factors influencing Korean high school students' educational achievement in particular, the school, family and community. Your participation in the process will make a huge difference in understanding which factors have an influence on a student's educational achievement with regard to social capital.

When you fill in the questionnaire, it is important that you answer all questions that you are able to. If there is a question you cannot answer, just skip it and go on to the next one. It will take you about 10minutes to complete the questionnaire. Thank you for your participation.

If you have any questions about this research, you may contact me.

Contact details: Email: lodas@hanmail.net

Phone: 032 508 2927 (Home)   011 9638 2927 (Mobile)

Formal acknowledgement of consent

I, _____ on _____ (day) of _____ 2009, agree to be surveyed for the PhD research as explained above. I understand that I will answer questions according to my best knowledge and experience.

Signed _____ .

Questionnaire Number   **V1**

SECTION A : Yourself

The following questions are about yourself.

A1   Are you a female/male?   **V2**

1 Female   ☐   2 Male   ☐

A2   Which year were you born in?   **V3**

1 1945 ~1950 ☐   2 1951 ~ 1955 ☐
2 1956 ~1960 ☐   4 1961 ~ 1965 ☐
5 1966 ~1970 ☐   6 1975 ~ 1980 ☐
7 1981 ~1985 ☐

A3   What is your highest academic qualification?   **V4**

1 Bachelor's degree   ☐   2 Master's degree   ☐
3 Doctoral degree   4   Other
                                     (specify) _____
                                     _____.

A4   What is your religious affiliation?   **V5**

1 Buddhism   ☐   2 Roman Catholic   ☐
3 Protestantism   ☐   4 Confucian   ☐
5 Muslim   ☐   6 No religious affiliation ☐
7 Other
(specify) _____.

A5   How many years have you taught?   **V6**

1 Less than 3 years   ☐   2 From 3 to 5 years   ☐
3 From 6 to 10 years   ☐   4 From 11 to 15 years ☐
5 From 16 to 20 years ☐   6 More than 20 years   ☐

SECTION B : School, Students and colleagues

The following questions are about relationships with your students and colleagues at school.

V7

B1   Do you think teaching is your calling?

1 Yes   ☐   2 No   ☐
3 Do not know

B2   How proud are you about your school?   **V8**

1 Very proud   ☐
2 Proud

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3 Not particularly proud
4 Not proud
5 Do not know

B3   **Who do you think is doing better, academically boys or girls?**

1 Boys   2 Girls
3 Both   4 I do not know

B4   **What is your level of satisfaction at school with regard to the following?**

	1 Very satisfied	2 Satisfied	3 Not particularly satisfied	4 Not satisfied	5 Do not know		
• The indoor school environment, e.g. class rooms, equipment						**V9.1**	
• The outdoor school environment, e.g. the school grounds, library						**V9.2**	
• The school's curriculum						**V9.3**	
• The discipline at school						**V9.4**	
• The school policy, e.g. policy for college admission						**V9.5**	
• The school motto						**V9.6**	
• The relationship with other colleagues						**V9.7**	
• The equipment for teaching in subject						**V9.8**	

B5   **How important is the role of register teacher?**   **V10**

1 Very important
2 Important
3 Not particularly important
4 Not important
5 Do not know

B6   **Are you a register teacher or not?**   **V11**

1 Register teacher   → go to B6
2 Non register teacher   → go to B7

B7   **If you answered yes in B6, are you managing the class well?**   **V12**

1 Yes   2 No

B8   **Do you want to be a register teacher next year?**   **V13**

1 Yes   → go to B10   2 No   → go to B9

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B9 **If your answer is no in B8, give a reason why? (mark only one option)** **V14**

1 Too much administration work regarding the students e.g. NEIS[46] work

2 Conduct of discipline (conduct a problem student)

3 Counseling on tertiary education

4 Announcements at the beginning and end of day to register students

5 Other (specify) _____ .

B10 **How is your relationship with your students?**

	1 I agree completely	2 I agree	3 I neither agree nor disagree	4 I disagree	5 I disagree completely	
• If teachers do not apply pressure, most students would under-perform						V15.1
• Most students have potential do well even those currently have poor grade						V15.2
• Students and teachers are respectful each other at school						V15.3
• Study is possible manner for success to students in terms of social						V15.4
• I enjoy the confidence of my students						V15.5

B11 **Do you live in the same area where you go to school?** **V16**

1 Yes ☐   2 No, I live in another area ☐

B 12 **Do you have a particular student in your mind?** **V17**

1 Yes ☐   2 No ☐

B13 **What kind of teacher do you think is best for a student's education? (mark only one option)**

1 Good counselor to students **V18.1**

2 Good   subject knowledge **V18.2**

3 Providing good guidance for college admission **V18.3**

4 Giving affective support to students **V18.4**

5 Understanding of students learning   profiles **V18.5**

6 Good classroom manager **V18.6**

7 Good disciplinarian **V18.7**

SECTION C : Relationship with students' parents
Opinions of Goawoe and Hakgwan

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[46] National Education Information System. Every student's information connects among the whole school by internet in Korea.

The following questions are about the relationship with the students' parents and opinion of private institutions.

C1 **How often do you send a letter regarding a students' behaviour at school to parents?** | **V18** |

1 Never ☐   2 Once per semester ☐
3 Twice per semester ☐   4 Three times per semester ☐
5 Four times per semester ☐   6 Five times per semester ☐
7 More than five times per semester

C2 **How, in your opinion, are students' parents?**

	1 I agree completely	2 I agree	3 I neither agree nor disagree	4 I disagree	5 I disagree completely	
• Most parents over emphasize access to prestigious universities						**V19.1**
• Most parents come for counseling by choice of college frequently						**V19.2**
• Most parents have a positive attitude to school teachers						**V19.3**
• Most parents are involved in school activities e.g. intramural athletic meetings, school picnics						**V19.4**
• Sometimes, I feel overwhelmed by the participation of parents in school matters (too meddling)						**V19.5**

C3 **Do you think Goawoe is helping to improve a student's study?** | **V20** |

1 Yes ☐   2 No ☐

C4 **Do you think Hakgwan is helping to improve a student's study?** | **V21** |

1 Yes ☐   2 No ☐

SECTION D : Community, Social matters and Politics

The following questions are about the community, your interest in social matters, and political participation.

D1 **Do you participate in voluntary services in your community?**

1 Yes ☐ → go to D2   2 No ☐ → go to D3

D2 **If yes to D3, What kind of participation?**   _____.

D3 **Here are some statements about your community. How, in your opinion, is your community?**

	1 I agree completely	2 I agree	3 I neither agree nor disagree	4 I disagree	5 I disagree completely	
• I am very proud of my community						**V22.1**
• The educational information e.g. announcement for college admission and information on going to university in the community is available						**V22.2**
• The community security is good						**V22.3**
• The festival e.g. cultural activities for youth in the community is adequate						**V22.4**
• The facilities e.g. library, playground, cultural courses in the community is sufficient						**V22.5**
• The community encourages me to participate actively in social clubs						**V22.6**
• The role of the community is important for educational support to the youth						**V22.7**

D4 **Are you involved in a religious organization?** **V25**

1 Yes ☐   2 No ☐

D5 **What is your opinion about the following things in your community?**

	1 Very good	2 Rather good	3 neither good nor bad	4 Rather bad	5 Very bad	
• The community environment						**V26.1**
• Places for youth to meet						**V26.2**
• Support to associations/clubs						**V26.3**
• Support cultural and recreational activities (e.g. museum, sports center, recreation center) for youth						**V26.4**
• Effort against crime						**V26.5**

Please turn page, next question continue on next page

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D6   **Is there a possibility for you to influence decision making in your community?**   **V27**

     1 Very large possibility
     2 Large possibility
     3 Slight possibility
     4 No possibility
     5 Do not know

D7   **How important do you think it is that decision makers in the community should meet with youth and discuss matters?**   **V28**

     1 Very important
     2 Important
     3 Not particularly important
     4 Not important
     5 Do not know

D8   **If you are given a chance, would you like to address matters in your community?**   **V29**

     1 Yes   2 No

D9   **How interested are you in societal matters?**   **V30**

     1 Very interested
     2 Interested
     3 Slightly interested
     4 Not interested at all

D10   **How interested are you in politics?**   **V31**

     1 Very interested
     2 Interested
     3 Slightly interested
     4 Not interested at all

D11   **Have you at any time during the last four years participated in any election?**   **V32**

     1 Yes, always
     2 Yes, sometimes, I could participate in some of the elections or
      sometimes, I could not participate in some of the elections
     3 No, I never participated

D12   **How interested are you in what happens in other countries?**   **V33**

     1 Very interested
     2 Interested
     3 Slightly interested
     4 Not interested at all

D13 **Do you have a social association in your subject with other teachers out of school?** | **V34** | ▢

    1 Yes ▢ → go to D14   2 No ▢ → go to E1

D14 **If you answered yes in B13, which association are you in mainly?** | **V35** | ▢

    1 Only online by internet   ▢
    2 Periodical meeting on offline
    3 Other
    (specify) _____ .

SECTION E : Self-perception

The following question is about your view.

E1 **How do you view yourself in general? Reply by using the scale below. (mark only one option)** | **V36** | ▢

I am very positive	I am positive	I am slightly negative	Neither positive nor negative	I am slightly negative	I am negative	I am very negative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Thank you very much for your participation and time

Appendix D: RD 1, RD 2, RD3, and RD4 in Research Model x12

Constitutive definition for the variables	Variable (4 categories in RD)	Explanatory Variable (S[47] PF[48] PM[49])
Trust, relationships, and concern supporting in between parent and children	RD1	• Father's the highest academic qualification (PF V4) • Mother's trust her child (PM V8.6) • Father understands his child (PF V8.7) • Mother understands her child (PM V8.7)
	RD2	• Any concern, I speak to my father (S V15.4) • Any concern, I speak to my mother (S V16.4) • Changed my decision as a result of my father's advice (S V15.12) • Changed my decision as a result of my mother's advice (S V16.12) • Father's understanding for child(S V15.7) • Mother's understanding for child(S V16.7)
	RD3	• School matters (teachers, friends), discuss them with the father (S V15.6) • School matters (teachers, friends),discuss them with the mother(S V16.6) • Relationship with my father is good (S V15.10) • Relationship with my mother is good (S V16.10)
	RD4	• Father knows what child's weak subject is (PF V8.1) • Mother knows what child's weak subject is (PM V8.1) • Father knows who child's closest friend is (PF V8.2) • Mother knows who child's closest friend is (PM V8.2) • Father knows child's register class number (PF V8.3) • Mother knows child's register class number (PM V8.3) • When father does planning, consider child's school schedule, e.g. test period, deadline of project s(PF V8.15) • When mother does planning, consider child's school schedule, e.g. test period, deadline of projects (PM V8.15) • Father's spares no expense for education and school support (PF V8.14) • Mother's spares no expense for education and school support(PM V8.14) • Father thinks the expense in paying fees for child's private tutoring is a burden (PF V26) • Mother thinks the expense in paying fees for child's private tutoring is a burden (PM V26)

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[47] S is the questionnaire for student.
[48] PF is the questionnaire for father.
[49] PM is the questionnaire for mother.

Appendix E: Self- Perception

Self-Perception	a M(Sd)	b M(Sd)	c M(Sd)	Total M(Sd)	F(P)
• I am happy with myself	4.09b(.737)	4.006b(.802)	3.52a(.850)	3.87(.831)	9.508***(.000)
• I am satisfied with my appearance	3.54b(.879)	3.39ab(.901)	3.14a(.933)	3.36(.916)	3.403*(.035)
• I can do well in whatever I do	3.86b(.839)	3.93b(.842)	3.32a(.850)	3.70(.882)	9.817***(.000)
• I have a strong character to take care of myself whatever my circumstances	3.87b(.867)	3.91(.786)	3.38a(.870)	3.72(.855)	8.358***(.000)
• When I start something, I am satisfied when finishing it	4.01b(.955)	3.89b(1.064)	3.42a(.967)	3.78(1.022)	6.717**(.002)
• I am important to others	3.94b(.778)	3.81b(.811)	3.43a(.809)	3.73(.825)	7.311***(.001)

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

Appendix F: Consent letter to principal

Consent letter for doctoral research

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Sera An. I am doing research as part of the fulfillment for a doctoral degree under the Department of Sociology at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. I am researching ***Social Capital and Educational Achievement in the Republic of Korea.*** This study is about what social conditions affect educational achievement of students, and how social capital features amongst them. Particularly, I would like to examine which factors of social capital have an influence on high achieving students. I would therefore like to formally ask you to grant me permission to request your students to fill in a questionnaire. Your student's name will not be asked or recorded. The survey is therefore confidential and the information your student provides will be treated with confidentiality. The questionnaires will be stored at the University of Pretoria for a period of 15 years.

I am asking permission to analyze your student's responses in the questionnaire. The information resulting from the questionnaire is only for the purpose of social scientific research and your student's identity and that of others will be held in confidence.

His/her participation in this study is entirely voluntary. He/she can choose not to be involved in the survey at any time. Anonymity is assured: by this I mean that his/her name and identity will not be revealed in this research. The information that he/she will contribute in the study will be probed to assess 'educational improvement' (between low and high achievers), and to formulate solutions for the development and promotion of high academic achievement. If you agree that your student should participate in this research I would like to request that you please sign the consent form in the space allocated below. If you have any questions about this research you are welcome to ask me at the following email and number:

lodas@hanmail.net   032 508 2927 (Residence)   011 9638 2927 (Mobile)

I wish to thank you for your time.

Sera An

Formal acknowledgement of consent

I, _____ on _____ (day) of _____2009, grant permission for students to be surveyed for the doctoral research as explained above. I understand that he/she will be asked questions regarding his/her knowledge and experiences.

Signature _____.

Appendix G: Consent letter to parent

Consent letter for doctoral research

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Sera An. I am doing research as part of the fulfillment for a doctoral degree under the Department of Sociology at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. I am researching **_Social Capital and Educational Achievement in the Republic of Korea._** This study is about what social conditions affect educational achievement of students, and how social capital features amongst them. Particularly, I would like to examine which factors of social capital have an influence on high achieving students. I would therefore like to formally ask you to grant me permission to request your son/daughter to fill in questionnaire. Your son/daughter's name will not be asked or recorded. The survey is therefore confidential and the information your son/daughter's provides will be treated with confidentiality. The questionnaires will be stored at the University of Pretoria for a period of 15 years.

I am asking permission to analyze your son/daughter's responses in the questionnaire. The information resulting from the questionnaire is only for the purpose of social scientific research and your son/daughter's identity and that of others will be held in confidence.

His/her participation in this study is entirely voluntary. He/she can choose not to be involved in the survey at any time. Anonymity is assured: by this I mean that his/her name and identity will not be revealed in this research. The information that he/she will contribute in the study will be probed to assess 'educational improvement' (between low and high achievers), and to formulate solutions for the development and promotion of high academic achievement. If you agree that your child should participate in this research I would like to request that you please sign the consent form in the space allocated below. If you have any questions about this research you are welcome to ask me at the following email and number:

lodas@hanmail.net   032 508 2927 (Residence)   011 9638 2927 (Mobile)

I wish to thank you for your time.

Sera An

Formal acknowledgement of consent

I, _____ on _____ (day) of _____2009, grant permission for my child to be surveyed for the doctoral research as explained above. I understand that he/she will be asked questions regarding his/her knowledge and experiences.

Signature _____.

Appendix H: Photographs of Korean school

1. Class room 1

2. Class room 2

3. Class room 3

4. Self-study room

5. Self-study room for boy and girl students

6. Sport activity (The name of activity is Tawkwondo in Korean)

7. Teaching in class room