

A Study on the Effect of Stratum Consciousness and Gender on Sensitivity to Discrimination in South Korea: People with Disabilities and Academic Cliques

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Abstract

This paper examines how gender and stratum consciousness affects discrimination. Many studies about sex role and equality of sexes show that women have more progressive and equal attitude to other issues and groups than men have. Considering these results, we can say that different socialization process experienced by women and women's relative lower positions makes them have that attitude. In addition to that, if a vital variable is not the individual but the group with which people are identified, the stratum consciousness would affect the discriminatory practices. Conclusively speaking, this paper finds some difference by the sex in some categories and the stratum identification in other categories. Also it also finds some differences in prejudice and stereotype by the stratum identification. However there are something unsolved and to be examined more closely.

Key words : gender, stratum consciousness, sex role, sense of group position, discrimination

Introduction

Discrimination has been present in Korea for a considerable time. Most South Koreans consider it unfair, improper, and in need of elimination. Of course, multiple distinct views on discrimination may exist. Multiple discriminatory practices occur in South Korea, as have been witnessed in any number of countries, such as sexism, ageism, racism, and discrimination against the physically or mentally disabled. However, despite their inherent universal features, discriminatory practices vary between countries due to each country possessing a distinct national context. It is important to comprehend the background of the most intransigent problems in that region and battle discrimination. Prior to doing so, however, factors affecting discrimination sensitivity must be examined in order to shed new light on how discrimination sensitivity functions. How is discrimination understood, and from where is this interpretation drawn? Moreover, what factors amplify these tendencies?

Most studies on discrimination have focused on particular minority groups that have been subject to discrimination. Specific groups have been researched but not the question in its entirety. As well, these investigations rarely proceeded within a broad context, possibly due to the complexities involved with discrimination. Thus, a particular explanation of discrimination generally lacks sufficient coverage of the situation. In the meantime, discrimination can be viewed in terms of stereotypes and prejudices. These attitudes are naturally associated with particular social practices that invoke discrimination. This attitude can be considered discrimination in itself and become a decisive factor that affects people's discriminatory practices.

This paper examines how gender and stratum consciousness impact discrimination. Generally speaking, consciousness of gender equality differs according to gender. A great number of studies about sex roles and the equality of the sexes demonstrate that women demonstrate a more progressive and egalitarian attitude toward other issues and groups than do men.

Considering these results, it can be stated that the unique socialization process experienced by women leads them to develop a distinctive attitude toward others and their problems. As well, women's relatively lower positions sensitize them to the discriminatory practices of sexism. The key is that this sensitization does not remain exclusive to sexism but is also present in other discriminatory practices toward the elderly, the disabled, sexual minorities, and others.

In addition, in the case of racism Blumer (2000) stresses the difference between groups rather than between individuals. He also suggests that the prejudicial attitudes of Caucasians toward blacks would be far more affected by the group to which an individual belongs, regardless of gender. Considering this, it become necessary to discover how this result functions in the case of other status groups. If a vital variable is not the individual, but rather the group with which that individual is identified, stratum consciousness would affect discriminatory practices, as Blumer demonstrated in his study.

Backgrounds

1. Sex differentiation

Previous research (Kim Yang-hee and Chung Kyung-a, 1999; Kim Yang-hee, Lee Soo-yon, and Kim Hae-young, 2002) analyzing gender roles or sexual equality report the attitude of women to be more progressive and egalitarian than that of men. As girls age, they demonstrate greater tolerance in sex role attitudes than do boys, whereas boys do not so develop. This differentiation can be explained by the distinct social-cultural oppression placed on boys and on girls. In other words, social-cultural environment oppress a boy who shows feminine characteristics far more strongly than it would a girl who expresses masculine characteristics. This would generally establish that the sex-role attitude of females is less traditional and more

contemporary than that of males (Lee Joo-yon and Han Se-young, 2004). These papers ultimately have a tendency to stress gender-differentiated value socialization, the position which insists that females experience a different socialization path than males, as an explanation of why females tend to take a more tolerant and generous position than do males (Beutel and Marini, 1995). According to this concept, gender-differentiated socialization plays a decisive role in determining attitudes toward other groups. As a result of gender-differentiated socialization, women espouse more tolerant attitudes towards minorities or disadvantaged groups than do men.

Johnson and Marini's research (1998) on attitudes toward gender and racial issues supports these results. Their study found that a weighty gender difference exists in social distance. According to this research, women's inclination toward feeling concern for others and women's focus on relationships leads them to be more amicable toward racial issues than are men. Therefore, the persistent argument lingers that more females support policies for promoting positive relations between races and racial equality and that they show a disposition to oppose racial stereotyping more than do their male counterparts (Hughes and Tuch, 2003). Accepting these suggestions, it could be stated that women espouse a more tolerant attitude toward social minorities than do men, and that this attitude results from the fact that men and women develop different values as a result of gender-differentiated socialization.

In contrast to these positions, other studies suggest opposite results. For example, that no significant gender difference can be identified in their values (Prince-Gibson and Schwartz, 1998). Others claim that if any such difference does exist, there is only a partial gender difference on individualism and consciousness of gender equality (Na Enyoung and Cha Jaeho, 1999). Next, females' discriminatory perceptions of social minorities in South Korea will be examined. Can a different attitude toward other groups be identified according to gender in South Korea? This would provide us with a clue as to the reason why discriminatory practices remain within our society. Based on the theoretical background outlined above, we assume the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1 : Women are more sensitive to discriminatory practices than are men.

2. Stratum Consciousness

Racial prejudice, as Blumer insists, is an issue of relationships between racial groups. In other words, racial prejudice is the result of knowledge and experiences shared within groups. According to him, the difference between black and white groups has a more important hand in racial issues than does any gender distinction between men and women. In this case, when racial prejudice is formed, the social-historic process taking place between groups is more decisive than a simple personal interest. The sense of group position is not a perfect mirror

of objective relations between racial groups in this case. Because it shows not “what it is” but “what it should be,” it is more meaningful to us in that it represents common ideas about ‘my group’s place’ in the social order in relation to other groups (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996). It should be noted that “the sense of group position is a norm and an imperative. It guides, incites, cows, and coerces. To the extent that they recognize or feel themselves as belonging to that group they will automatically come under the influence of the sense of position held by that group.” (Blumer, 2000: 200-201).

Thus, it can be supposed that stratum consciousness, i.e., one’s sense of group belonging, is profoundly affected by a conception of group position, which defines the position and status of one’s own selected group and the attitude of an individual toward other groups.

Research on social strata can be divided into studies of stratum structure and of stratum consciousness. Especially pertinent is the paucity of studies on subjective stratum consciousness in South Korea. Research into subjective stratum consciousness can be largely grouped into two clusters (Kim Byongjo, 2000); one is the investigation of how members of a society perceive the stratum phenomena itself and position themselves within it. These projects include an investigation of stratum consciousness distribution that explains an individual’s position in a given social order and the empirical relevance of stratum identification. The other group is about exploring the stratum consciousness possessed by a specific stratum.

Stratum identification serves as an index to represent social stratum consciousness within a greater sphere. Because self-identification with the middle stratum registers over 90% of responses in South Korea, according to some surveys, the disparity between an objective stratum assignment and subjective stratum consciousness needs to be taken into consideration. In spite of this gap, subjective stratum consciousness will be the focus of this paper due to the fact that it is the determinate variable that affects stratum identification.

The status group is, as Weber states, the product of everyday, normal, and social interactions that seek a deferential distribution of social prestige and honor. In particular, members sharing an identical status group develop a common lifestyle and accentuate the distinction with outside groups, thus triggering social closure and discriminatory practices (Cha Jong-cheon, 2004). This ultimately results in social hierarchies, so the status of the group can be defined as “the position of a group within a social hierarchy within a given society and culture.” Following this assertion, it can be stated that women, the disabled, and those belonging to a lower academic clique would find themselves located in inferior groups, whereas men, the able-bodied, and those belonging to a higher academic clique would be located in a superior group. Even when stratum consciousness is not defined along the boundaries of such groups, stratum consciousness would nevertheless affect attitudes toward other minority groups.

Furthermore, stratum identification undeniably plays a pivotal role in determining stratum consciousness and in orienting an individual's sense of belonging, which can be interpreted in such a way so that people are placed into a particular group according to their stratum identification. Considering this, the following arguments should be taken into account in this paper: "the higher group thinks society is stable and fair" (Kim Byongjo, 2000) and "Koreans think that society is unfair irrespective of social-economical status" (Park Chongmin, 1997). Generally speaking, however, stratum consciousness is related to attitude toward discriminated minority groups. I will examine stratum consciousness through stratum identification in this paper. In relation to these ideas, a further hypothesis is assumed:

***Hypothesis 2 :** People who identify with a higher group are less sensitive to discriminatory practices than are their counterparts.*

Research Methods

1. Data

The 2004 KWDI (Korean Women's Development Institute) survey was used to examine consciousness of discrimination in South Korea. This survey collected 2,000 responses through clustered sampling throughout South Korea. Within the sample, the ratio of male to female is 49.4% to 50.6%. In terms of age range, the breakdown is teens-20s 23.2%, 30s 25.2%, 40s 22.4%, and 50s+ 29.2%. For highest level of education completed, the rate of middle school and under is 18.4%, while both high school and college make up 40.8% each. The percentage of people working in sales is 22.1%, office workers 12.7%, service industry workers 7.8%, and technicians/associate professionals 4.6%. In terms of residence, 22.2% of respondents live in Seoul, 28.6% in Gyeonggi/Incheon/Gangwon, 10.2% in Daejeon/Chungcheong, 11.2% in Gwangju/Jeonnam, 11.1% in Daegu/Gyeongbuk, and 16.7% in Busan/Ulsan/Gyeongnam.

2. Manipulation

For this paper, the content of the questions was classified as follows.

a. Independent variables

- Sex
- Stratum consciousness (stratum identification)

Stratum identification was measured by the question "Which group do you think you belong to, if the highest group is 7 the highest social status group is 7 and the lowest social status group is 1?" Kim Byoungjo (2000) reports the percentage of people who state that they belong to the middle class to be 36.2% in the 1996 National Survey, the results of which were re-

coded in consideration of the extreme stratum identification with the middle class present in the national survey as well as in Kim’s own research. The response was re-coded into three categories: ‘below 3’ being low, ‘4’ being middle, and ‘over 5’ being high.

Examining the distribution of socio-demographic background by subjective stratum perception, no significant difference can be found by age or sex. Only those who reported an elevated satisfaction with life and occupied professional administrative positions showed a higher percentage in the top group. In terms of household income, a degree of positive relation with stratum consciousness is evidenced, but 25% of the respondents who reported belonging to the lowest group earned 4 million Won per month (above the average income of an urban worker’s household). This is an indication of a disparity between household income and subjective stratum identification.

Table 1. Socio-demographic background by subjective stratum identification

(Unit: person/%)

Stratum identification		Low	Middle	High
Sex	Male	438 (49.9)	415 (48.1)	135 (51.8)
	Female	439 (50.1)	448 (51.9)	124 (48.3)
education	middle school & under	219 (25.0)	128 (14.8)	19 (7.4)
	high school	363 (41.4)	352 (40.8)	100 (38.9)
	college, university+	295 (33.6)	383 (44.4)	138 (53.7)
Age	20-29	165 (18.8)	222 (25.7)	78 (30.4)
	30-39	231 (26.3)	220 (25.5)	52 (20.2)
	40-49	188 (21.4)	195 (22.6)	65 (25.3)
	50-59	105 (12.0)	113 (13.1)	37 (14.4)
	60+	188 (21.4)	113 (13.1)	25 (9.7)
Income (unit: 10,000 won)	under 100	127 (14.6)	47 (5.5)	12 (4.7)
	100-200	279 (32.1)	165 (19.2)	31 (12.1)
	201-300	272 (31.3)	304 (35.4)	66 (25.8)
	301-400	132 (15.2)	200 (23.3)	61 (23.8)
	400+	59 (5.0)	143 (16.6)	86 (33.6)

b. Dependent variables (perception of discrimination)

The dependent variables for perception of discrimination are measured by sorting the questions into four categories. Two questions about discrimination against people with disabilities and those low educational backgrounds were selected from among the questions addressing different minorities. These two items were selected because those types of discrimination were identified as the most problematic forms of discrimination in South Korea, according to

the survey. Therefore, these two questions were chosen and the social distance was constructed purely for the question about people with disabilities, since no question about education and social distance was available.

• Social distance

Social distance is measured by the scope of acceptable social contact (Borgardus, 1928). It was used as an index to represent intimacy in human interaction. This index was constructed through the question, “Would you accept a member of a specific group as a match for your child?” I measured social distance by asking similar questions and collecting responses according to a Likert scale: “Would you accept someone with a disability as a spouse for your child or not?” (strongly disapprove 1, disapprove 2, approve 3, strongly approve 4).

• Stereotyping and prejudice

Stereotypes and Prejudices about Academic Clique	Stereotypes and Prejudices about People with Disabilities
(1) People who graduated from good universities have a better capacity to handle tasks than those who did not.	(1) People with disabilities are less suited to work than are the able-bodied. ^[A]
(2) A person who graduated from a good university is strongly responsible for his actions.	(2) People with disabilities are less efficient than the able-bodied.
(3) It is justifiable for a company to seriously consider a volunteer's academic clique as an important factor when it engages volunteers. ^[B]	(3) People with disabilities don't work very hard compared to the able-bodied.
(4) It is natural that person who graduated from a good university be promoted faster than someone who did not.	(4) People with disabilities have more of a problem socializing compared to the able-bodied.
(5) It is desirable that people who graduate from good universities have high positions in society.	(5) It is undesirable that people oppose facilities for people with disabilities near their houses.
	(6) It is natural that schools wouldn't permit the admission of people with disabilities for the sake of the other students.
	(7) It is an abuse of authority when the law obliges a company to employ people with disabilities.

Note 1 : Strong disapproval 1, disapproval 2, indifferent 3, approval 4, strong approval 5

Note 2 : Coefficient of internal consistency (α) of stereotype and prejudice on academic clique and people with disabilities = .80

[A] How about this?

[B] And this one?

• Anti-Discrimination Policies and Arguments

: Denial of or assent to abolishing Seoul National University and employment quota for people with disabilities (assent 1, denial 2).

• Recognition of Seriousness of Discrimination

: Recognition of seriousness of discrimination was measured by requesting a reply on a Likert scale to the question: "How serious do you consider discrimination against people with disabilities and against low academic cliques?" (very serious 1, serious 2, indifferent 3, not especially serious 4, not at all serious 5)

4. Results

Table 2 shows the result of regression analysis on social distance from people with disabilities. As it demonstrates, there is no significant difference found for social distance to people with disabilities by education. However, on the whole this table shows that there are significant differences by sex, age and family income. Considering the differences by age, we it can be seen that those in their 50's have the strongest disapproval of accepting people with disabilities as a member of their family, as opposed to people in their 20's. In the case of family income, the more money a household makes, the less they consent to accepting people with disabilities as a family member. Taking sex into account, it can be seen that females express a greater antipathy towards people with disabilities than do males. It could be supposed that if a disabled person became a family member, women in South Korea would typically have further opportunities for contact than would men. This could explain why women hesitate to accept them as a family member. Meanwhile, there is no significant difference by stratum identification.

Table 2. Regression analysis on social distance to people with disabilities (acceptance of becoming a family member by marriage)

Independent Variable		model 1	model 2
Sex	male	reference group	
	female	0.06*	0.06*
Education	middle school & under	reference group	
	high school	-0.02	-0.02
	college, university+	-0.01	-0.01
Age	20-29	reference group	
	30-39	0.08	0.08
	40-49	0.09*	0.09*
	50-59	0.20***	0.20***
	60+	0.10	0.10

Independent Variable		model 1	model 2
Income (unit: 10,000 won)	under 100	reference group	
	100-200	0.05	0.05
	201-300	0.17**	0.17**
	301-400	0.20***	0.20***
	400+	0.19**	0.19**
Stratum Con- sciousness	low	reference group	
	middle	.	0.01
	high	.	-0.01
R2		0.0229	0.0231
F		4.20***	3.58***

Note : 1) *p< .05, **p< .01, ***p< .001

2) Strong approval 1 - Strong disapproval 4.

Table 3. Display of the result of regression analysis on stereotypes about academic clique. Women and men fail to display different stereotypes toward this topic. However, there are significant differences by age, education and stratum identification.

Table 3. Regression analysis on ‘prejudice against academic clique’

Independent Variable		model 1	model 2
Sex	male	reference group	
	female	-0.01	-0.02
Education	middle school & under	reference group	
	high school	-0.27***	-0.29***
	college, university+	-0.24***	-0.27***
Age	20-29	reference group	
	30-39	0.01	0.03
	40-49	0.15**	0.16**
	50-59	0.28***	0.27***
	60+	0.35***	0.36***
Income (Unit: 10,000 won)	under 100	reference group	
	100-200	0.08	0.07
	201-300	0.08	0.05
	301-400	0.15*	0.10
	400+	0.08	-0.01

Independent Variable		model 1	model 2
Stratum Consciousness	low	reference group	
	middle	.	0.15***
	high	.	0.27***
R2		0.0635	0.0764
F		12.18***	12.56***

Note : 1) * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

2) Strong disapproval 1- Strong approval 5.

These results do not support hypothesis 1 that there would be a significant difference in attitude toward discriminated-against groups by sex. It can be seen that discriminatory attitudes in South Korea would be better explained by other variables than gender-differentiated socialization. Briefly speaking, the higher the level of education, the less frequently stereotypes on academic clique can be seen. The older an individual may be, the more likely they are to hold stereotypes on academic clique. There is also a significant difference in academic clique by stratum identification, where the higher group holds a stronger stereotype toward academic clique than does the lowest group. From the fact that the group who retains the highest position has a strong stereotype of academic clique, debate and conflict around anti-discriminatory policies for academic clique in South Korea can be anticipated. Considering the variation of R^2 from model1 to model2, it can be stated that stratum identification affects prejudice surrounding academic cliques.

Table 4. Regression analysis on 'prejudice against people with disabilities'

Independent Variable		model 1	model 2
Sex	male	reference group	
	female	-0.06*	-0.07*
Education	middle school & under	reference group	
	high school	-0.12*	-0.14**
	college, university+	-0.23***	-0.25***
Age	20-29	reference group	
	30-39	0.001	0.02
	40-49	0.05	0.06
	50-59	0.15**	0.15**
	60+	0.19**	0.19***

Independent Variable		model 1	model 2
Income (Unit: 10,000 won)	under 100	reference group	
	100-200	-0.0001	-0.01
	201-300	0.11	0.07
	301-400	-0.01	-0.06
	400+	-0.07	-0.14*
Stratum Consciousness	low	reference group	
	middle	.	0.15***
	high	.	0.18***
R2		0.0554	0.0695
F		10.54	11.33***

Note : 1) * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

2) Strong disapproval 1- Strong approval 5.

Table 4 indicates that a difference exists in stereotypes about people with disabilities by sex and that females have a weaker stereotype about them than do males. The higher the level of education, the lower the level of stereotype. The 50's and 60's+ age groups show a stronger stereotype about them compared to those in their 20's. There is no significant difference by family income, but there is a significant difference by stratum identification; the higher group demonstrates a stronger stereotype against them than does the lower group. Considering one paper which insists that there is a difference in discriminatory attitude by education and age (Bobo & Klugel, 1991), these results seem unsurprising. In addition, a significant difference in stereotypes by sex and stratum identification is manifested. Considering the variation of R^2 from model1 to model2, it can be asserted that stratum identification affects prejudice against people with disabilities.

In the case of sex-differences there is no discernable significant difference toward academic clique, but a significant difference toward people with disabilities is found. From these results it can be inferred that since individuals with disabilities can be more easily perceived as socially disadvantaged than can be individuals excluded from top academic cliques, this distinction exists. According to sex-differentiated socialization, this is due to women's deep concern and more tolerant attitudes to others. The fact that people who recognize themselves as belonging above the middle stratum of society have a much stronger stereotype about people with disabilities than do people who don't so identify suggests the assertion that members of the higher group have a tendency to perceive the given social order as a natural state of being.

In contrast, the result of regression analysis on 'Anti-Discrimination Policy and Argument' differs greatly. As seen in Table 5, dependent variables were designated: employment quotas

for people with disabilities, which are now in effect, and the abolishment of Seoul National University, a proposal once discussed in the public sphere but no longer in contention. Abolishing Seoul National University was simply a suggestion and its utility as an anti-discriminatory policy was debated. A certain degree of ambiguity surrounds that policy, but it was considered an appropriate barometer in terms of representing discriminatory attitudes.

No significant differences in anti-discrimination policy and argument were uncovered by sex, education or age. A difference was found only in the argument about abolishing Seoul National University: other age groups showed a lower degree of agreement compared to those in their 20's, with a 0.1 significant probability.

Table 5. Logistic analysis on Anti-discrimination Policy & Issues

Independent Variable		Affirmative Action for People with Disabilities	Abolishment of SNU
Sex	male	reference group	
	female	0.13	-0.14
Education	middle school & under	reference group	
	high school	0.39	0.26
	college, university+	0.22	0.36
Age	20-29	reference group	
	30-39	-0.18	-0.28
	40-49	-0.47	-0.29
	50-59	-0.28	-0.33
	60+	-0.31	-0.42
Income (Unit: 10,000 won)	under 100	reference group	
	100-200	0.17	-0.05
	201-300	0.04	-0.02
	301-400	0.53	0.14
	400+	0.60	0.15
Stratum Consciousness	low	reference group	
	middle	-0.18	0.05
	high	-0.04	-0.21
-2 L. L.		966.024	1644.986
d. f.		13	

Note : 1) *p< .05, **p< .01, ***p< .001

2) Assent 1, Denial 2.

The original questions on anti-discriminatory policies include 1) policies regarding gender-equal employment in the public sector, 2) issues connected to the extension of the retirement age and 3) anti-discrimination laws unrelated to the former two issues. The Logit analysis fails to establish any statistical significance except in the case of anti-discrimination law. Therefore, it can be concluded that hypotheses 1 and 2 were rejected in the case of anti-discriminatory policies. This is a somewhat unusual result in that no difference was revealed in attitudes toward these policies according to age and education. It can be analyzed as follows: First, it is possible that respondents were unaware of the precise details of each anti-discriminatory policy. In this case, the difference in meaning between denial and consent could become more or less obscured. Second, they could be aware of the possibility of reverse discrimination. This may have caused the respondents to hesitate in their attitudes toward discriminatory practices. Third, this could be a form of a positive expression on the policy, the assertion that is not a proper strategy to adopt in the fight against the discrimination.

In the meantime, no differences are identified toward anti-discrimination policy by sex. This indicates that women have a different perspective of tolerance and the legal approach to people with disabilities. This dualistic aspect also is observed in studies of racism, but exactly what elements affect this tendency remains unknown. More fully understanding this aspect will require time and effort in examination. Similarly, the lowest group, which is more easily exposed to discrimination, also does not concur with the anti-discrimination policy to a greater degree. This could be explained by a lack of relevant information and perceptions as to the effectiveness of the policy itself.

As is seen in Table 6, the recognition of the seriousness of discrimination by women is statistically higher than that by men. However, with academic clique, men feel greater discrimination than do women. This could be explained by the fact that men have more opportunities to collide with other people in social and economic activities than do women. That is, men in South Korea generally have had discriminatory experiences related to their academic clique, either indirectly or directly. This may have forged the distinction between men and women in recognition of the gravity of academic clique. Related to education, more highly educated respondents recognize discrimination against people with disabilities as more serious compared to lower educated respondents. However, these results are unrelated to attitude toward discrimination by academic clique. Also, there are no significant differences in recognition of it by age, family income and stratum identification. The only difference that can be found is that people in their 30's appreciate more seriously the discrimination faced by people with disabilities than do people in their 20's.

Table 6. Regression analysis on recognition of seriousness of discrimination

Independent Variable		People with Disabilities	Level of Educational Attainment or Academic Clique
Sex	male	reference group	
	female	0.08*	-0.08*
Education	middle school & under	reference group	
	high school	0.22**	0.12
	college, university+	0.17*	0.08
Age	20-29	reference group	
	30-39	0.14*	0.05
	40-49	0.02	-0.01
	50-59	-0.09	-0.09
	60+	-0.09	-0.13
Income (Unit: 10,000 won)	under 100	reference group	
	100-200	0.04	0.01
	201-300	0.09	0.05
	301-400	0.01	0.09
	400+	0.11	0.19*
Stratum Consciousness	low	reference group	
	middle	0.01	-0.05
	high	-0.01	-0.09
R2		0.0307	0.0224
F		4.81***	3.48***

Note : 1) *p< .05, **p< .01, ***p< .001

2) Not serious 1, very serious 5.

In brief, the results are as follows.

First, there is a gender difference in attitude toward minorities (people with disabilities) as was stated previously. A sex-differentiated socialization adherent's assertion would be that this difference is due to the variation in value orientation between men and women. According to social-psychologists, this argument includes the ability of value attaining, emotional reaction and internalized value and norm (Beutel & Marini, Ibid). They also contend that women show greater support for social welfare systems to assist minorities, the unemployed and the poor than do men (Shapiro & Mahajan, 1986). Moreover, they back a distinction between men and

women in their attitude toward the socially underprivileged. These arguments naturally lead to the conclusion that women demonstrate greater tolerance, concern and affection toward others than do men. Although this holds true in certain cases, in this paper disparities with such an expectation were uncovered. In particular, no difference could be found in attitudes toward anti-discrimination policies by sex. This establishes that no close relation exists between affective concern and attitude and support for actual policy. This is observed not only in the case of sex but also by education and age. This is contrary to the recognition of discrimination. Of course depth of awareness of the policies may be a factor as well.

Finally, four dependent variables were selected to be used for examining the recognition of discrimination by sex. The social distance of people with disabilities, stereotypes about academic clique, recognition of the gravity of discrimination, and attitude toward anti-discrimination policies all showed no gender difference or were contrary to expectations. The only concepts meeting the anticipated sex difference were the stereotypes of people with disabilities and the recognition of seriousness of discrimination. We also know that people from lower academic cliques are not all members of social minorities; sex-difference can be not directly related with attitude toward social minorities like those from a lower academic clique. When this is applied to other minorities in the same fashion, no sex-difference is found. The results also show a reverse sex-difference in academic clique, contrary to expectations. Therefore, a causative factor other than sex-difference must be present.

It was also found that women maintain a more benevolent attitude toward people with disabilities and the recognition of them than do men. This is congruent with the research outcome predicted by sex-differentiated socialization. However, another study using the same data used in this paper did not report the same result in the general value by sex (Park Sumi, Chung Ki-seon, Kim Hai-sook, & Park Gun, 2004). As Min Kyeong-hwan (1989) pointed out, there is no sex-difference in Authoritarianism and Power Inclination -which is said to be related to a discriminatory attitude- and a sex-difference could only be discovered in Self-Direction and Accomplishment. It could be claimed that it is a very partial property that people have undergone a different socialization process by sex, and because of that women have a different value attitude than do men (Prince-Gibson & Schwartz, *Ibid*).

Secondly, the relation between stratum identification and recognition of discrimination can be examined. The stereotypes of people with disabilities and of academic clique are shown to be statistically significant in this case. Higher stratum members displayed much stronger stereotypes toward them compared to the lowest group members. This is explained by the fact that a member of a higher group in society believes that the given society is much fairer and more equal. However, these outcomes could not be found in any other categories, so it must be conceded that these results are partial. They are insufficient to explain the discriminatory attitude.

5. Conclusion

We could find a difference by sex in some categories and by stratum identification in others. These outcomes both do and do not meet the expectations of the research. Precisely speaking, hypotheses 1 & 2 should be denied. However, the aim of this study was not to discover an exact correlation between sex or stratum identification and discrimination sensitivity, but to reveal whether sex or stratum identification affect sensitivity toward discrimination. Therefore, even if only in certain areas do prejudice toward people with disabilities and academic cliques by stratum identification show significance, some kind of correlation between discrimination sensitivity and stratum identification can be seen. In terms of gender, it can be asserted that women remain more sensitive to discrimination against people with disabilities than are men. In terms of prejudice against academic clique, social distance, and the recognition of discrimination against people not belonging to powerful academic cliques, men are more tolerant than women. The conditions surrounding women might explain these results, as stated above.

Differences could also be found in prejudice and stereotype by stratum identification. However, this is inconsistent with other categories. Even considering these results, it could be presumed that the higher a group someone is in, the less sensitive they are to discrimination. Certain differences in prejudice and stereotype by stratum identification should be noted. Even if the outcome is inconsistent, it is related with stratum identification. It is especially so in that these stereotypes or prejudices are a matter of psychology and can be easily transformed into discriminatory practices. In addition, they play a critical role in determining policies for support of the underprivileged, so stratum identification should be taken sufficiently into consideration when proposing and carrying out such policies.

The important thing is to understand in all its fullness that discrimination is a social behavior that transcends a wide range of boundaries and its aspects and conditions are equally diverse. As discussed above, sex-differences and stratum identification must have been related with attitudes toward discrimination. The point is not to state that there is a relation but to examine the conditions in which the relations converge and branch. In this sense this paper offers a clue to help understand the dynamics of discrimination in South Korean society.

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