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정책학석사학위논문

**Elite Education and Hierarchy
Reproduction in Seoul, South Korea
Grounded Theory Approach on
University Entrance Preparatory Practice of
Gangnam-elites**

2015년 6월

서울대학교 대학원

행정학과 정책학전공

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이 논문을 정책학 석사학위논문으로 제출함

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Abstract:

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South Korean education regime is a model example showing the hierarchical social structure of the country. Almost entire aims of the primary and the secondary level of education are to succeed the pupils into the universities, and the ranking of the admitted university determines the degree of success of each pupil's schooling. It is especially significant when the tertiary education advancement rate in South Korea is notably high, making the university entrance as a social obligation. In the meantime South Korean education regime has been gradually engineered to be commodified, making the historical institutionalist characteristics of the South Korean education to be 'commodified instrumentalism'. The commodified education sphere has become the theatre of class struggle so the people who are afford of purchasing additional private education service are comparatively more advantageous. In this milieu, the urbanisation history of Seoul invented a spectacular geographical space 'Gangnam', which features luxuriousness in a multiple number of dimensions including the education.

In this research, interviews on five pupils and their parents living in Gangnam area and four pupils living in non-Gangnam areas were undertaken, in order to examine distinctiveness of the Gangnamers' education. This research employs grounded theory approach which is apt for capturing dynamic mechanism of social phenomenon, consulting one literature by Corbin and Strauss and another by Charmaz. Based on the interview data, following axial coding words has been emerged: 1) negotiation with the institutional setting on the education regime; 2) Gangnamer as a new social class; 3) distinctive interpersonal circumstance structured from personal histories; 4) distinctive private educational investment; 5) distinctive mentality fostered by the status of competitor; and 6) imagined geographical significance. The abovementioned axial coding words entails relevant open coding words which are less abstractised and supporting interview contents are presented with each open coding. Discussion for theoretical integration utilises concepts advanced by Bourdieu and Lefebvre, and subsequently a paradigm model (figure 5) and a consequential matrix (figure 6) are developed. The coding words and the subsequent theoretical discussion reveal that Gangnamers' educational practices are in fact distinctive, offering elite-education for their children with the constellation of distinctive habitus and practice. However, my argument is that those consumptive educational practices of Gangnamers can be defined as the controlled consumption prearranged by social forces. Therefore, the selective coding of this research embracing all the axial coding words and entailing open coding words is 'active adaptation to the institutional arrangement'. The Gangnamers are the ones who accept the given characteristics of the educational field, and actively pursue the strategic behaviour on the field. In the meantime, the educational practices occurring in Gangnam become the imagined standard of South Korean education and the image of educational capital is accumulated onto the social space of Gangnam area. The mechanism discussed in this research suggests that the hierarchical social structure of South Korea keeps

reproduced through the education sphere where the controlled consumption is pursued imitating Gangnamers.

Key words: hierarchy, social structure reproduction, education, urban history, grounded theory, Bourdieu, field, practice, habitus, Lefebvre, controlled consumption, social space.

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1. Introduction

The word ‘hierarchy’ represents contemporary South Korea: hierarchical social structures can be found at all levels of the society. The education regime is a model example of the hierarchical structure, which is the main topic of this research. It is commonly accepted that South Korean universities are vertically ranked and approximately 600,000 pupils find their positions on this hierarchy every year. Those positions, which pupils arrive at the end of their secondary education, are assessed as their degree of ‘success’. Simple advancement toward tertiary education is not regarded as the success, as given the circumstance that tertiary education in South Korea is nearly an universal obligation. As table 1 shows the percentage of pupils advancing to tertiary education seems to shrink from 2011, but it does not reflect the reality since the way of measurement has been changed. Considering the ones who are in retrial for university entrance are exempted from the statistics, the rate is still immensely high. When the educational advancement is taken as granted, the brand of the university matters more.

Figure 1. Tertiary education advancement rate (%) in graph (Source: Statistics Korea)

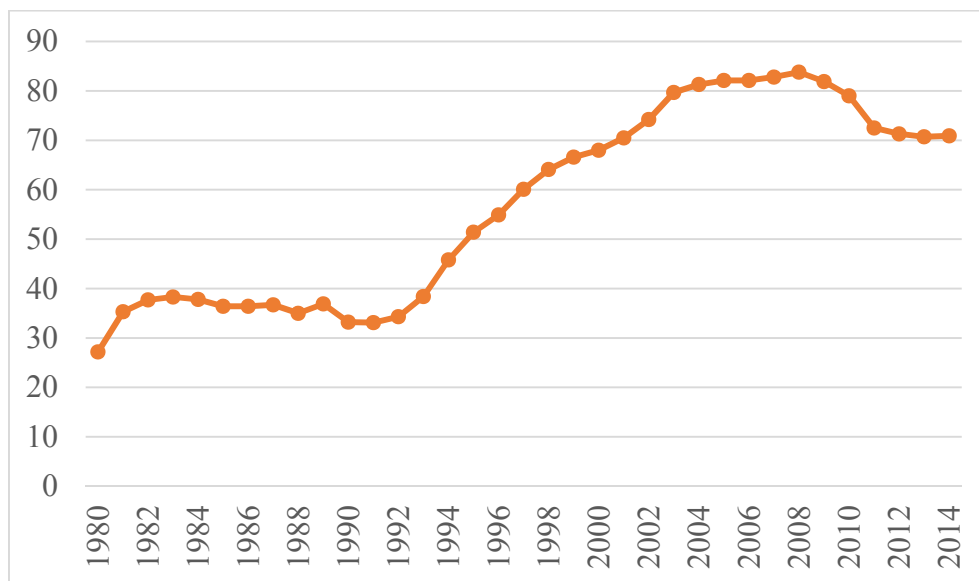


Table 1.¹ (Source: Statistics Korea)

Year	<i>1980</i>	<i>1981</i>	<i>1982</i>	<i>1983</i>	<i>1984</i>	<i>1985</i>	<i>1986</i>	<i>1987</i>	<i>1988</i>
%	27.2	35.3	37.7	38.3	37.8	36.4	36.4	36.7	35
Year	<i>1989</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1993</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>1997</i>
%	36.9	33.2	33.1	34.3	38.4	45.8	51.4	54.9	60.1
Year	<i>1998</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2003</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2005</i>	<i>2006</i>
%	64.1	66.6	68	70.5	74.2	79.7	81.3	82.1	82.1
Year	<i>2007</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>2013</i>	<i>2014</i>	
%	82.8	83.8	81.9	79	72.5	71.3	70.7	70.9	

Moreover, the annual announcement of high-school ranking according to their ‘performance’ displaying the number of pupils who entered the top-university in South Korea, namely Seoul National University, makes the stratification nation-widely visible. It is many theorists’ assumption that the hierarchical structure of an education regime is prone to transform the education sphere into a reproduction mechanism of class-inequality (Waller, 1961; Bourdieu, 1984; Kim S.-B, 2004). Given the fact that the inequality already existing in South Korea is serious, the dynamic reproductive mechanism is worthy being scrutinised.

Saesayon’s (2014) publication displays the devastating situation of South Korean inequality with relevant statistics: while the average monthly income of labourers in small firms (under 5-member) is 1,300,000 KRW, that of large companies (over 300-member) is 3,570,000 KRW (KOSIS, 2013); annual income of Samsung Electronics’ executive member earning 5,200,000,000 KRW is 137 times larger than that of over 5-member companies’ labourers earning 38,000,000 KRW (Ministry of Employment &

¹ The rates displayed in this table until 2010 is based on the percentage of pupils who were admitted to the universities, and those from 2011 are based on the percentage of pupils who enrolled in the admitted university.

Labour, 2012); the top 1 percent of wealthy people possess 81.8 percent of aggregate market value within the stock market (Korea Exchange, 2013); 23.76 percent of South Korean labourers are under temporary contract, while the OECD average stands at 11.93 percent and that of the United Kingdom is 6.18 percent (OECD, 2011); there exists a 11.8 percent of the economically-active population who are under-waged than 2013 minimum income of 4,860 KRW per hour (KOSIS, 2013); dividing by gender, among the female economically-active population those is 17.4 percent, while among male that is 7.6 percent (KOSIS, 2013); the South Korean gender gap in wage is 37.4 percent, while that of Japan is 26.5 percent, that of the US is 19.1 percent, and that of New Zealand is 6.2 percent (OECD, 2012); while bottom 10 percent of poor Korean people spend 38 percent of disposable income for housing, 10 percent of wealthy Korean people spend 6.2 percent for housing (KOSIS, 2011).

Those abovementioned social inequalities are not all; there is also a spatial dimension, the stratifying land use in South Korea. Seoul is featured at the top among all the other cities and for a long time, Seoul showed many South Korean social aspects to an extreme extent, including the real-estates' price-booming. From 1963 to 2007 consumer price grew 43-times higher and urban labourers' household income grew 15-times, land prices of metropolises grew 923-times higher and Seoul's land prices hit 1,176-times of growth (Son, 2010: 67).

Furthermore, Yim and Lee (2002: 271) observe spatial stratification and the overall South Korean inequality are particularly well-displayed within that the Seoul: "the social polarization and the spatial phenomena related to it appear more definitely in Seoul". Shin (2003) points out that there is a possibility of spatial segregation according to social class, since gentrified dwellings tend to be concentrated to a certain area and this creates gated community effects. In fact, the gentrified dwellings in Seoul are concentrated in Gangnam, and there is a considerable disparity on assets

between Gangnam-residents and non-Gangnam residents, which is far more serious than the disparity of incomes (Lee & Choi, 2010). Taking the fact that 89 percent of total asset of South Korean citizens is concentrated in a real estate into account (KOSIS, 2007), it is fair to state that the heightened dwelling price tends to guarantee distinctive wealth.

This research analyses the dynamic mechanism of two hierarchies' combined effect: (1) the hierarchy of Seoul's urban geography; and (2) the hierarchy of South Korean education regime. The urban geography of Seoul featuring Gangnam at high echelon has been developed by series of historical events, and as a result Gangnam has been established as a geographical spectacle. The spectacle of Gangnam entails factors such as the following: agglomerated business offices at Tehran Street, distinctive transport accessibility toward other important cities through Gyeongbu Motorway, aristocratic cultural facilities such as the National Central Library or the Seoul Art Centre, and some luxurious areas popular to tourists. Apart from these, the most notable ones are higher dwelling prices compared to other side of Han-river, Gangbuk (literally northward area from Han River), and access to distinctive educational service from both private and public sources. On top of this, it is a well-known fact that South Korean parents are keen to offer quality education to their children due to historically fostered 'education fever' (Kang, 1996), and upper-class citizens in Gangnam are no exception. Those parents residing in Gangnam have more resources than other parents in Seoul, in order to put their children on the 'elite track', as an attempt of bequeathing their social status through the mechanism of education. In this context, the social inequality can be reproduced through the education sphere being a theatre of class-struggle. A decisive factor further assisting this phenomenon is the institutional development toward commodification of the education regime at both private and public sector, consolidating the hierarchical structure of South Korean society. This research's theoretical focus is to discover a social

aspect dynamically solidifying the hierarchical structure, through examining the distinction of Gangnam residents' educational practice. Thus this research's primary purpose is not a journalistic attempt of debunking lavish educational investment of riches, but it is to show that South Korean education practice spotlighting Gangnam reinforces the hierarchical social structure.

The distinctive educational practice of 'Gangnamers' is originated from two currents of historical-institutionalist development. Thus, the analysis on this issue calls for two combined approaches, namely educational and urban sociology. In other words, this research is significant both on education policy and urban planning policy in Seoul and able to deliver substantial implication on those fields of study. As a theoretical contribution, this research is to analyse what are the "practice" and "habitus" of Gangnam residents within the educational "field", and how the educational "field" is connected to "social space" of Gangnam (Lefebvre, 1968; Lefebvre, 1974; Bourdieu, 1984; Rawolle & Lingard, 2008). Key rationale of this research is grounded theory, which is an emergent qualitative research technique especially helping grasp a dynamic phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss, 2007; Charmaz, 2008). By the grounded theory technique, this research attempts to bear testimony of hierarchy reproduction in 2015 South Korea, assuming that education and real-estates affairs are the keystones on the South Korean historical current.

2. Research Background

In this research, education is fundamentally regarded in line with Durkheim's (1956) view, i.e. it is conducted by family and schools to inject the values, knowledge, and skills to be proper adults of given societies. However, this research also embraces a viewpoint of class-conflict and reproduction through education, as Bourdieu (1984) reports through his

book *Distinction* and Rothstein (1986: 313) states “the selective functions of schools force them to reflect the demographic and stratification realities of the larger society”.

The educational phenomenon reflecting the social inequality is particularly accentuated in South Korean society, due to institutional characteristics of the education regime being intensely commodified. When it comes to South Korean education, the most advantaged people are the residents of Gangnam. Not to mention Gangnam dwellers’ distinctive wealth, there are multi-dimensional factors coming into play, completing the geographical spectacle even on the education sphere. The Gangnam residents possess mobilisable resources to privately put into education, essentially consuming serviced-goods of relatively better quality. However this consumption of educational service is rather institutionally arranged, compelling citizens into “controlled consumption”, borrowing a concept from Lefebvre (1968: 68).

Lefebvre (1968: 87) holds that the capitalist ideology has been permeated into citizens’ everyday lives in a multi-layered manner, even though there had been chances of improving the entire system. He advanced the idea that French citizens had been forced to adapt their quotidian lives into the bureaucratic society which behavioural options were getting considerably limited into the controlled consumption (*ibid.*). His critique on quotidian everyday lives in the capitalist system implies a warning against catching-up mentality toward the ones regarded “spectacle” without discerning the larger social structure (*ibid.*: 25). In Seoul, Gangnam has been socially “produced” (Lefebvre, 1974) as the geographical spectacle, providing the model example worth following and expanding the influence compelling into the controlled consumption.

Additionally, the elite education occurring in Gangnam dynamically sustains the spectacular image of the Gangnam’s “social space”, which is analysed in this research in depth. The result of this research’s analysis and

other researches having been conducted so far cast light on the fact that the education in Gangnam is distinctive in many ways (Kang, 1989; Kim J.-Y., 2003; Ogino, 2004; Sohn, 2005; Lee, 2009; Son, 2010; Kim Y.-C., 2012; Kim H.-S., 2012). In a sense, it is fair to state that the Gangnam residents' attempt of distinction is in the context of class struggle being similar to Bourdieu's (1984) analysis on French society, mobilising parent generation's resources to bequeath aristocratic capital in multiple number of forms to next generations. Thus the Bourdieu's platform concepts ("field", "practice", and "habitus") are utilised for data analysis in chapter 5, but this is not the entire framework of this research. In my opinion, even the Gangnam residents' attempt of distinction is the same controlled consumption pursued in similar manner to non-Gangnam residents' consumption, although the quality of service is different.

The controlled consumption of educational services pronouncing Gangnam has been stemmed from a series of institutional developments throughout South Korean history, together with political geography of urban planning in Seoul, which is discussed later in this chapter. In depth understanding of the combinational effect of Seoul's urban planning and institutional development of the education regime requires systematic literature review of both fields. The historical context influences individuals' lives as Charles W. Mills (1959: 6) stated:

We have come to know that every individual lives, from one generation to the next, in some society; that he lives out of biography, and that he lives it out within some historical sequence. By the fact of his living he contributes, however minutely, to the shaping of this society and to the course of its history, even as he is made by society and by its historical push and shove. The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. That is its task and its promise. (...) No social study that does not come back to the problems of biography, of history and of their intersections

within a society, has completed its intellectual journey.

2.1. South Korean Education Regime: Commodified Instrumentalism

The word “commodification” contrasts the concept of “de-commodification” advanced by Gøsta Esping-Andersen’s (2013: 22) analysis on capitalist welfare states, as he explains that “[d]e-commodification describes a process when a service is rendered as a matter of right, and when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market”. The education service in South Korea is partially provided by the state as welfare policy, but commodified section of the education regime has so far been historically expanding. The concept of commodification connotes exclusiveness in utilising the goods. The expansion of commodified sections of the South Korean education regime has rendered citizens to purchase the rights to maintain their livelihoods. Kim Woo-Yung’s (2008) research shows the income disparity between tertiary education graduates and secondary education graduates is getting wider since the mid-1990s due to structural change in the South Korean economy. His work implies that the citizens cannot maintain their livelihoods without some amount of educational serviced-goods purchase. This trend of commodification explains the seemingly great performance of South Korean education regime, putting 70.9 percent of pupils into tertiary education (Korean Education Development Institute, 2014), which is a survival strategy in the given societal hostility in my opinion.

This seemingly great educational performance was the emerging phenomenon even early on, since the periods of national rebuilding process after decolonisation from Japan, as Cumings (2005: 300) notes:

Nonetheless, Korea enjoyed comparative advantages. As early as 1888 Percival Lowell remarked of East Asian education, as compared to that of the West, “if the peaks of intellect rise less eminent, the plateau of

general elevation stands higher” (citing: Lowell, Percival. 1888, p. 7. *The Soul of the Far East*. New York: Houghton, Mifflin). He was wrong about the “peaks”, but right about the egalitarian belief, ultimately deriving from Confucian philosophy, in the inherent perfectibility of all humans. Translated into a compulsory school system through the elementary level in the 1950s and 1960s, and later including middle and high school levels, the broad Korean work force was better suited to industrial tasks than was the population of many other countries.

It is a rightful statement that the active education provision during 1950s and 1960s helped equip a condition for industrialisation of South Korea, but the underlying logic of early education regime has laid a long-term consequence endorsing the institutional commodification. Rather than the emancipatory mean for self-actualisation, education was regarded as an ‘instrument’ both by the state to pursue economic development and by the citizens to enter into elite-course. Under this logic of education regime, the education is unlikely to be transformed into state’s universal and equal welfare service at later stage, which proves Cumings’ (2005) assumption of embodiment of the “Confucian philosophy” on South Korean education wrong.

In fact, this instrumental logic of the education was fostered as early as in the late-19th century, in the context of global imperialism. It is evidently shown at pre-modern literate South Korean citizens’ (therefore opinion leaders’) popular discourse, as Kim Jong-Tae’s (2012) analysis on early Korean newspapers reveals that there was Eurocentric assumption calling for catching up development as ‘half-civilised’ Korea since 1890s, toward ‘advanced civilisation’ of Western countries. At later stage during the colonisation period (1910-1945), Japanese force utilised the catching up discourse to justify their colonial practice on Korea with providing educational service to certain extent, and also Korean citizens embraced the

Japanese idea (Lee, 2004). It was also true that Korean intellectuals assumed that the status of Korea being colonised was the result of underdeveloped knowledge, therefore education on Korean citizens was regarded as essential (Lee, 2000). Kang (2014: 215-218) presents the evidences of academic instrumentalism during the Japanese colonial period; there was strong desire of learning foreign language (Japanese, English, French, German) among Korean general public, entrance exams for each level of scholarly attainments were highly competitive since the academic degrees determined the social positions, and Seoul National University² was highly preferred over other universities.

Furthermore, Lee (2004) discusses that there is a clear legacy of the colonial experience on widening scope of education provision during 1960s industrial period of South Korea, since the important background of this governmental policy was ‘Human (to be) Capital Theory’ which was applicable to natural resource-sterile South Korea. Kim Jong-Tae (2011: 11) discusses on South Korean discourse of national identity on a spectrum of ‘seonjinguk’-‘hujinguk’ (advanced country and backward country) comparing to that of Japanese discourse of ‘nihonjinron’ and Chinese ‘new nationalism’, featuring South Korean discourse to be distinctively hierarchy-clinging within imagined national stratification in global scale. The evidence for Kim Jong-Tae’s (2011) contention is based on ‘Motherland Modernisation Project’³ which promoted by early-1960s Park Jung-Hee’s dictatorial regime, legitimising the existential virtue of the regime being capable of developing the nation to catch up with ‘advanced western countries’.

Furthermore, the legacy of the catching up discourse rendered

² At this point, the predecessor of Seoul National University was called as Keijō Imperial University.

³ 조국근대화 in Korean language.

people who studied in the United States substantially preferred in most of the fields, since the US is located on the top of the imagined national stratification by South Korean discourse. In fact the degrees conferred in US universities are considered to be more prestigious than the ones in South Korea, so the pupils who have studied in the US are regarded as the best performers and they tend to occupy more successful social positions (Kim J.-Y., 2015: 60). This phenomenon defines the educational relationship between the two countries: US being the teacher and South Korea being the student (*ibid.*: 27). In the same vein, English is considered to be more powerful language (Kang, 2014: 267; *ibid.*: 31), and this power structure has induced South Korean citizens to educate English language passionately even by sending children to English-speaking countries. Table 2 shows that there was a fashionable phenomenon amongst middle class families in 1990s South Korea sending their children to study abroad at an early age, especially toward English speaking countries.

Table 2. Annual number of pupils studying abroad by level of schooling
(Source: Kang, 2014: 265)

Year	Primary-school		Secondary-school		High-school		Total	
	Number	increase (%)	Number	increase (%)	Number	increase (%)	Number	increase (%)
'95	235	100.0	1,200	100.0	824	100.0	2,259	100.0
'96	341	145.1	1,743	145.3	1,489	180.7	3,573	158.2
'97	241	104.3	978	81.5	2,055	249.4	3,274	144.9
'98	212	90.2	473	39.4	877	106.4	1,562	69.1
'99	432	183.8	709	59.1	698	84.7	1,839	81.4
'00	705	305.2	1,799	149.9	1,893	229.7	4,397	194.6
'01	2,107	896.6	3,171	264.3	2,666	323.5	7,944	351.7
'02	3,464	1474.0	3,301	275.1	3,367	408.6	10,132	448.5
'03	4,052	1724.3	3,674	306.2	2,775	336.8	10,498	464.7
'04	6,276	2862.1	5,568	464.0	4,602	558.5	16,446	728.0
'05	8,148	3467.2	6,670	555.8	5,582	677.4	20,400	903.1

							400	
'06	13, 814	5878.3	9,246	770.5	6,451	782.9	29, 511	1306.1
'07	12, 341	5251.5	9,201	766.8	6,126	743.4	27, 668	1225.7

It is true that the legacy of Park Jung-Hee's dictatorial regime remains impactful, mainly by the way of modernisation. Kim Duk-Yung (2014) puts a critique that the underlying values of President Park's national modernisation scheme were "reduced" to the "economic" modernisation. Only the economic development was fostered, and other sectors' modernisations were considerably neglected. While Kim Duk-Yung (2014) contends that the "reduced modernity" keeps featuring on political discourses even until nowadays, Dostal *et al.* (2015) discusses that this reduced modernity was historically linked to a concept of "marketised individualisation" advanced by Shin (2013), creating self-perpetuating historical-institutionist vicious cycle. This historical-institution impacts structure and agents even in terms of the education regime, therefore as an instrumental logic of education was promoted by the state and also the citizens regarded education to be an instrument especially for their individualistic-competitive acquisition of prestigious academic cliques.

Kim Duk-Yung's (2014: 167) remark on South Korean schooling during industrialisation was to establish a stable human resource pool appropriable for the "reduced" economic development project. It is natural that South Korean citizens could not become modern self-actualising individual through this exploitative mode of education (Kim D.-Y., 2014). Kim Duk-Yung (2014: 262) further criticises on South Korean education regime that secondary education is de facto colonised by tertiary education since secondary education's existential virtue is to put pupils into universities. Considering that all the governmental reforms on the education sphere have failed dissolving the credentialism of some academic cliques

and vertical stratification of universities (Hong, 2005; An & Bae, 2013), it is a pinpoint critique on current South Korean education regime to be “oppressive society” (Kim D.-Y., 2014: 263). In this oppressive mode of education, everyone fights against everyone to oppress others to be more successful, even the champions feel oppressed by this exploitative system reproducing the South Korean ideology of social hierarchy.

On top of this, the internationally famous South Korean ‘education fever’ has been organically incubated ever since Japanese colonial period. Kang’s (1996: 212) definition of the ‘education fever’ incorporates the historical accumulation on educational culture, as South Korean citizens collectively experienced that the well-educated personnel occupied important job positions during the Japanese colonial period and after decolonisation. In fact, the first government gave free pardons for well-educated people, even though the indicted people were Japanese collaborators. By the decision of Park Jung-Hee junta government in 1960 the total personnel of tertiary education was restricted, naturally heightening the value of university graduates by lowering the supply until 1981. In this context, there was no better index of individuals’ potential performance than the brand of the university (Kang, 1996: 217), and this mythologised indicator is still in effect until nowadays. By this historical accumulation, South Korean education practice has become: 1) status-oriented; 2) competitive; 3) family-collectivist; and 4) consequentialist (*ibid.*). Now suicide is rated 31.9 percent for youth citizens’ cause of death (KOSIS, 2010) and it seems that those four spiritual background of the South Korean education regime puts terrific amount of stress on pupils’ psyche.

Nonetheless, this education fever is essentially directed toward entering the prestigious academic clique. ‘Academic clique’ in other societies normally means a rivalry sentiment between certain universities, which often causes substantial conflicts over various job positions or other achievements. In South Korean society it creates a glass-ceiling effect

dividing prestigious university graduates and non-prestigious university graduates within a job hierarchy. In other words, South Korean academic clique is characteristically more vertical, meaning that only ones who possess the affiliation to the certain group of universities are allowed to reach certain social position. Kim Sang-Bong (2004: 101-127) discusses that South Korean society is a society dominated by academic cliques, which is regarded as a new social class. Hong (2005: 414) discusses a structured mechanism producing the domination of academic clique: 1) these academic cliques are produced accordingly to the hierarchy of South Korean universities and graduates of prestigious universities keeping up the universities' reputation by various efforts including discriminatory treatment toward less-prestigious university graduates; and 2) this irrational conduct based on universities' brand is further supported by pupils and parents aspiring for sweet compensation after the successful access to the prestigious institutions. In this sense, competition to access toward prestigious academic cliques concerns every South Korean parents and the aspiration of prestigious university's entrance is universally accepted (Hong, 2005). Therefore, there is a legitimisation mechanism of the prestigious academic cliques' social domination by the members of those cliques, which is fostered from early period of individuals' growth (Hwang, 2006: 85).

In fact, there is a relatively early gatekeeping mechanism of 'elite'-track in South Korea, which is the brand of the university. When the field of study is the same, the parents prefer popular university brands, i.e. the Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST), Seoul National University, Yonsei University, Korea University, which all conveying certain 'images' socially regarded as prestigious. The reason for this preference is that there are cliques of prestigious academic institutions and also the graduates of those prestigious institutions are generally regarded as 'competence' (Bourdieu, 1984; Hong, 2005). The prestigious academic cliques not only guarantee ones' level of income, also it blesses

non-monetary social status further influencing the level of glass-ceiling (Hong, 2005). The embodiment of prestigious universities' 'aura' is also discussed by Pierre Bourdieu (1984:17), as he states:

Thus it is written into the tacit definition of the academic qualification formally guaranteeing a specific competence (like an engineering diploma) that it really guarantees possession of a 'general culture' whose breadth is proportionate to the prestige of the qualification. (...) This effect of symbolic imposition is most intense in the case of the diplomas consecrating the cultural elite. The qualification awarded by the French *grande écoles* guarantee, without any other guarantee, a competence extending far beyond what they are supposed to guarantee. (...) This process occurs at all stages of schooling, through the manipulation of aspirations and demands - in other words, of self-image and self-esteem - which the educational system carries out by channelling pupils towards prestigious or devalued positions implying or excluding legitimate practice.

In Bourdieu's homeland France, the prestigious academic institutions are more scattered along with divisions of functions or specialty, for example *École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts* concerns fine arts, *Arts et Métiers ParisTech* is specialised in engineering, and *ESSEC* only pursues high reputation in business studies. However South Korean prestigious universities incorporate most of the academic divisions, being conducive to stark vertical stratification (Kim J.-Y., 2003). It is common practice that the students desire a higher-ranked university if the field of study is the same, no matter by whom they are taught. Also the ranking of the universities is still regarded as basic index of social status, granting relatively higher positions in each organisation (Hong, 2005). In this skewed social surrounding of academic credentialism, South Korean education fever should be judged as socially incubated aspiration rather than individuals' subjective taste. Hong (2005: 416) discusses on the ironic characteristics of

South Korean academic cliques. South Korean prestigious universities possess a certain degree of modernity being knowledge-transferring institutes, but also they show the pre-modernity of exclusive collectivism⁴; and also they are based on equal competition among high-school pupils but they refuse equal competition in society (Hong, 2005).

The matter of importance is that the preparation for university entrance is carried out by parents' private investment on high-school pupils. It is true that certain amount of the university preparatory education is publicly provided, since there is a basic education-welfare provision for citizens to pursue until secondary-school and most of the high-schools are subsidised to lower the tuition, except law-stipulated independent private high-schools. However, still the considerable proportion of the university preparation is privately covered, mainly by sending the pupils to private after-schools (Hakwon) or by hiring personal tutors. Therefore, it can be stated that the South Korean education provision comprises of two divisions, one is in the public sector and the other in the private sector.

The education in the private sector has been a longstanding policy issue ever since the 1950s, and at all times the fanatic aspiration toward higher ranked academic institutions have sustained the backbone of the social problem. The constituent government actively expanded the education provisions for citizens, and almost 96 percent of total pupils finished primary education by 1960 (Kang, 2010: 72). The foremost important issue for the primary-school pupils at then was the results of secondary-school entrance, and public teachers voluntarily provided certain amount of supplementary after-schooling. Kang (2010: 72) notes that those voluntary conducts gradually transformed to be for-profit after-schooling.

⁴ South Korean academic clique shows exclusiveness in a sense that only prestigious universities' graduates can reach higher social positions, while it also shows collectivism in a sense that the prestigious universities' graduates culturally and systematically impede non-prestigious universities' graduates to access privileged social position.

Citizens suffered a lot from severe competition for entrance toward prestigious schools, and the government decided to abolish entrance-exams for secondary school in 1968 and to flatten the ranking of high-schools in 1973 (Kang, 2014: 285). The policy reasonings for two important decisions were following: 1) to bring about normalisation of pre-level-schools (primary-schools and secondary-schools, respectively) before entrance to next-level schools; 2) dissolution of stark hierarchy of schools; and 3) alleviating burdens of citizens on private educational expenditure (Kang, 2010).

However, the aspiration for entering prestigious universities was not dissolved, meaning that the severe competition was only delayed to later stage. Given the circumstance that the number of tertiary education beneficiaries was restricted during 1960-1981, the competition for entering prestigious university was genuinely harsh. On 30 July 1980, the second military dictatorial regime of Chun Doo-Hwan (1980-1988) announced a policy package concerning the education regime, comprising the following measures: 1) prohibition of all kinds of private after-schooling; 2) consideration of high-school academic records up to 30 percent for the purpose of university admissions; 3) expansion of university matriculation number by 130 percent; 4) abolishment of university-administered entrance exams; and 5) adoption of a system for pupils to apply the universities after announcement of CSAT results. Nevertheless, the academic cliques of prestigious universities and citizens' aspiration to enter into these cliques remained intact, so private after-schooling was still conducted in the black market with much higher cost (Kang, 2010). Also, it was a public opinion that university students who were generally regarded 'poor' should be eligible to earn their pocket money by tutoring high-school pupils, and that the future credentialism was righteous for those competitive pupils (*ibid.*: 75). Thus in the 1980s, legal legitimisation of the ideological academic meritocracy was not properly tackled.

Since the 1990s, the competition grew ever more serious due to heightened social standards for citizens' academic career, along with the South Korean economy's structural advancement to be more knowledge-based and globalised (Kim W.-Y., 2008). Along with the trend of economic structural transformation, there have been institutional reforms in the education regime since the mid-1990s toward more a neo-liberalised model, with increasing flexibility and diversification (Shim, 2000; Kang, 2014; Kwon, 2014). The universities were allowed to administer their own entrance exams in 1994, but it was soon demolished after resistance of pupils and parents in 1997 by the Kim Young-Sam administration's (1993-1998) decision.

There was a bigger scale reform announced on 31 May 1995 blessing autonomy for all educational institutions and expanding education "consumer's" choice, expecting that the enhanced flexibility would foster pupils' creativity which is a necessary trait to compete in globalised era (Kang, 2014: 193). This 1995 reform paved the way for later institutional development with increased market-liberal ideas (*ibid.*). Moreover, two kinds of 'special-purpose high-schools' freed from a bondage of vocational schools were established due to policy decision in 1998: establishing 'foreign language high-schools' and 'science high-schools'. Those two kinds of high-schools were originally installed in 1992, as the ones within a same category of 'specialised vocational high-schools', but in 1998 they were separated into the category of 'special-purpose high-schools' (Korea National University of Education, 2011). In the meantime, the prohibition on after-schooling gradually loosened and abolished, as pupils were allowed to enrol private after-schools during holidays in 1989 and since 1991 pupils could freely enrol without seasonal regulation (Kang, 2010). Since the 1990s, there has been a remarkable increase of private education participation rates, as shown in table 3. In 2000, prohibition of private after-schooling was judged to be a violation of the constitutional law, and as a

result the commodification of the private sector on education regime became fully legal.

Table 3. Participation rate (%) of private education

(Source: Lee at al., 2010: 22)⁵

<i>Year</i>	<i>1979</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1997</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2008</i>
<i>%</i>	6.23	14.9	21.8	59.4	58.2	77.0	75.1

Table 4. Participation rate (%) of private education

by income bracket (monthly) in 2008

(Source: Lee at al., 2010: 28)

Income (unit: 1000 KRW)	Primary-school	Secondary-school	High-school
<i>Less than 1,000</i>	48.3	31.7	24.1
<i>1,000 - 1,990</i>	72.9	52.5	38.6
<i>2,000 - 2,990</i>	89.0	70.2	53.1
<i>3,000 - 3,990</i>	92.8	81.6	64.3
<i>4,000 - 4,990</i>	95.3	87.1	73.3
<i>5,000 - 5,990</i>	96.3	90.1	77.6
<i>6,000 - 6,990</i>	96.4	90.4	80.0
<i>Over 7,000</i>	96.4	93.2	82.5

Table 5. Participation rate (%) of private education

by parents' scholarly attainment in 2008

(Source: Lee at al., 2010: 27)

		<i>Primary- school</i>	<i>Secondary- school</i>	<i>High- school</i>	<i>Vocational high-</i>
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⁵ For the data in 1997 and 2000, the surveys on high-school pupils were exempted, meaning that the actual rate can be higher.

					<i>school</i>
Fathers' degrees attainment	<i>Under secondary school graduates</i>	62.3	45.4	38.9	20.7
	<i>High school graduates</i>	84.2	68.5	54.5	30.6
	<i>Bachelor graduates</i>	93.4	83.0	71.6	42.1
	<i>Post-university graduates</i>	93.3	88.6	72.5	53.6
Mothers' degree attainment	<i>Under secondary school graduates</i>	63.6	47.6	40.0	22.0
	<i>High school graduates</i>	86.4	72.1	58.4	31.6
	<i>Bachelor graduates</i>	93.8	85.0	74.1	47.4
	<i>Post-university graduates</i>	94.0	86.9	75.2	53.1

Ever since the 1990s, the forms and purpose of private educational investment has been much diversified, even some pupils take after-schooling for the entrance of special-purpose high-schools. The policy

decision launching special purpose high-schools brought about heightened position of the special-purpose high-schools in the hierarchy of South Korean secondary education, since those specialities (foreign language and science-related skills) were conducive to prepare high ranked university entrance. This decision was mainly driven by the Kim Dae-Jung administration (1998-2003), since their problem identification on increasing dependency of private investment in the education regime was due to the flattened high-school hierarchy, which supposedly did not satisfy the diversified needs of customers, especially affluent ones (Kang, 2010).

The late-1990s was the period when studying abroad of youth citizens under educational purpose was protruded on public concern, and this voice also supported the ‘active’ education reform for educational flexibility (*ibid.*).⁶ As a result, Kim’s administration initiated putting more categories of high-schools, expanding the number of ‘specialised vocational high-schools’ and test-ran ‘independent private high-schools’. However, this measure resulted in legal stratification of high-schools without alleviating the problems of reckless private education spending. The first liberal government in South Korean history, the Kim Dae-Jung’s administration, did not meet their expectation tackling education-related social problems and further escalated the current of re-commodification of South Korean education regime’s public sector division.

The Roh Moo-Hyun administration (2003-2008) actively promoted ‘three-ban’ education policies: 1) eliminate university-administered exam; 2) hierarchy of high-school; 3) and donation-for-admission, in order to mitigate class-conflict at education regime (*ibid.*). In this context, the role of free-serviced Educational Broadcasting System (EBS) expanded significantly by providing preparatory courses for university entrance. Moreover, the policy

⁶ Studying abroad, especially at ‘advanced western countries’, is traditionally regarded as preferred option due to long-lasting ‘seonjinguk’ discourse (Kim, 2011; Kim, 2012) in South Korean society.

of ‘school-administered after-schools (public after-schools)’ was legislated to absorb the demand on private education, which Kang (2010: 84) affirmatively approves of the effect on mitigating disadvantaged citizens’ burden for private education spending. Those offers of EBS and ‘school-run after-schools’ was under purpose of reducing private education spending, but Kim Jin-Yung’s (2011) statistical analysis reveals that those measures were effective to improvements of students’ overall academic performance rather than reducing private education expenditure.

The attempts of Roh’s government to reduce the commodification current in the education regime met decisive turnaround by Lee Myung-Bak administration’s (2008-2013) policies, further promoting educational flexibility. Against predecessor’s ‘three-ban’ educational policies, Lee’s administration adopted unsanctioned education, exam, and selection. In this context, university-administered exams were revived and an ‘admissions officer system’ was adopted.⁷ In addition to formal establishment of the independent private high-schools, the categories of high-schools increased with newly establishing ‘prestigious regional high-schools (administratively, private independent high-schools)’, ‘meister high-schools’, and ‘special high-schools for talented’⁸ (Korea National University of Education, 2011).

⁷ 입학사정관제 in Korean language. The admissions officer system is a way of universities’ student selection, which evaluates students not based on CSAT score and high-school academic records. This system supposedly enables universities to evaluate comprehensive aspects of the pupils, focusing on their potential and creativity. Officially this university entrance process has been abolished by law-revision as of 2015, but there is similar one among rolling admission system: comprehensive school record process.

⁸ ‘Special high-schools for talented’ (영재고등학교 in Korean language) is installed by 2008 law revision of Special Talented Promotion Act. There are only six of those high-schools in entire South Korea as of 2015 and all of them were used to be science high-school in the administrative category of special-purpose high-schools. They are essentially combined version of special-purpose high-schools and private independent high-schools. While special-purpose high-schools’ curriculums are regulated by Primary-Secondary Education Act, special high-schools for talented are exempted from the law, so they can operate special curriculum autonomously.

The Lee Myung-Bak administration's flexibility measure further stratified the high-schools into a legally designed hierarchy and also intensified influence of private investment on university entrance preparation (Kang, 2010; Kim, 2010). There was a policy seemingly targeting to reduce burden of private education, regulating business hours of private after-schools until only PM 10:00, but this policy only created a black market or expediential business strategy of the after-schools (Kang, 2010).

The current Park Geun-Hye administration (2013-2018) has published a book concerning adequate education fostering creative mindset for 'creative economy', advocating further allowance of flexibility (Sung *et al.*, 2013), and there was no such policy idea to alleviate the historically accumulated problem of South Korean education regime.

The commodification current of education is widely prevailing on a global scale, being in line with the logic of globalisation and global competitiveness, especially in the US and UK (Shim, 2000; Yoon, 2009). This commodification current also influences in South Korean education regime with increasing flexibility of schools' curricula and selection criteria for university entrance, also increasing stratification of high-schools and influence of private investment. Kwon (2014: 270-279) suggests that there are three market-liberal trends in South Korean education regime: 1) increasing privatised concepts, such as additional private investment within education provision; 2) adopting business technique into public schools; and 3) applying standardised assessment on schools' performance. His critique is valid, considering increased parents' private investment in order to meet the flexible universities' selection criteria, the legal categories dividing high-schools lead to stratification of performance, and those prestigiously regarded high-schools should perform and be assessed with standardised measurements to keep their top-notch position on the hierarchy. Now the privilege of top-quality high-school education is limited to a small section of the population, meaning that the South Korean education regime is fairly

‘commodified’ especially on preparation practice for university entrance. Along with the relationship with the South Korean academic cliques of prestigious universities as discussed earlier, the South Korean education regime’s historical-institutionalist description shall be ‘commodified instrumentalism’.

2.2. Historical-Political Invention of Urban Spectacle: The Gangnam

Gangnam is often regarded as luxurious and affluent space, comparatively to other areas in Seoul. It is true that the wealth is concentrated to Gangnam, as some studies suggest (Shin, 2003; Choi, 2006; Lee & Choi, 2010). This skewed concentration of wealth is not a phenomena in a vacuum; Kang (2013: 69) notes, “Since Korean War, Seoul’s space has been divided and demarcated by political power and the capitalists who benefitted by the power”. It is the truth that there have been number of political decisions historically favoured Gangnam. Thus Gangnam is essentially the historically and politically invented urban spectacle. Even broader, the development and hierarchy creation of South Korea per se are essentially a historical-political invention.

The area of Gangnam is in the capital city of South Korea, Seoul. Generally, space in Seoul is higher regarded than most other areas in South Korea. Even administratively Seoul is defined as ‘special city’ on all government-related official documents. Seoul was officially referred as ‘Gyeongsung-bu’⁹ during the colonial period (1910-1945), and the city started to be called as ‘Seoul-si’ by Korean citizens only after the decolonisation of Korean peninsula by the force of US. The ‘-si’ attached after the name of ‘Seoul’ was derived by the language of US people who

⁹ 경성부 in Korean language.

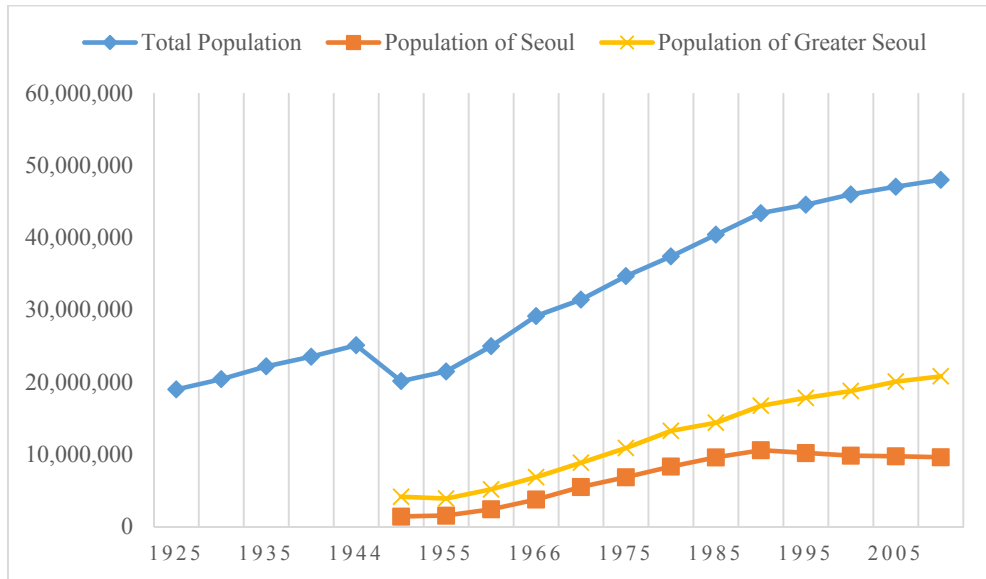
urban development. Even when redeveloping the war-torn damage of South Korea, Seoul was prioritised with the technique of Land Readjustment and Road Planning, beginning from the traditional city-centre area (Son, 2003a). After the 1961 coup d'état which led to Park Jung-Hee's dictatorial regime (1961-1979) coming to power, Yoon Tae-II who helped the coup as a former military was appointed as the 12th Mayor of Seoul (1961-1963). Yoon promoted Seoul to be even further autonomous by levelling out the position of Seoul's mayor to be same as ministries in central government, after winning the internal political conflict within the dictatorial regime (Son, 2005a: 119-120). This special treatment on Seoul lasted almost 30 years until the 1991 revision of Local Autonomy Law by the Roh Tae-Woo administration (1988-1993).

Yoon Chi-Yung was appointed as 13th Mayor of Seoul (1963-1966) and some urban development projects were undertaken under his supervision, such as construction of Yanghwa Bridge and Hannam Bridge. However, he did not particularly desire Seoul to accommodate the population influx occurred since 1950s, assuming that the concentrated population would break the balance of the nation (*ibid.*). In fact, the population influx originally initiated as an anti-colonialism movements since 1930s further escalated by post-war returnees especially toward Seoul (Sohn, 2003: 241). Moreover, urban-industrial development was driven only within Seoul and naturally the population was increasingly concentrated by the job seekers. As indicated at Figure 2, the population of Seoul's metropolitan area doubled from 1949 to 1970 and the growth has been quite constant even until 2010. Even there was a novel 'Seoul's Got No Vacancy' written by Lee Ho-Chul, which was serialised as 250-episodes at newspaper DongA-Ilbo from 1966 February.¹¹ Yoon's discontent concern of the reckless population growth even reached to President Park Jung-Hee and

¹¹ 서울은 만원이다 (이호철) in Korean language.

soon several preventive policies on population concentration were legislated (*ibid.*). Since this moment, the population controlling measures played important roles, even influencing the later stages of Gangnam development.

**Figure 3. Total Population of South Korea, Seoul, and greater Seoul
(Seoul and Gyunggi Province) (Source: KOSIS, 2010)**



Partial reason of the spatial congestion toward Seoul is because the boundary of Seoul ended at Han-river until 1962. Gangnam (literally southern part of Han-river) area was at then not even administratively incorporated to Seoul and it was mostly barren mountain or agricultural area. Whole population of the entire region of Gangnam was a few thousands only (Son, 2003a). Only from 1963, the area of Seoul dramatically expanded, covering 605km² increased from 275km². Even so, Gangnam area was not given its own districts' name: current Gangnam District was referred as a part of Seongdong District and current Seocho District was referred as a part of Yeongdeungpo District (Son, 2003c).

Moreover, there were constant occasions of floods covering 1800-2000 metres southward, until Han-river Dike Road and Soyang Dam were constructed by early-1970s. Kim Hyun-Ok who was 14th Mayor of Seoul (1966-1970) played a key role when developing Han-river Dike Road,

although Son (2003a) observed him as being unintentional on expanding the Han-river developmental plan toward development of Gangnam area. Nevertheless, the Han-river Development Project was launched on 22nd of September 1967, mainly focusing on building dike roads covering 74km on both southern and northern borders. The dike road constructions completed in 1970 was a key factor letting the development of Gangnam possible. The construction of Soyang Dam was another major factor because it was the first multipurpose dam containing 2.9 billion tons of reservoir water at maximum, which made the flood-control possible (*ibid.*).¹² This dam began construction work from 1968 and was completed in 1972. The cost was covered by the 300 million dollars of grants and 200 million dollars of loan both from Japan, which was stipulated in the (South) Korea-Japan Treaty signed in 1965 (*ibid.*).

In the meantime, Seoul's city government invented large revenue sources for any public or private organisations which were politically connected, by Public Waters Reclamation Act¹³ legislated in 1962, letting the organisations to implement the reclamation project and sell the newly generated land. The ostensible reason for this legislation was to cover the cost for civil engineering megaprojects such as Soyang Dam (Son, 2003c). The main beneficiaries of the act were as followings: 1) a public enterprise Korea Water Resources Corporation which developed Ichon-dong and Seobinggo-dong¹⁴ from 1967; 2) a private enterprise Hyundai Engineering & Construction which developed Apgujeong-dong from 1969; 3) an associate company invested by Sambu Engineering, Hyundai Engineering &

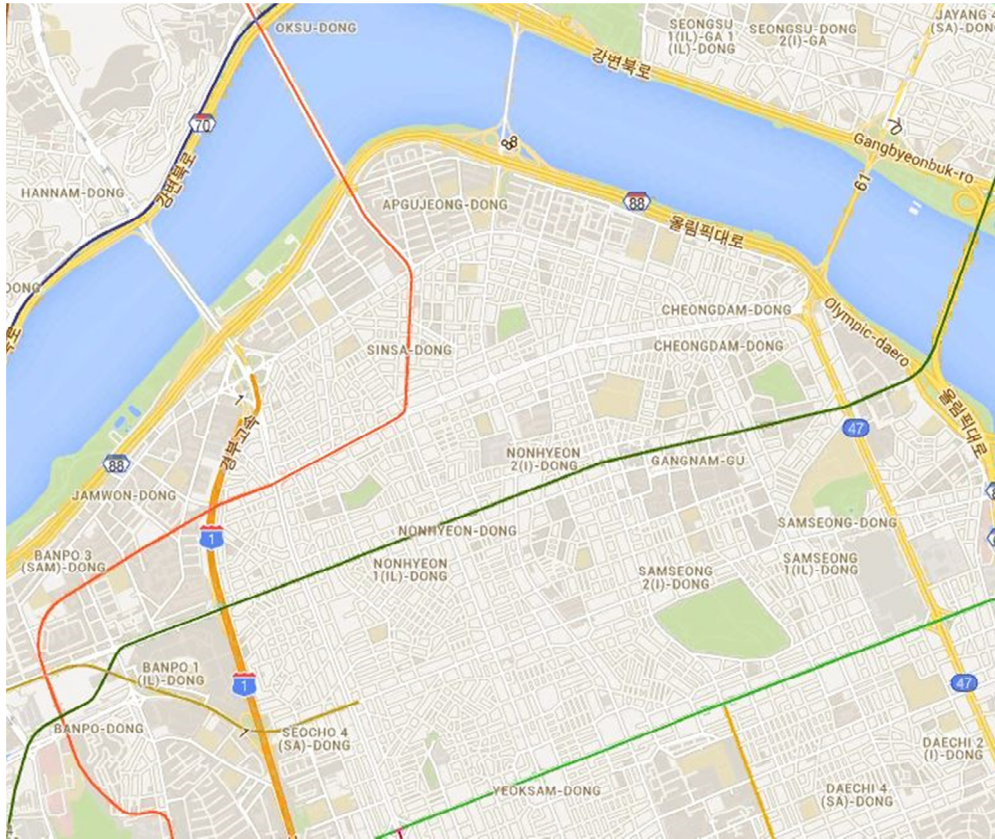
¹² There were five other dams at then, but they were all utilised as hydroelectric power plants.

¹³ 공유수면매립법 in Korean language.

¹⁴ ‘-dong’ is administrative unit which is smaller than ‘-gu’ (district).

Construction, and Daelim Industrial Company¹⁵, namely Gyunggin Development which developed Banpo-dong and Jamwon-dong in 1970. Those abovementioned areas are all attractive regarded ones in Gangnam, which brought about large sum of revenue for the developers to be construction ‘Chaebols’.

Figure 4. Bridges and the ‘Gangnam area’ (Source: Google Map)¹⁶



There is one more factor other than civil engineering works and governmental policies favouring some organisations which was conducive to the development of Gangnam; it was the Cold War context. The experience of Korean War was frighteningly vivid for the citizens residing in 1960s Seoul and the popular discourse concerning the way to flee in case

¹⁵ These three companies were the largest engineering companies in 1960s South Korea.

¹⁶ From left side, first bridge is Hannam Bridge, second one is Dongho Bridge, third one is Seongsu Bridge, fourth one is Yeongdong Bridge, and fifth one is Cheongdam Bridge.

of another war widely prevailed (Son, 2003c). In this context, 13th Mayor Yoon Chi-Yung launched a project of Hannam Bridge construction in 1966 to provide additional bridge to cross Han-river, while only two bridges (Hangang Bridge and Gwangjin Bridge) were present. During the construction of Hannam Bridge, the Ministry of Construction insisted that the width of the bridge should be wider than North Korean Pyongyang's 25m-wide bridge, so the width of Hannam Bridge decided to be 26m (*ibid.*). This construction project was completed in 1969 and later the bridge was connected to Gyeongbu Motorway, which is displayed with a colour of lighter orange between Singsa-dong and Jamwon-dong at Figure 4, paving the way toward Gangnam Development Project.

Furthermore, there was a guerrilla attack from thirty-one North Korean spies in 1968 and the entire nation was shocked, especially by a captive man's statement claiming to come to South Korea "to cut the head of Park Jung-Hee". Only nine months later within the same year of 1968, there was another North Korean guerrilla attack, and at this time the number of spies were 120. This second attack left even more severe traumatic experience for South Korean citizens, causing death toll of forty people and injury of thirty including civilians at South Korean-side. In 1969 President Park Jung-Hee defined the year of 1969 as 'the year of fighting and construction' at his New Year's speech, and 14th Mayor Kim Hyun-Ok who wanted to make a good impression to the president soon announced Seoul Fortification Project on 7th of January 1969 (Son, 2005a). The project entailed two tunnelling works of Namsan (literally south mountain), which completed by August 1970. Together with Hannam Bridge discussed earlier, the tunnels provided the connection of traditional city-centre with Gangnam area.

The surge of Gangnam development took the decisive juncture when the construction of Gyeongbu Motorway was launched in 1967. This decision of the megaproject was solely made by President Park Jung-Hee,

after visiting West Germany and witnessed Autobahn in 1964. Son's (2003c) remark is that the president was deeply inspired by a speech asserting that the construction of Autobahn was the keystone of West Germany's economic success, which made by Chancellor Ludwig Wilhelm Erhard on 9th of December 1964. Right after the re-election of President Park Jung-Hee in 1967, the decision of the megaproject was made and the entire construction was completed in July 1970. This megaproject is regarded to be the largest scale civil engineering accomplishment in South Korean history even until now; the total length of the motorway was 428km from Seoul to Busan and the motorway comprises 32 long-bridges, 273 short-bridges, and twelve tunnels. This installation which required 9 million citizens' labour and 77 lives (*ibid.*: 87) also transformed the geographical relationship of the national territory, further accelerating the population concentration toward large metropolises.

The decision of Gyeongbu Motorway's starting point to be southern edge of Hannam Bridge was made in December 1967, and now the authority realised the necessity of the land readjustment of Gangnam area in order to provide enough space for the construction (*ibid.*). After then, the land readjustment project expanded its scope toward 1st and 2nd Yeongdong District, indicating areas of currently Gangnam and Seocho District. Land price of areas announced to be the targets of the land readjustment naturally increased, because the readjustment project clearly shows the prospect of further development. Moreover, Yang Taek-Sik, who was 15th Mayor of Seoul (1970-1974), declared that the core of Gangnam developmental plan was to be around Samseong-dong, Hak-dong, Cheongdam-dong, and Apgujeong-dong at the press conference.

Table 6. Land value of Gangnam 1963-1979,

average land price level in 1963 being adjusted to be 100

(Source: Korea Land Development, 1980, retrieved from Son, 2003c:

159)

<i>Years</i>	<i>Hak-dong</i>	<i>Apgujeong-dong</i>	<i>Sinsa-dong</i>
1963	300	400	400
1964	1,000	1,000	1,000
1965	2,000	2,000	2,000
1967	3,000	3,000	3,000
1968	3,000	3,000	5,000
1969	5,000	5,000	10,000
1970	6,000	10,000	20,000
1971	10,000	15,000	20,000
1972	10,000	15,000	30,000
1973	15,000	15,000	30,000
1974	70,000	50,000	70,000
1975	100,000	70,000	100,000
1976	150,000	100,000	150,000
1977	150,000	100,000	150,000
1978	250,000	250,000	250,000
1979	400,000	350,000	400,000

Speculative practice of real-estate purchase boomed from late-1960s throughout 1970s. The land price constantly increased as displayed at table 6, which was the phenomena called ‘Maljukgeori Mythology’¹⁷. Son (2003c: 160) discusses the reasons of this mythological phenomena as followings: 1) the original land price of Gangnam was lower than other pre-developed area; 2) the Gangnam is relatively closer to traditional city-centre; 3) citizens still feared from North Korean attack even until 1980s, so southern area of Seoul was preferred; 4) the land readjustment project was swiftly completed; 5) there were some fiscal assists for Gangnam developers; 6) 9 million pyöngs

¹⁷ 말죽거리 신화 in Korean language.

of the land was unimaginably vast¹⁸; and 7) there were several entailing attractions, such as metro line penetration, express bus terminal installation, public organisations' relocation, and designation of Gangnam's 8th school group. There were several policies to repress the reckless soaring of land price, but evidently above they were not effective to settle the price.

There were several urban engineering policy measures endorsing Gangbuk's (literally northward of the river) population to shift toward Gangnam area, during early-1970s. The first policy was to build public officials' residences at Gangnam, specifically at Nonhyeon-dong¹⁹. In fact, twelve humble apartment buildings for public officials were constructed in 1971 and 1,400 apartment buildings were provided for newly arriving citizens. These apartments were unexpectedly popular, and basic features of urban landscape started to be installed (Son, 2003c). Second policy was to define the Gangnam area to be development-promoted district, being stipulated since 1973 until 1978, which guaranteeing many taxation benefits for the ones who purchased land and developed buildings (*ibid.*). While this policy was in effect Gangnam area was more administratively trimmed, giving the administrative unit of Gangnam'-gu' (district) and 11 'dongs'. Third policy was to repress the development of northern part of Seoul. On 8th of February 1972, 15th mayor Yang Taek-Sik announced prohibition to establish commercial businesses such as hotel, bar, or department store, ostensibly to discourage lavish practice of citizens in city-centre area (*ibid.*: 169). After this announcement, relevant legislation followed to define traditional city-centre area to be 'some-specific-facilities-limit district' in December 1972. Moreover in 1975, 16th Mayor of Seoul Goo Ja-Chun, prohibited to change purpose of the land in northern part of Seoul, further

¹⁸ 'Pyŏng' is distinctive Korean measurement to scale the land. A Pyŏng is 3.954 square-yards or 3.3059m² in western measure.

¹⁹ This area was called 'Hak-dong' in 1970s.

repressing the development of Gangbuk. Naturally, owners of many commercial facilities moved their business to Gangnam, also being assisted with the taxation benefit mentioned earlier.

Those abovementioned Gangbuk-suppressing-Gangnam-promoting policies were further driven during the period of 16th Mayor Goo Ja-Chun's governance (1974-1978). In the same year of his appointment, the assassination attempt targeting President Park Jung-Hee occurred, on 15th of August 1974²⁰, and the Cold War ideology was further fostered on governmental agenda. President Park often ordered to the administration bodies that the population of Seoul and South Korea should be more balanced, "southwardly" in particular, without further increasing Seoul's population (*ibid.*: 300). In this context, new Urban Planning Director-General of Seoul, namely Kim Hyung-Man, tossed out an idea of Three Nuclei City Plan of Seoul to Mayor Goo, who enjoyed full confidence by the president and therefore politically strong decision-maker, although Kim's idea was derived from wrong interpretation of 'Multiple Nuclei Theory' advanced by Harris and Ullman (1945). Kim Hyung-Man (1977) argued that the three nuclei would locate at traditional city-centre area to be central administrative function, near-Yeouido area as a linkage to southwestern industrial area, and finally Gangnam area to be newly developed civic-centre respectively. His idea of new civic-centre development entailed relocation of 'secondary'-government offices such as National Office of Tax Administration, secondary-schools and high-schools, trade-centre, sports stadiums, and other nation-wide transport-related facilities (Kim, 1977).

The idea of Three Nuclei City Plan of Seoul was actively promoted, and the first policy action was to develop circular metro line (currently line number 2) linking all three nuclei, which started construction in 1978 and

²⁰ The original attempt ended up failure, but instead the president's wife Yuk Young-Soo was sniped.

completed in 1984. Secondly, spectacular buildings were developed around the line where the circular metro passes at later stage, including the ones in city-centre, Gwangjin District, Jamsil-Lotte-World, and Jamsil-Sports-Complex. The most notable spectacular along the line of the metro were actually at Tehran Street in Gangnam. To name a few spectacles on Tehran Street, there are COEX, POSCO Building, Keungil-Tower, Gangnam Finance-Centre, Renaissance Hotel, commercial area around Gangnam Metro Station. Along with this developmental current of Gangnam, there was an initiative of the mayor that 112 governmental institutions shall follow to locate in Gangnam area, but this plan was terminated since from 1967 President Park's preference on way of population engineering shifted toward developing satellite cities (Son, 2003c: 334). However, some governmental offices did move to Gangnam by next dictatorial regime's decision; most notably the biggest public enterprise Korea Electric Power Corp moved to Samseong-dong in 1986, ASEM Trade-Centre which is important for trading companies also moved to Samseong-dong in 1988, and Judiciary Complex originally locating at traditional city-centre gradually moved Seocho-dong since late-1980s (Joongang-Ilbo, 1980; Han, 2013; Lim & Oh, 2015).

Third policy was to install express bus terminal which completed in 1976, aggregating sparsely located bus terminals into a single square at Gangnam, specifically at Banpo-dong. The bus companies could not show objections, since they were all threatened of operational suspension by the government if disobeying (Son, 2003c: 304). Forth policy measure to actualise the Three Nuclei City Plan of Seoul was to relocate prestigious high-schools to Gangnam, which was mostly located at traditional city-centre area at then. The first initiative was taken in 1972 by Minister of Culture & Education and the mayor assisted the initiative from 1975. However, there was severe resistance of alumni communities, in particular Alumni Association of Kyunggi High-school. Actually, the Kyunggi High-

school was the most significant one among those prestigious high-schools, being established from 1900 by a royal order of Korean Empire's Emperor Gojong. Eventually a compromise, transforming the original school building to a library rather than the total demolition, made the relocation possible and Kyunggi High-school moved to Samseong-dong at Gangnam in 1976. After this occasion, other prestigious high-schools followed the way of Kyunggi High-school moving to Gangnam area and also some schools were newly established in Gangnam (*ibid.*).

Furthermore, some cultural facilities were established in Gangnam since early-1980s. National Library of Korea, which originally located in city-centre area since 1924, initially moved to Namsan in 1974 during the political land transacting procedure to Lotte Group and next dictator President Chun Doo-Hwan (1980-1988) permitted the relocation of the library to Banpo-dong in Gangnam in 1980 (Son, 2003b).²¹ The 5th South Korean president's popular agenda was to hold 1988 Olympic in Seoul, and the decision to establish Seoul Arts Centre was made to 'look good' to foreign visitors (*ibid.*). The construction work of the arts centre was carried out from 1988 to 1993 and it is located at Seocho-dong. In addition, some semi-commercial and semi-cultural, therefore being judged as 'fancy', areas were organically formulated around Gangnam. Garosu-gil (literally tree-lined street or boulevard) at Sinsa-dong was evolved in early-1990s as a street where young artists dwell and work, and now it has become one of a representative tourist attraction in Gangnam District (Lee, *et al.*, 2011). On the other hand in in Seocho-District, Seorae Village known as French village in Seoul exists as an exotic spectacle, which spontaneously established to the Gangnam when movement of Lycée Français de Séoul from Hannam-dong occurred (Jung, 2011). The most luxuriously regarded spectacle areas are Cheongdam-dong and Apgujeong-dong which formulated from early-

²¹ The relocation of the National Library of Korea was completed in 1988.

1990s, as a survey shows that words of ‘well-polished’, ‘young’, ‘rich’, and ‘consumer-culture’ likely represent the area (Shim & Han, 2006). The distinctive characteristics of the Cheongdam-dong and Apgujeong-dong area are as followings: 1) the area is near to luxurious apartment complexes; 2) the area is far from metro-station, so that possession of car is required²²; 3) luxurious departments stores (Galleria Department Store and Hyundai Department Store) and Luxury Street are located at near; and 4) shops at the area do not show specific functions, so only limited number of customers who are already familiar to the place can utilise the shops (*ibid.*). Those facilities and ‘fancy’ areas are all contributing factors making Gangnam as a spectacular space with aristocratic nuance.

Apart from fair geographical condition, favoured transport facilities, soared land price, location of prestigious high-schools, and distribution of aristocratic facilities, there is another key component making Gangnam distinctively spectacle; sprawling apartment buildings (or condominium, terminology ‘apartment’ is stated downward). In fact, apartment dwellings are more preferred over single-family dwellings among South Korean citizens, according to 2007 survey reporting that 68.9 percent of people prefer purchasing apartment dwellings to other types of residence (Kookmin Bank, 2008). Thus, the mythological advent of Gangnam cannot be explained without discussion on the apartments. In my opinion, this exotic South Korean preference is generally the result of relatively short time-frame of urban development due to rapid economic growth, and aspiration to catch up ‘western’ model as discussed at earlier section. In fact, even early 1900s western dwellings were only for upper-class citizens, and there was a popular discourse among literate citizens (therefore opinion leaders’) to catch up advanced western countries’ civilisation since even before 1900s (Sohn, 2003; Kim J.-T., 2011). Generally in contemporary South Korean

²² A metro-station ‘Apgujeong Rodeo’ has been established only since 2013.

society, the meaning of apartments carries investment value as real-estate assets and symbolic value displaying wealth at the same time (Jun, 2009).

Although there were ‘Yo’ for blue-collar labourers and there were Mikuni Apartments and Yurim Apartments (Toyota Apartments) for white-collar labourers during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), but those dwellings were not for Korean citizens’ usage (Son, 2005b; Jun, 2009). Apartment was almost unknown to South Korean general public until 1950s and even regarded as dubious whether it was comfortable enough to reside (Jun, 2009). Although there were housing provision led by foreign finance such as United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency in 1950s (Sohn, 2003: 242), building apartments were preferred governmental policy to alleviate the serious urban overpopulation after the Korean War (Son, 2005b). Even the 1st President Rhee Syngman-Man (1948-1960) spoke to ministries that apartments had to be sufficiently built even if the citizens were unwilling to reside in (Jun, 2009). Joongang Apartment was built at Jung-district (city-centre area) in 1956, and Korean Housing Management Foundation was established to design future housing scheme: building more apartments. Jongam apartments were built at Sungbuk-district in 1958, by effort of the foundation.

Part Jung-Hee’s administration further pushed to build the apartments; Mapo Apartments started to be constructed even only 5 months after the coup d’état. The construction was led by Korea National Housing Corporation, which was formerly Korean Housing Management Foundation. President Park attended the ceremony of construction completion in 1962, and gave a speech that the Mapo apartments were the symbol of revolutionary modernisation of the nation (Jun, *et al.*, 2008). In fact, the Korea National Housing Corporation ideologised the apartment constructions as if they accomplished a leading role in the context of Cold War regime (Son, 2005b). The government and the corporation mobilised opinion of the citizens, advertising the apartments’ safety and symbolic

value, and even a television show was produced. By this governmental effort, along with rising middle-class citizens in early 1970s and competency proving of construction companies, the consumption of apartments was quite invigorated (Jun, 2009). In 1971, the government took a decision to build a skyscraper-apartment complex at Dongbu-Ichon-dong, and this apartment was meant to be consumed by middle-upper class citizens. Now the apartments were generally regarded as the one relatively more luxurious ‘western’ dwelling type (Son, 2003c). In fact, facilities installed in apartments, such as elevators, modern sewage system, flush toilet, central heating system, and emergency alarm, made the image of apartment-residence to be much more convenient (Jun, *et al.*, 2008).

As discussed earlier, Gangnam Development Project was actively promoted by the government in 1970s, after completion of Han-river Dike Road, Soyang Dam, several water reclamation projects, Hannam Bridge, and Gyeongbu Motorway. In this milieu, apartments were engineered to fill in the readjusted land of Gangnam, with a governmental legislation in 1967, preventing all other construction works at relevant areas in Gangnam (Son, 2003c: 311). Many private construction companies seized the opportunity to develop the areas with building apartments, and representative example was Hyundai Engineering & Construction which built luxurious Hyundai Apartment at Apgujeong-dong. This policy triggered constructions of various luxury apartment complexes to be built into the Gangnam area. Detailed information is enlisted at Son’s (2003c: 321-3) publication, specifically showing the construction scale, period, and responsible companies. Subsequently speculative apartments purchase followed after this development. Also there was large scaled apartment developmental project in Songpa District, but those apartments were humbler than those in Gangnam area. Ogino (2004: 126) presents that the apartments in Gangnam and Seocho were bigger and more luxurious than all the other areas, as shown in table 7.

**Table 7. Percentage of apartments with more than four rooms in a unit
by districts
(Source: Ogino, 2004: 126)**

District	Jongno/ Jung	Dobong/ Nowon	Seodaemun/ Eunpyeong	Gangseo/ Yangcheon	Gangdong/ Songpa	Gangnam/ Seocho
Year						
1980	4.2	6.2	4.3	31.7	31.7	59.9
1985	9.8	30.1	14.6	21.4	43.1	55.2
1990	23.7	46.9	51.7	64.6	57.8	73.9
1995	38.8	46.9	71.4	52.3	61.2	72.1

Furthermore, the promoted discourse in middle class residential areas from 1980s were urban renewal scheme legitimised as preparatory measure for 1988 Olympic, which took place at Jamsil Olympic Stadium in Gangnam area (Son, 2005b). With actualising the urban renewal scheme by the government only at Gangnam area, the disparity of Gangbuk and Gangnam widened even in terms of streets' appearance. By 1990s, derogatory sentiment of a word 'Gangbuk' was invented in South Korean popular discourse (Ahn, 2010). This disparity led to creation of dual-city along with press depiction of Gangnam's distinctiveness and political mobilisation of conservative parties (Lee, 2006).

Moreover, during the economic upturn in 1980s, the economic disparity of real-estate-have class and real-estate-have-not class escalated, mainly due to urban renewal scheme (Son, 2005b). In 1983, 'joint redevelopment method' was introduced, endorsing private companies to be associated into redevelopment project of old residential areas. The regulatory standard of redevelopment projects further lowered in 1993, and often-speculative gentrification of pre-existing apartments was intensified

(Sohn, 2003: 286). During this redeveloping process, the owners and companies all welcomed the visit of redevelopers, although low-income tenants were generally disadvantaged and mostly had to move out. Moreover there was the appearance of high-rise multi-purpose apartment complexes, typically featuring commercial shops at ground floors and residences (or offices) at higher floors. Among those residence-commerce apartments, the ones located at Dogok-dong in Gangnam are regarded as the most affluent (Cho, 2007).²³ Those apartments often are branded with western names such as Acroville, Tower Palace, and Trump World. Other apartments which were benefitted from redevelopment projects in Gangnam are also similarly branded. Jun (2009: 81) discusses that the nuanced expression of brand names show the upper-class citizens' way of distinction in South Korea. In this regard, Lett (1998: 114) reports that living in luxurious apartments in Gangnam is key condition to be contemporary South Korean middle-upper class citizens, compared to living in same condition elsewhere.

Those apartment complexes were designed as exclusive to 'others' from the beginning, beings inspired by Community Planning theory supported by 1980s Seoul's urban planners (Son, 2003c). Based on this theory, the citizens living in Gangnam apartments enjoyed comfortable life only within their neighbourhood units. It was not explicitly shown that most of apartment complexes were 'gated communities', but some boutique apartment complexes explicitly showed exclusive characteristics such as high walls and private security system, only allowing residents of the apartments to access. Those boutique ones were called 'Villa', which was a production of combined interests of housing developers and upper-class citizens' desire to be distinctive (Sohn, 2003). They were located at Cheongdam-dong, Seocho-dong, and Nonhyeon-dong in Gangnam. Sohn

²³ Currently the top-notch has been replaced to I-Park at Cheongdam-dong in Gangnam.

(2003: 283) reports that “those in the upper class desired distinction in architectural design and they wanted their neighbours to be from the same class so that high quality villas built by notable building companies enjoyed a great deal of popularity”. No matter the gate is implicit or explicit, those affluent residential communities’ dwellers share the feeling of exclusive “imagined community” ever since late-1980s (Kang, 2013). The membership of Gangnam’s imagined community further reinforced by power elite’s movement toward Gangnam. Kang (1989) reports that the 80 percent of celebrities dwelled in Gangbuk (literally northern part of the Han River) in 1970 but 54 percent of the celebrities dwelled in Gangnam in 1989. At later periods, Kim’s (2002) analysis on Joongang-Ilbo’s (a news agency) survey in 2001 shows that 48 percent of power-elites were concentrated in three Gangnam districts (Gangnam, Seocho, and Songpa administrative districts).

**Table 8. Power Elite’s Main Residential Area
(rearranged from Kim & Kang, 2011: 63)**

<p>Gangnam and Seocho administrative districts (Gangnam area)</p>	<p><i>Apgujeong (1)-dong</i>: 1st ranked for politicians, public officials, businessmen, educator, and within 10th ranked for all other professional clusters.</p> <p><i>Seocho (4)-dong</i>: 1st ranked for law professionals, and within 10th ranked for all other professional clusters.</p> <p><i>Yeojuido-dong</i>: 1st ranked for financial and medical professionals, and within 10th ranked for law professionals and others.</p> <p><i>Daechi (1)-dong</i>: within 10th ranked for politicians and artists</p> <p><i>Daechi (2)-dong</i>: within 10th ranked for politicians etc.</p> <p><i>Jamwon-dong</i>: within 10th ranked for public officials, law and medical professionals, educators, and</p>
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	<p>businessmen.</p> <p><i>Bangbae (3)-dong</i>: within 10th ranked for public officials, law professionals, educators, and artists.</p> <p><i>Banpo (4)-dong</i>: within 10th ranked for politicians and law professionals.</p> <p><i>Singsa-dong</i>: within 10th ranked for public officials, politicians, medical professionals.</p> <p><i>Banpo-dong</i>: within 10th ranked for educators, medical professionals, and artists.</p> <p><i>Jamsil (7)-dong</i>: within 10th ranked for businessmen and financial professionals.</p> <p><i>Banpo (1)-dong</i>: within 10th ranked for law professionals.</p> <p><i>Banpo (2)-dong</i>: within 10th ranked for artists.</p>
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Yim and Lee (2002) observe that the economic polarisation of real-estate-possessors and non-possessors even more seriously deepened after 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, mainly due to asset income inequality, i.e. rental income. Choi (2006) reveals that the heightened real-estate price benefitted citizens possessing the assets in Gangnam area after the financial crisis, administratively the ones in Gangnam District and Seocho District. Sun (2013) gives a critique that this economic impact after the financial crisis was due to Kim Dae-Jung administration's (1998-2003) policy package bulging real-estates' price; entailing various tax exemption, liberalisation of price-cap, deregulation of reselling practice, and advocating credit card-debt. The housing price recklessly soared, although successive Roh Moo-hyun administration (2003-2008) adopted real-estate price-related regulations such as Loan to Value (LTV) and Debt to Income (DTI). Although the bubble seems to be dangerously pumped, Lee Myung-Bak administration

(2008-2013) and Park Geun-Hye administration (2013-2018) still have pushed housing price to be heightened (Sun, 2013: 36-56). The most recent policy development of loosening LTV and DTI regulations decided by Park Geun-Hye administration seems to only benefit Gangnam dwellers, further widening the gap between Gangnam and Gangbuk (Hanguk Economy TV, 2014). In this context, the ones who are immensely disadvantaged are non-real-estate-possessors, considering that it is unimaginable to purchase a housing for them. In fact, housing purchase is a socially constructed criteria of 'successful life' among South Korean citizens, and the unaffordability of housing causes experiences of 'collective failed life' (Jun, 2009).

According to an analysis conducted by Choi and Cho (2005) on real-estate price and mobility of citizens in Gangnam, residential segregation or residential distinction of upper class' Gangnam has risen especially since 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. A statistical analysis conducted by Lee and Choi (2010) is also in line with the warning of dual city creation, showing the possibility of inter-generational wealth transfer through real-estate assets. In fact, asset disparity between non-Gangnam and Gangnam is far more serious than income disparity (*ibid.*). Also there is a 'soft' way of hierarchy carving mechanism, especially through media. Kim and Baek's (2008) text analysis shows that media discourses themed with 'severe competition', 'success', 'regional-blockage', 'aesthetic consumption', 'privilege', and 'invincible-Gangnam' prevail. In fact, this discourse production reinforces the hierarchical perception of citizens and awe-ness on citizens living in Gangnam. Cho (2007) discusses on the cutting-edge invention of 'smart' exclusion, featured at Tower Palace at Dogok-dong. Although Tower Palace (a residence-commerce apartment) is open to everyone who can 'afford' consumption in the commercial section of the complex, but residents' everyday spatial experience is around the limited community unit providing most of the necessary facilities in 'fancy' way (Cho, 2007).

There is a study on exclusive mental life of Gangnam citizens, conducted by Lee and Lee (2011). They report that Gangnam citizens' cognitive identity follows neither the administrative boundary nor the social perception of enviousness on them; there are tendencies that citizens dwelling in Gangnam District perceive the smallest geographical area confining only their residential area to be 'eligibly' called Gangnam area, while Seocho District dwellers incorporate eastern (affluent) part of Seocho District and Songpa District dwellers incorporate eastward up to their residential area into 'eligible' Gangnam area (Lee & Lee, 2011). This study shows that there are mental variation among citizens residing in Seocho District, Gangnam District, and Songpa District, which are generally regarded as 'three Gangnam districts' in South Korean discourse. The interview contents of the Lee and Lee's (2011) study is especially noteworthy: 1) long-term residents of Gangnam show their distinctiveness by non-material capitals such as academic status, job reputation, and "habitus" of cultural consumption; 2) and Songpa District's citizens are generally disregarded by most of the interviewee, not eligible to be 'real' Gangnam citizens. Prevailing South Korean discourse of crudely defining "Gangnam area" which is based on administrative boundary of Gangnam District, Songpa District, and Seocho District does not seem to reflect the distribution of upper class citizens.²⁴ The Gangnam area where socially

²⁴ In this regard there is a noteworthy interview contents derived in this research. The interviewee is a secondary-school teacher who worked in both a secondary-school in south-eastern area of Gangnam District and another in south-western area of Gangnam District.

"Q: Can you tell the difference between the A secondary-school (located in south-eastern area of Gangnam District) and B secondary-school (located in south-western area of Gangnam District)?

A: Yes. The difference... I find quite large difference although those schools are in same Gangnam District. The A secondary-school's wealth gap among pupils was wider, I feel. But here... it is actually easier to even conduct homeroom guidance.

Q: Do you remember parents' jobs in A secondary-school?

perceived rich ‘Gangnamers’ live is rather limited into eastern-bloc of Seocho District, western bloc and northern part of Gangnam District (*ibid.*), while rest of districts are filled with middle class citizens. Thus the terminology of “Gangnam area” in this research refers those areas only.

Abovementioned external and internal boundaries “produce” (Lefebvre, 1974) a social construct of Gangnam’s mythologised image. However it is a mythology that a certain geographical area gains higher position than other areas, from the fundamental sense. Built environment of cities is essentially an artefact, social construct and constellation of historical accumulation (Lefebvre, 1974). Historically all kinds of exclusive space occupancy caused certain ways of violation, only recent modern typed legal exclusion of space holds ideologised legitimacy not causing specific target of anger. There are many people inaccessible to the spectacle of Gangnam, suffering from the space’s centrifugality. However contradictorily for education affairs, because of the mythologised image, large amount of people willing to geographically access to Gangnam area, especially for educational purpose. People who can afford the fee for private after-schooling (Hakwon) let their children access to Gangnam’s spectacle, or sometimes some people who can afford housing (including rental) in Gangnam attempt to move in.

2.3. The Combined Currents of Commodified Instrumentalism and the Urban Spectacle

Henri Lefebvre (1968: 79) discusses that citizen’s everyday life has been constantly readjusted by capitalist intervention in meticulous detail, especially at spatial-temporal dimension. This meticulously colonising

A: There were not many people having “professional” jobs. Mostly, they were white-collar workers. But there was no one having real difficulty, there were white-collar workers or sometimes public school teachers.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-1)

capitalist ideology is the one producing the mythological space of Gangnam and stratifying education regime which influences the citizens' everyday lives. Gangnam's space has been branded as an area where spectacular consumption practice occurs, and this spectacular consumption includes the education service (Sohn, 2005: 175). Gangnam is also significant since there is a policy support structurally reproducing the special position on spatial hierarchy in South Korea, particularly in terms of the education. Ainsworth's (2002) review article on neighbourhood effects on educational achievement suggests theories such as collective socialisation, social control, social capital, perception of opportunity, and institutional characteristics. Those neighbourhood effects are all applicable in Gangnam in cross sectional point of view, but there is contextual singularity forming those effects over a long time.

The current of South Korean education regime's commodified instrumentalism is discussed at the first section of this chapter. It is notable that even once publicly regarded sector of education regime is influenced by the logic of commodity and hierarchy, setting the better quality education at legally higher ranked high-schools such as independent private high-schools and special-purpose high-schools. In addition apart from these high-schools, there are already existing prestigious ones in the Gangnam area. Those Gangnam's prestigious high-schools also mushroomed as historical-political invention, as giving an example of Kyunggi High-school in the earlier section.

Kim Hyun-Sook (2012: 91) notes an interview record conducted by Yoon Taek-Rim in 2011, as Kyunggi High-school which was at then most preferred one was politically decided to move toward Gangnam because the government had to satisfy mid-upper-class citizens' residing in Gangnam and graduates of the Kyunggi High-school. Also there were other high-schools which were compelled to move toward Gangnam by governmental intervention (*ibid.*). Whimoon High-school was moved to Daechi-dong in

1978, Seoul High-school was moved to Seocho-dong in 1980, and Kyunggi Women's High-school was moved to Gaepo-dong in 1988, all from city-centre area. Moreover, there were favourable policy measures to entice establishment of high-schools in the Gangnam area: 1) considerable amount of governmental subsidy for construction; 2) total coverage of the cost for land levelling, road development, and sewage installation by Seoul City Government; 3) lowering the price of the land which originally secured for public purpose and even the price of privately owned land was lowered by the government's active measures; and 4) various tax-benefits. Chungshin Women's High-school voluntarily moved to Jamsil-dong in 1978, and later Sookmyung Women's High-school followed in 1984 to Dogok-dong along with Joongdong High-school in 1984 to Irwon-dong. All those shifted high-schools expanded its sites and were filled with new facilities. Also the teachers who worked at those high-schools were all regarded as outstanding, especially the ones teaching at Kyunggi High-school as Kim Hyun-Sook (2012: 121) reports. The movements of those prestigious high-schools were significant, since South Korean citizens vividly knew that the performances of the schools were beyond comparison to others, in particular Kyunggi High-school and Seoul High-school.

**Table 9. Number of pupils entering Seoul National University
by high-schools²⁵**

(Source: newspapers and magazines arranged by Ogino, 2004: 47)

	<i>1962</i>		<i>1969</i>		<i>1973</i>		<i>1976</i>	
1	Kyunggi	252	Kyunggi	359	Kyunggi	380	Kyunggi	498
2	Seoul	144	Seoul	233	Seoul	264	Seoul	335
3	Kyung-	126	Kyung-	208	Kyung-	237	Kyungbok	284

²⁵ The names high-schools which later moved toward Gangnam area was bolded.

	bok		bok		bok			
4	SNU- attached	75	Kyunggi (girls')	156	Busan	183	Busan	170
5	Kyung- buk	69	Busan	144	Kyunggi (girls')	157	Kyungbuk	153
6	Kyung- nam	60	Kyung- buk	143	Kyung- nam	130	Kyunggi (girls')	149
7	Yong- -san	59	Kyung- nam	112	Joong-ang	127	Joongang	105
8	Kyung- gi (girls')	59	Jeonju	110	Kyung- buk	102	Yongsan	103
9	Daejun	48	Gwangju- il	109	Gwangjuil	101	Gwangjuil	98
10	Busan	46	Daejun	98	Yongsan	100	Jeonju	96

Those abovementioned high-schools' prestige was constantly reproduced by following mechanisms: 1) movements toward Gangnam area of affluent families and their children enter those high-schools; 2) those pupils perform relatively better than other regions' pupils with various familial support or private education; 3) and the pupils' performance resulted in successful acquisition of prestigious academic clique. This historical-political invention of Gangnam's prestigious high-schools are at large extent due to 'area-based selection system' of pupils for high-school entrance.²⁶ This system was legislated along with abolition of high-school-administered exams in 1973 by Park Chung-Hee administration, and since then the high-schools' quality were influenced by the surrounding areas' overall affluence even until now

²⁶ 학군제 in Korean language.

(Son, 2003c: 351). In Seoul, the adoption of area-based selection system was fully established in 1980, so the university entering pupils from 1983 were the ones who started to be influenced by the neighbourhood effect²⁷. Ogino (2004: 56-58) shows the emerging prestigious high-schools in Gangnam due to neighbourhood effect since 1983, replacing traditional top-ranked high-schools in proceeding pupils to Seoul National University. Apart from those traditionally prestigious high-schools which moved to Gangnam, some other high-schools in Gangnam occupied the top-10 list.

**Table 10. Number of pupils entering Seoul National University
by high-schools (1984-1986)²⁸**

(Source: newspapers and magazines arranged by Ogino, 2004: 58)

	1984		1985		1986	
1	Youngdong	78	Youngdong	69	Kyunggi	74
2	Kyunggi	74	Kyunggi	64	Jinjudongmyung	57
3	Daesung	66	Seorabul	58	Sangmun	54
4	Jinjudaesa	66	Jinju	57	Whimoon	52
5	Baemun	64	Sangmun	50	Seoul	51
6	Daewon	63	Seoul	48	Junjusangsan	48
7	Seorabul	59	Jinjudongmyung	47	Daewon	46
8	Sangmun	58	Whimoon	45	Gangneung	46
9	Gangneung	57	Baemun	44	Jinju	41
10	Daeil	56	Jejujail/Ohyun	42	Yeouido/Sunchun	40

²⁷ The adoption of the area-based selection system took a gradual process. In Seoul and Busan the adoption took place from 1974 and completed in 1980. However, the developments in some other regions were quite contingent according to local politics of municipal governments. Even there are some municipal governments which abolished the area-based selection system in early-2000s.

²⁸ The names of high-school located in Gangnam and Seocho are bolded. Art high-schools are exempted.

Table 11. Number of pupils entering Yonsei University by high-schools (1984-1986)²⁹ (Source: newspapers and magazines arranged by Ogino, 2004: 58)

	1984		1985		1986	
1	Kyungsung	87	Youngdong	95	Kyunggi	77
2	Kyunggi	78	Seoul	82	Seoul	75
3	Daesung	74	Kyunggi	75	Kyungsung	62
4	Yoeuido	69	Sangmun	72	Daesung	60
5	Chungam	67	Whimoon	72	Youngdong	57
6	Hansung	61	Chungam	63	Sangmun	56
7	-	-	Yoeuido	63	Whimoon	54
8	-	-	-	-	Yoeuido	54

Table 12. Number of pupils entering Korea University by high-schools (1984-1986) (Source: newspapers and magazines arranged by Ogino, 2004: 58)³⁰

	1984		1985		1986	
1	Daewon	87	Seoul	95	Seoul	77
2	Seoul	78	Hwanil	82	Sangmun	75
3	Youngdong	74	Kyunggi	75	Hwanil	62
4	Daesung	69	Suwonyooshin	72	Whimoon	60
5	Sangmun	67	Joongang	72	Kyunggi	57
6	Kyungbok	61	Youngdong	63	Seorabul	56

²⁹ The names of high-school located in Gangnam and Seocho are bolded. Art high-schools are exempted.

³⁰ The names of high-school located in Gangnam and Seocho are bolded. Art high-schools are exempted.

7	-	-	-	-	Chungam	54
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The law has been slightly revised since 2010 to be ‘larger area-based selection system’.³¹ Now every pupil in Seoul is able to apply to any high-school in Seoul for their first preference, then as the second preference the pupils should choose a high-school within relevant area-based unit. The local education office endorses 20 percent of pupils from the first preference and 40 percent of pupils from the second preference to each high-school. However, the rest of 40 percent of pupils are randomly allocated according to their residential proximity to high-schools. A South Korean daily Hankyoreh (2010) expects this decision would increase the real-estates’ price of neighbouring areas of Gangnam.

Along with the nuanced development of high-school’s new hierarchy from 1973, legally designed quality high-schools emerged in 1998, namely ‘special-purpose high-schools’ (‘foreign language high-schools’ and ‘science high-schools’). The background of this policy decision to meet affluent clients’ needs by Kim Dae-Jung administration (1998-2003) was mentioned at the first section of this chapter. The most recent development on the hierarchy is the introduction of ‘independent private high-schools’, which was formally established in 2010. They are not subsidised from the government, and instead they independently govern the schools by tuition fee (often much higher than others) from the pupils. Actually they have performed far better than other public high-schools, although the performance of some Gangnam public high-schools such as Kyunggi High-school is still relatively good.

Table 13. Ranking of high-schools by number of admissions to Seoul National University³² (Source: Veritas-Alpha, 2012, 2013, 2014)

³¹ 광역학군제 in Korean language.

³² Those public high-schools in this table are the ones in highest position among public

2013		
<i>Ranking</i>	<i>High-school's name</i>	<i>Category</i>
1	Seoul Science	Special high-school for talented
2	Seoul Arts	Special purposed high-school
3	Daewon Foreign Language	Special purposed high-school
4	Kyunggi Science	Special high-school for talented
5	Sangsan	Independent private high-school
6	Hankuk Academy of Foreign Studies	Independent private high-school
7	Hana	Independent private high-school
8	Korea Minjok Leadership Academy	Independent private high-school
9	Sejong Science	Special purposed
10	Dae-Il Foreign Language	Special purposed high-school
15	Whimoon ³³	Public high-school (at Gangnam)
2014		
1	Daewon Foreign Language	Special purposed high-school
2	Hankuk Academy of Foreign Studies	Independent private high-school
3	Seoul Science	Special high-school for talented
4	Kyunggi Science	Special high-school for talented
5	Seoul Arts	Special purposed high-school

high-schools, and they are all located in Gangnam area.

³³ Whimoon High-school transitioned to independent private high-school since 2011. The graduates in 2013 are the ones who entered in 2010 when the school was still in the category of public high-schools.

6	Hana	Independent private high-school
7	Sangsan	Independent private high-school
8	Sejong Science	Special purposed high-school
9	Korea Minjok Leadership Academy	Independent private high-school
10	Korea Science Academy of KAIST	Special high-school for talented
24	Kyunggi	Public high-school (at Gangnam)
2015		
1	Seoul Arts	Independent private high-school
2	Daewon Foreign Language	Special purposed high-school
3	Kyunggi Science	Special high-school for talented
4	Hankuk Academy of Foreign Studies	Independent private high-school
5	Hana	Independent private high-school
6	Seoul Science	Special high-school for talented
7	Sangsan	Independent private high-school
8	Korea Minjok Leadership Academy	Independent private high-school
9	Sejong Science	Special purposed high-school
10	Myungduk Foreign Language	Special purposed high-school
26	Sookmyung Girls'	Public high-school (at Gangnam)

According to Son Nak-Gu's (2010: 76-81) research, public high-schools' pupils from households residing in the most expensive Gangnam area achieved 28 out of 1,000 entrances to Seoul National University, and ones living in second most expensive Seochon achieved that of 22, and ones in third most expensive Songpa achieved 12, in average within 2005-2008. Contrastingly, poor neighbourhood areas such as Eunpyeong District, Gangbuk District, and Jungnang District averagely achieved 6 entrances to Seoul National University within 2005-2008.

If only considering special-purpose high-schools (foreign language and science high-schools), which are taken up by pupils from Gangnam area by large extent, there were 735 entrances to Seoul National University, 302 entrances to KAIST, 1,719 entrances to Yonsei University, and 1,593 entrances to Korea University, among 7,646 graduates within 2004-2006 (*ibid.*). Those special-purpose high-schools and newly emerged independent private high-schools dominate the arena of university entrance competition. In this context, there are reports that entrance of foreign language high-schools is dominated by secondary-schools located in Gangnam area (Lee, 2009: 13; *ibid.*: 81; Kim Y.-C, 2012; SBS, 2015)³⁴. In this sense, not to mention South Korean high-schools are de facto stratified on a hierarchy, the space of Gangnam features a special position in high-school entrance as well.

It seems parents' various efforts including private investment to put pupils into elite-track are a matter of vast importance. In this sense the parents in Gangnam, specifically 'Gangnam mums', hold nation-wide symbolic significance. Even there are some books, giving detailed guidelines to imitate what Gangnam mums do (Hwang, 2006; Kim, 2013). It

³⁴ Currently the regional distribution of special purpose high-schools and private independent high-schools are unknown in exact number, since it is illegal to survey the pupils' residential area by schools for the purpose of anti-discrimination.

is understandable that parents in the Gangnam area are more information-apt and relatively closer to academia. Son's (2010: 71) analysis on Seoul shows a tendency that rich (i.e. top 20 percent of income) and real-estates' owners are most likely to be conferred of tertiary or even higher level educational achievement (Master or PhD). Moreover, the ten villages ('-dongs') where tertiary academic achievement are most concentrated are in districts of Gangnam, Seocho, and Songpa with an exception of a village in Yeoeuido (Son, 2010: 72). Choi (2004) presciently anticipated the formation of 'gated city', transferring the educational capital of parents' generation to children's generation in Gangnam area, where education-wisely favourable environment and wealth are simultaneously and exclusively reproduced, although the analysis was based on a bit outmoded data.

Among many factors conducive to producing a favourable surrounding for education, an important factor shall be the geographical location of private after-schools. In fact good private after-schools are concentrated into Gangnam area, especially on After-school Street at Daechi-dong.³⁵ Lee (2009) studied on characteristics of private after-schools in Gangnam and how those after-schools became particularly concentrated in Gangnam through various documents reviewing and interviews. According to his study, it is true that many pupils from other regions in South Korea and even from abroad attend private after-schools' lectures in person, especially during the holiday seasons (*ibid.*: 16-17). In fact, development of information technology allows internet-access toward lectures conducted by the teachers in Gangnam private after-schools, but it seems that still there are considerable amount of attenders in person at those after-schools. The interview records in Lee's (2009) study gives a hint of formulation process of the after-school street as following procedures are commonly found: 1) middle or upper-class citizens move into Gangnam

³⁵ 대치동 학원가 in Korean language.

area during the Gangnam developmental era since 1970s; 2) those affluent citizens hire personal tutors for their children's education; 3) the tutors gain popularity by letting the pupils' successful entrance to prestigious universities, so the demand of those tutors' lectures grows; and 4) either affluent family member or the tutors launch after-school businesses.

Also, there are some testimonies that some relatively affluent families hire famous teachers to give personal tutoring or group-tutoring (*ibid.*: 83-89). This exclusive possession of education service is distinctive strategy of affluent Gangnam parents. It is illegal if the tutors are school teachers, unregistered to local education offices (with an exception of university students), or use a certain building as if the tutoring is similar to after-schooling business. However it is difficult to arrest those conducts, since the tutors are mostly paid by cash making the whole transaction difficult to track and the parents do not want to charge the good tutors who would enhance the children's performance. Table 13 shows distribution of the number of public high-schools pupils entering Seoul National University per 10,000 by districts in 2011, featuring Gangnam and Seocho far greater than others. Table 14 shows distribution of the pupils including special-purpose high-schools entering Seoul National University in three-year's term.

Table 14. Number of public high-school pupils (per 10,000) entering Seoul National University by districts in 2011 (Source: Kim Y.-C, 2012:

5)

Gangnam	Seocho	Gang-dong	Songpa	Yongsan	Yangcheon
173	150	74	66	65	60
Jongno	Gwang-jin	Gang-seo	Nowon	Gangbuk	Seodaemun
57	55	52	52	49	42

Eun-pyeong	Seong-buk	Dong-jak	Mapo	Yeongdeungpo	Dongdaemun
38	36	35	28	27	27
Jungnang	Dobong	Jung	Seongdong	Gwanak	Geumcheon
26	26	23	23	22	18
Guro					
18					

Table 15. Percentages of pupils entering Seoul National University from each categories of high-school in three-year's term (Source: Kim Y.-C, 2012: 5)

<i>Year</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2005</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2011</i>
Special-purpose (%)	26.3	22.8	28.5	31.5	40.5
Gangnam, Seocho, Songpa (%)	32.7	33.4	30.7	27.4	25.2
All others (%)	41	43.6	40.7	41.1	34.3

3. Research Design

Discussions on historical-institutional trait (commodified instrumentalism) of South Korean education regime, and political invention of Gangnam, and combined effect of skewed wealth and educational performance are presented thus far. There have been considerable amounts of academic literatures sharing similar concern to this research, especially in the disciplines of urban sociology, urban planning, social geography, social

policy, and pedagogics. Probably the most overlapping study to this research shall be Ogino's (2004) comparative discussion on South Korean characteristics featured at Gangnam developmental project and Japanese developmental experience. However, her study does not put focus on the frontline phenomenon of hierarchy-reproduction and educational culture in Gangnam, although spatial characteristics on institutional level are thoroughly discussed.

There are some other literatures focus on class-reproduction through education in Gangnam, but mostly they are restrained at broad description in perspective of political economy (Kang, 1989; Kim J.-Y., 2003; Son, 2010), the origin of the Gangnam's particularity on education (Lee, 2009; Kim H.-S., 2012; Kang, 2013), or statistical description of the phenomenon (Kim Y.-C., 2012). It is rare research examining real practice and live-experience of high-school pupils preparing for university entrance in particular on Gangnam ones' measures. This research's aim is to examine the Gangnam residents' real educational practice which is generally presumed as spectacular, to theoretically integrate into South Korean social structure and historical current, and to subsequently derive relevant social implication.

3.1. Grounded Theory Approach

South Korean individuals' university preparatory education practice is not well-known to academia, due to the education regime's character being dominated by private investment at large extent as discussed earlier. This existence of private parental investment led to setting up the unit of analysis as a family (a pupil plus her/his parents) in this research. In addition, some practices such as personal tutoring is likely to be conducted through unregulated market, so no official record is available. Thus it is difficult to academically examine how distinctive the Gangnam elites' education-wise "habitus" is without in-depth interviews. In this context, grounded theory

approach will be employed for this research since it is the best strategy in the given circumstance.

Grounded theory features several advantages when conducting interview-based researches, especially when the relevant field is generally unknown to academia yet (Cresswell, 2013). Grounded theorists attempt to thoroughly explain the world without confining their analytic framework into discipline-specific conventions, under the following philosophical assumption as Corbin and Strauss (2007: 8) state:

The world is very complex. There are no simple explanations for things. Rather, events are the result of multiple factors coming together and interacting in complex and often unanticipated ways. Therefore any methodology that attempts to understand experience and explain situations will have to be complex. ... We try to obtain multiple perspectives on events and build variation in to your analytic schemes. We realise that, to understand experience, that experience must be located within and can't be divorced from the larger events in social, political, cultural, racial, gender-related, informational, and technological framework and therefore these are essential aspects of our analyses. ... We don't necessarily want to reduce understanding of action/interaction/emotion to one explanation or theoretical scheme; however, we do believe that concepts of various levels of abstraction form the basis of analysis.

Grounded theory approach is to build a theory (so-to-speak “emergent”) to explain a certain phenomenon without a biased focus and to integrate it into multi-layered social reality (“various levels of abstraction” as noted above). Generally the grounded theorists employ theoretical sampling strategy to actualise their mission, as Morse (2013: 240) explains, “[r]esearchers deliberately seek participants who have had particular responses to experiences, or in whom particular concepts appear significant”.

In this context, the theoretically sampled cases for this research are

as following: 1) two teachers working at high-schools in Gangnam³⁶ 2) three pupils living in wealthy area of Gangnam and studying in a public high-school located in Gangnam; 3) a pupil living in wealthy area of Gangnam and studying in the most prestigious foreign language high-school (in special-purpose high-school category); 4) a pupil living in wealthy area of Gangnam and studying in an independent private high-school which is generally regarded as well-performing; and 5) four of those pupils' mother³⁷. To validate the distinctiveness of Gangnam residents' educational practice, another set of cases are theoretically sampled for comparison: 1) a teacher working at high-school in non-Gangnam area; 2) and four pupils living in non-Gangnam areas and studying in a public high-school in non-Gangnam area. For well- controlled comparison, for public high-school category, the pupils ranked within top-10 in school mark are sampled from both non-Gangnam group and Gangnam group, except one case in each group. In addition, pupils both from foreign language high-school and independent private high-school are ranked within top-20 in school marks. Those sampling and data analysis took place simultaneously in consultation with the literature written by Corbin and Strauss (2007). The analytic focus is more on cases of Gangnam residents in this research, although the non-Gangnam cases provided inspirational data.

During the research employing grounded theory approach, sequential data gathering and theory building process speak to each other, and this subsequently results in smooth modification of theoretical sampling targets and analytic framework. In this regard Bryant and Charmaz (2013: 1) state:

³⁶ Public school teachers are good interviewees since they shift their work places in five-year of interval (rotation system), so they can talk about phenomenon in both Gangnam and non-Gangnam area.

³⁷ I have requested for an interview for all pupils' parents, and only four mothers affirmatively responded. Fathers of those pupils delegated the interview contents to their spouses, and one pupil's neither parents approved the request.

Data collection and analysis proceed simultaneously and each informs and streamlines each other. The GTM (grounded theory methods) builds empirical checks into the analytical process and leads researchers to examine all possible theoretical explanations for their empirical findings. The iterative process of moving back and forth between empirical data and emerging analysis makes the collected data progressively more focused and the analysis successively more theoretical.

Also there has been a modification in this research during the data gathering process. To examine Gangnam residents' educational practices in earlier ages, two cases were additionally sampled: two secondary-school teachers (one who have experienced teaching in various secondary-schools located in Gangnam and another who is currently teaching in prestigious secondary-school located in Gangnam).

The original interview questionnaires were developed based on systematic literature review presented at chapter 2 in this research, and with additional probing questions. The questionnaires gradually developed as proceeding the interviews, but there were some consistent questionnaires for better comparison between non-Gangnam interviewees and Gangnam interviewees, such as parents' job categories, school marks' ranking, source of university-entrance-related information, reason for selecting high-school, private educational practice, everyday life activities, prospects of future career and university entrance, and parental intervention on everyday lives. Interview contents were recorded and transcribed, and all the names of pupils and high-schools are anonymised. Those gathered data is systematically analysed following grounded theory's convention in a sequence of open coding, axial coding, development of paradigm model, development of sequential matrix, selective coding, and writing a story, in consultation with the classical technique-informing literature (Corbin and Strauss, 2007: 87-116).

The analysis of post-axial coding stage from chapter 5 is based on theories advanced by Bourdieu (1984) on class-reproduction and Lefebvre (1968; 1974) on controlled consumption and constructing social space. This discipline-specific analysis is not new in phenomenology-based qualitative researches, especially in constructivist grounded theory school represented by Charmaz (2008).

4. Analysis

Table 16. Coding words

<i>Axial coding</i>	<i>Open coding</i>
1. Negotiation with the institutional setting on the education regime	1. Strategic choices for university entrance process, according to the characteristics of the high-schools, and Gangnam high-schools' exception in general tendency
	2. Attempt of access toward better quality schooling environment (special-purpose high-school, special high-schools for talented, independent private high-school, or public high-schools in Gangnam).
	3. Complex admission process which is disadvantageous for joint bread-winning families
	4. Speciality being determined by university entrance in the hierarchy
2. Gangnamer as a new social class	1. Geographically advantageous access toward Daechi-dong After-school Street
	2. Pupils being put to competitive everyday lives from early ages and entailing production of winners and losers
	3. The existence of indirect (or direct) coercive factors to put pupils into the educational competition,

	including parents' high expectancy on pupils' academic performance and entrance toward prestigious universities
	4. Pupils being well-disciplined, which is conducive to successful results from the competition
	5. Early establishment of studying pattern and relatively stable academic performance
	6. Early management of Gangnam pupils' various certifications
	7. Early determination of career path, in line with social construction of job hierarchy
	8. Early determination of academic career, including from categories of high-schools and the level of final degree conferral
	9. Distinctive resource of Gangnam residents, including wealth, time, and information
3. Distinctive interpersonal circumstance constructed from personal histories	1. Unintended conducive factors for successful competition
	2. Early exposure to academic affairs in general
	3. Parents' informal network based on their personal history
4. Distinctive private educational investment	1. Private education practice being better quality in Gangnam
5. Distinctive mentality fostered by the status of competitor	1. Pupils being aware of parents' resource input and expectation
	2. Internalised competitive mindset
	3. Identifying personal dignity depending on degree

	of the success in competition
6. Imagined geographical significance	1. Distinctive identity of Gangnam citizens constructed by both themselves and non-Gangnam citizens
	2. Variation in Gangnam area

4.1. Open Coding and Axial Coding

Table 15 presents open coding and axial coding utilised in this research. The axial coding is presented from more institutional-wise top toward more mentality-wise bottom. Each of those axial coding words contain the relevant open coding words, thus they are higher in abstraction level. Explanation of each coding words are put forward in main text of this research, and relevant interview data is presented at footnotes.

The most institutional-wise axial coding is ‘negotiation with the institutional setting on the education regime’, and entailing open coding words are all associated with institutional structure formally influencing the behaviours of citizens. To provide background information, the South Korean university admission procedures can be broadly divided into two. The first one is called ‘regular admission system’ and the other is called ‘rolling admission system’. In former way, pupils take College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT) mostly taking place in November, and universities consider the results of the test and school marks for their intakes. The proportion of the universities’ consideration differ to each universities, but most of prestigious universities such as Seoul National University put symmetrical weight on both CSAT results and school marks. The latter way of university admission is rather complex and there are numerous ways of entrance processes in this system. Moreover, these ways are university-specific in principle, due to the variation of each universities’ admission

policies. Followings are four relatively common practices in rolling admission system: 1) simple school record process, entailing assessment mainly based on pupils' school marks; 2) comprehensive school record process, considering pupils' school marks and equally considers the pupils' other relevant achievement such as various certificates, special achievement in student societies, voluntary work records, or honorary diplomas from academic competition; 3) essay writing process, mainly considering the results of university-administered essay examination and marginally considering the school marks; and 4) practical performance process, which mostly concerns pupils studying arts, music, or sports and entails assessment based on pupils' actual performing skill and school marks. Institutionally pupils can cast three applications in the regular admission system and six applications in the rolling admission system. Currently most of the universities admit more students from the rolling admission system.

The 1st open coding within the first axial coding is 'strategic choice of university entrance process, according to the characteristics of the high-schools, and Gangnam high-schools' exception in general tendency'. According to the interview data, pupils in special purpose high-schools and independent private high-schools tend to prioritise their applications in the regular admission system or essay writing process in rolling admission system, since most of the pupils in those high-schools are relatively competence so it is difficult to obtain good school marks in relative grading mechanism. On the other hand, pupils in public high-schools tend to focus more on rolling admission system, since the pupils who aim to enter prestigious universities, meaning that their academic performance is relatively better than fellow pupils, are easily able to obtain good marks. However, this tendency is slightly different in public high-schools located in Gangnam, since the Gangnam pupils' common competency is not necessarily below average. The degree of competition in Gangnam public high-schools is generally higher than in non-Gangnam high-schools,

although it is less than special-purpose high-schools or independent private high-schools.³⁸

In addition there is an issue that South Korean universities, especially prestigious ones, discreetly consider the quality of high-schools when recruiting pupils from rolling admission system, giving favourable weight to pupils from prestigious public high-schools, special-purpose high-schools, and independent private high-schools. This way of recruitment is called high-school rating system, and even there was a legal dispute over this issue between some parents and Korea University during 2009 intake (YTN, 2010). Although there is no official evidence that universities actually do so, public high-schools in non-Gangnam area seem to be the one most disadvantaged if this is secret common practice among most of universities.³⁹

In this context, there are obvious attempt of entering good quality

³⁸ Following is a noteworthy interview contents from a Gangnam parent:

“Anyway it seems to be true that Gangnam pupils perform well. For example my daughter also goes to another public girl’s high-school and she took a trial-CSA. Results turn out; there were 169 pupils of 1st-tier in English subject, which means that the number of pupils who got full marks was 169. Missing one question downgrades one’s ranking to 170s and missing two gets 300s.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-2)

³⁹ In this context, an interviewee whose ranking is top in the non-Gangnam public high-school said he has no confidence in succeeding toward top universities by simple school record process. He considers focusing on essay writing process for his application. Following is relevant interview contents:

“Q: You know the graduates of your high-school, don’t you? Do you actually think that high-school rating system is applied in universities intake?

A: Well... basically not many graduates of my high-school enter prestigious universities. Once I got a counselling by the after-school I go, and they said: your school marks are great, but your school is not. (...) Thus far there has been no one entered Seoul National University. There were a few, toward Yonsei and Korea. Aggregating all, I don’t think more than five pupils from my high-school can enter SKY universities (Seoul National Universities, Korea Universities, and Yonsei Universities) each year.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-3)

high-schools among citizens, so the 2nd open coding is ‘attempt of access toward better quality schooling environment (special-purpose high-school, special high-schools for talented, independent private high-school, or public high-schools in Gangnam)’. The tendency of attempting to access special-purpose high-schools or private independent high-schools might not only apply to citizens in Gangnam, but the rate of succeeding seems to substantially differ (Lee, 2009: 13; Son, 2010: 81; Kim Y.-C, 2012; SBS, 2015). It is not solid to contend without reliable statistics, but it can be stated under a reasonable guess considering the distinctive wealth and scale of private educational investment. In particular, admissions toward special-purpose high-schools or special high-schools for talented require early educational investment from secondary-school level in distinctive manner. Noting participation rate of private education during secondary-schooling period presented at table 4, simple private investment does not guarantee the successful results in harsh competition to enter those high-schools. Other ingredients are necessary, as more discussed along with second to fifth axial coding words. Furthermore there is another advantage for Gangnam residents due to area based selection system, since the public high-schools in Gangnam are also generally regarded as beneficial environments for entering prestigious universities. Even some people move in Gangnam to make the children enter public high-schools in Gangnam. Among the interviewee, three families have been moved to Gangnam for the pupils’ education.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Following is a response from an interviewee who has sent her son to a foreign language high-school (administratively in special-purpose high-school) and another older son to a independent private high-school.

“Q: Both of your children did not go to public high-school. Do you feel reluctant to let them go there?

A: Timing was a decisive matter, especially when my older son entered the high-school in 2011. At then indendent private school emerged, and public high-school got “slumised”. I can’t send him there. But nowadays the simple

‘Complex admission process which is disadvantageous for joint bread-winning families’ is the 3rd open coding. Admission processes toward both better quality schooling environments (e.g. special-purpose high-schools or special high-schools for talented) and the prestigious universities require admission-related information and early planning on certificate acquisition. Not to mention remarkable school mark is required (and high CSAT results for relevant cases), there should be additional scholarly records such as various certificates in relevant field or honorary diplomas from in-school academic competition. Also most of competitive pupils prepare book reports and join in student societies giving favourable

school record process got popular and some people say it is better to go to public one. I heard the ones in Gangnam is getting invigorated. (...) K High-school was popular even at then. Popular and prestigious...” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-4)

Following is a response from an interviewee currently going to an independent private high-school. Right before she enters the high-school, her family moved in Gangnam area.

“Q: How come your family moved in Gangnam?”

A: I deeply thought over number of options. Basically I wanted to go to scholastic ones where there are many brilliant pupils. H High-school is private independent, so I applied there. But if I failed, I was worried of ending up nearby schools... I wanted to enter high-schools in Gangnam in case I failed, such as Jinsun or Sookmyung.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-5)

There is another interesting interviewee who applied to K High-school, which he did not follow his residential area’s original school group in area-based selection system.

“Q: Did your mum tell you to apply to K?”

A: No, actually I wanted.

Q: Why?

A: Basically I never applied to special-purpose or independent private ones. I just wanted to enter public high-schools, but my surrounding’s school group is like A high or B high... I never wanted to go there. (...) I did not think in detail at then, but I just gave it a shot. I filed applications to K and Seoul... I just wanted to go those schools. My father actually graduated K high-school. I was not particularly close to my dad, but all of a sudden after getting into here... (...)” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-6)”

advantage (e.g. voluntary working, or English debate). All those additional records are considered on the course of admission and setting a good plan to acquire all those records largely depends on the amount of information. Naturally it is disadvantageous for joint bread-winning families, who are confined for time spending on children's educational affairs. Coincidentally or not, without exception all the pupil interviewees residing in non-Gangnam live with joint bread-winning parents, while most of the interviewees residing in Gangnam live with mothers who have much more time. All the teacher interviewees bore testimonies that most of Gangnam father's incomes are high enough so that mothers' joint bread-winning is not necessary.⁴¹ A teacher interviewee working in Gangnam showed the list of parents' jobs in her class while she described this issue and most of those fathers' jobs are in high-income categories, such as doctors, businessmen, or lawyers.

The 4th open coding is 'speciality being determined by results of the university entrance in the hierarchy'. The universities are hierarchically structured in South Korea, and occupying higher position in the hierarchy is generally regarded more successful than proceeding to study ones' interests in a relatively lower ranked university. All the interviewees in Gangnam responded that they would rather opt for university's brands even though they had to sacrifice pursuing their own academic interests. They all believed that their academic speciality will not change the subsequent career path and rather the brands of universities would bless them more autonomy

⁴¹ Following is a response from a teacher interviewee whose many years of working experience in both Gangnam and non-Gangnam secondary-schools:

"Quite large number of parent's jobs is 'professional'-kinds in Gangnam. In non-Gangnam, parents work as white-collar or self-employee...? Anyhow, those fathers in Gangnam are mostly 'professionals' so the mothers stay at homes. But, in non-Gangnam large number of cases is joint-breadwinning, although the mothers work such places like E-mart. Naturally parents cannot come to schools even if they wanted." (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-7)

in making career choices.⁴² On the other hands, there were several responses from non-Gangnam interviewees that they will choose their own interests, since they do not expect themselves being a contender on highly competitive position on university hierarchy. In this sense it seems non-Gangnam residents possess more freedom on choosing the speciality. An interesting response was from a highly competent Gangnam pupil who is inclined to making a special study of business, because most of the top-class pupils choose the business study for their speciality.⁴³

⁴² Following is a response from an interviewee studying in an independent private high-school:

“Q: If one of SKY universities accept you for a specialty in lower echelon and another university accept you for a specialty in international commerce, which one would you like to choose?

A: Honestly, I may go to SKY... because there will be a system of double specialty (smile). Counselling teachers all say the university's brand matters more, for the ones who study liberal arts ... I don't know. Even though I like to carry on making a special study of that accepted field, I've got to care of my mum's opinion. I would probably mull over a long time, but I would eventually choose SKY.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-8)

Following is another relevant response from pupil interviewees going to a public high-school in Gangnam:

“Q: What field would you like to make a special study of?

A-1: I talked about diplomatic official before, but I do not choose universities over that criteria. I do not prioritise my career path, but I care the matter of which university I enter. For now I only focus on university admission first, and then it is possible that I change my career path after I get in somewhere I hope.

A-2: Sociology? Currently I'm thinking about it, but I haven't decided firmly yet. Liberal art pupils should choose university by its brand. Certain career or special study, they don't matter. Top priority is the brand.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-9)

⁴³ Following is a relevant interview contents:

“Q: Business? Many people talk about it?

A: I feel like... I'm the top and I should go there. Well..., the thing is... fellow mates they all say top gut should go business school. Department of law changed to law school, you know (...) The common idea is that the top guy in liberal arts should go business school and the top guy in natural science should

The second axial coding is ‘Gangnamer as a new social class’. Gangnam is a geographical space but it entails several advantages rendering the residents newly-emerged distinctive social class in terms of educational activities. In other words, although there are several other gentrified areas where wealthy people live (e.g. Hannam-dong or Pyungchang-dong), Gangnam is distinctive among them especially in the educational “field”, borrowing Bourdieu’s (1984) concept. Citizens living in Gangnam show distinctive education-related everyday lives with constellation of multi-dimensional distinctions such as geographic, economic, and neighbourhood characteristics in the educational field. Note that the urban spectacle of Gangnam has been produced over a relatively long period of history (at least 45 years as of 2015), so the citizens in Gangnam are likely to come from relatively wealthier background or they have managed to accumulate enough wealth to reside into the pricey space of Gangnam. In either case, there is enough motivation to put their children into elite-track through the education with the high expectation. Moreover, two prior researches show that large number of Gangnam citizens is well-educated people per se (Choi, 2004; Son 2010) and this tendency was not proven wrong surveying the parent interviewees in this research as well. It is a rightful statement that Gangnam citizens possess personal histories related to the education, and additionally they possess enough resources and favourable geographic location.

The 1st entailing open coding is ‘geographically advantageous access toward Daechi-dong After-school Street’. The after-school street

go medical school. For me? I feel like it is discrepancy of idealism and practice... If there is no such common discourse, I would definitely choose psychology. (...) My closest mate, he’s also a top guy in natural science section, so he’s thinking of going to medical school. But, he also says he doesn’t want to waste his talent to medical school. He said he wanted to pursue his real dream, such as somewhere he can actually show his talent.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-10)

attracts pupils from all kinds of regions, as discussed by Lee (2009) at the third section of chapter 2, and it is a vast advantage for pupils who can attend after-school lectures in person.⁴⁴ Among this research's interviewees, the best performing non-Gangnam pupil actually goes to an after-school in Gangnam. Another Gangnam interviewee who goes to an independent private high-school comprising fellow pupils from various areas said that there is quite large numbers of pupils going to after-schools in Gangnam.

2nd open coding is 'pupils being put to competitive everyday lives from early ages and entailing production of winners and losers'. Educational competition starts from relatively early period in South Korea, for example pupils who would desire entering special-purpose high-schools or special high-schools for talented have to muddle through competitive gatekeeping mechanisms to be the privileged members. However the gate cannot accommodate all the applicants, as acceptance ratio of 15.36: 1 shows aggregating entire six special high-schools for talented in the year of 2013 (Woman Chosun, 2013). Both of secondary teacher interviewees responded that relatively more secondary-school pupils in Gangnam desire to enter the prestigious high-schools, and this implies that the phenomenon producing winners and losers is more pronounced in Gangnam.⁴⁵ The stress put on

⁴⁴ Following is a response regarding Gangnam's neighbourhood effect, from an interviewee living in Daechi-dong:

“Q: Can you come up with several other advantages living in Gangnam? I mean the things might non-Gangnam pupils would feel disadvantage.

A: I feel the unequal situation definitely exists and it is quite strict. Have a look at those after-schools. They broadcast the very moment that I am attending the lecture, as a nationwide internet-transmitted lecture. In the internet, so many pupils post their questions at the board. But then assistant lecturers answer those questions very briefly, or even some questions are ignored. In our case, we can directly communicate to the lecturer. Also I can see all the surrounding is after-schools and newspaper-attached leaflets are from the after-schools.”
(For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-11)

⁴⁵ Following interview contents is a talk from an interviewee working as secondary-school teacher:

pupils due to the competition seems intense, since the harsh competition does not simply end for at least six-year of secondary education period.⁴⁶ Interestingly a pupil who is currently winning in the race and not substantially pressured from external force even finds the competition burdensome.⁴⁷

“Last year, I was in charge of the pupil who was the president in the student council. He was a good boy and even his mum was a great. You know, she’s the one who’s not really ‘over-solicitous’. The boy was well-disciplined and performed well, but he never bragged and got along well with his friends. Anyway, he strongly aspired to enter Hankuk Academy of Foreign Studies, but he failed. He worked hard for it, and he was stressed out quite much, (...) I gave him cheer that he could get in, he’s school marks were good and he’s got a record of being the president. There was no reason he can’t. (...) Well after all, probably he didn’t do well in the interview session... He actually is not really a super-confident guy. I felt sorry for his failure, much.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-12)

⁴⁶ An interviewee working as a secondary-school teacher talked about a rather special experience working in Gangnam. There was a midterm examination recently, but there were too many full scorers even exceeding the designated number of giving 1st-tier (4 percent in proportion) so all those full scorers received a 2nd-tier mark. Receiving 2nd-tier mark means those pupils get less remark in the competition to enter special-purpose high-schools or independent private high-schools. Interview contents is as following:

“Q: I heard there were too many full scorers, is it correct?

A: Yes... I actually made the problem-set difficult though. Well, those well-performing pupils want me to make things much harder next time. (sigh)

Q: In that case, as far as I understand, then the number of 1st-tier can shrink but mediocre-performing ones’ score would dramatically downgrade, wouldn’t it?

A: Yes, definitely. So it is irony that there are many of those mediocre-performing or even poorly performing pupils, although the amount of well-performing pupils are sizable. (...) Actually, it is an educator’s job to encourage those underperforming ones to feel some sense of accomplishment. Now I’ve got to make the exam difficult, for the sake of those relatively better performing pupils... It is first ever time that I agonise on it in my teaching career.”(For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-13)

⁴⁷ Following is a response from an interviewee whose top-ranked school marks in a public high-school in Gangnam:

“Q: Do you feel pressured for taking in-school exams?

A: Yes, I’m genuinely pressured. For someone like me, it’s really big. Paradoxically, I should rather avoid the feeling of competition to do well, it is true that I’m in the competition though. Why? I feel some kind of fear realising

3rd open coding is ‘the existence of indirect (or direct) coercive factors to put pupils into the educational competition, including parents’ high expectancy on pupils’ academic performance and entrance toward prestigious universities’. This coding overlaps with other more mentality-wise coding words discussed later, but it should be noted that this coding concerns external factor making pupils keep their performance high. A pupil interviewee informed that her high-school intentionally created a competitive atmosphere, although this measure is not necessarily helpful.⁴⁸ Moreover, Gangnam pupils tend to be aware of parents’ nuanced high expectancy on them to study hard, while non-Gangnam pupils do not feel so much.⁴⁹ The parents’ expectancy seems to be distinctive, according to

I’m on the top, which means the only remaining way is to be snatched of this position. To get away from that burden, the better strategy is to focus on me. (...) I try not to consider my mates are the contenders. You know, we are all close, generally. But, during the examination period, there is a certain unknown atmosphere being created. (...)” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-14)

⁴⁸ Following is a relevant interview contents:

“If I don’t study hard... I should study harder than I did before, to keep my rank. The ranking can go down or up dramatically, especially mock-CSAT. The reading rooms’ position is designated along the ranking: suppose there are 1st to 400th, the ones at 1st to 40th get the best smallest room, the ones at 40th to 135th get a medium sized room, and the rests get the room upper-floor (which is worst). My predecessors used to get the sit according to the ranking, so it’s kind of better we sit according to our names’ alphabetic order... You know what? The first phrase I encountered at the preliminary muster session was ‘welcome to hell’.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-15)

⁴⁹ Following is a relevant interview contents:

“Q: Were you also one of the well-performer during childhood?

A: Well-performer...? Rather I thought I should not underperform... I went to after-school from really early age: I was like four years old when I firstly went to an English academy. I got a bit of feeling that I should look good to my parents, you know. It was fun and I didn’t particularly hated it... It’s good that I perform well, or it’s bad that my ranking goes down. (...) When I was in primary-school, I started studying a month before from the exam period, I never know why I was like that. In secondary-school, you know the unimportant subjects, such as PE or music... I said like ‘I’ll get perfect score’...”(For the

interview responds from all teachers and all the Gangnam parents.⁵⁰

interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-16)

Following is a response from a parent interviewee:

“Q: Did you also went to ‘so-to-speak’ prestigious university?

A: Yes, I did.

Q: Do you feel your son care?

A: Well... I never do directly like, ‘your parents were like this and you should follow the way’. Rather ‘isn’t it something taken for granted?’, like unconsciously. It’s not like ‘entering prestigious university is what you must do’, but it is a natural sequence. The atmosphere among all family members are like this, including relatives.

Q: All your relatives also went to prestigious ones?

A: Yes... mostly SKY. My son’s aunt went to Ewha (another prestigious one right after SKY). Anyway, it is true that my sons perform worse than me and my husband, looking at the high-school record. Maybe it is because nowadays everyone makes some effort, but our generation it was not like this.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-17)

Following response is quite contrasting to two interview contents above. The interviewee lives in non-Gangnam.

“Q: Do your parents intervene in your daily stuffs?

A: They say I should work hard... but they are basically busy. My mum mostly comes home late. But she tries to take care of my things. My dad sleeps early. He’s tired.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-18)

⁵⁰ Following response is from a teacher interviewee who has worked in both Gangnam and non-Gangnam high-schools.

“Q: Have you also met the parents when you were working in non-Gangnam high-school?

A: Yes.

Q: Can you talk about some difference with Gangnam ones?

A: Of course both of them care about their kids, it’s same in this sense. But, often non-Gangnam people cannot afford the time, or... expectancy or goal, those are the differences. (...) The level of ‘this is ok’ is quite different between parents in Gangnam and parents in non-Gangnam.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-19)

Following interview contents further supports that Gangnam parents have higher expectancy. It is a response from a parent interviewee who has sent her first son KAIST (one of the top-ranked university in natural science) and her second son the most

However, no parent interviewee said that they have expressed the expectancy directly to their children, but 4 out of 5 children responded that they can read their parents' mind. It seems that the expectancy is more of a factor taken for granted by Gangnam residents. On the other hands, all non-Gangnam interviewees said that they did not feel the pressuring expectancy to enter top universities.⁵¹ Some pupils and a teacher commented on high

prestigious foreign language high-school.

“Q: Did your both children perform well in school?

A: Older son... people say it's good enough, but I don't think he made his greatest effort on studying.

Q: Well, he's now in KAIST, isn't it good result? I think it's better than going to Seoul National University,

A: The pupils in science high-schools, maybe those who are '-holic' ones, they would prefer KAIST. But still there are some stereotypical ranking that regards SNU better. However, there is a tendency that some pupils who love to research... those pupils... they tend to opt KAIST over SNU.

Q: Your younger son, he's considering to study abroad for his university study, isn't he? He talked about Ivy League universities much.

A: (Smile) Maybe because he doesn't know the reality yet, as of his age... You know, the school always injects the fantasy.

Q: If... in case of failing to enter those Ivy League universities, then isn't it possible that he enters universities in Korea?

A: I'm thinking about it, I hasn't uttered though. Entering those universities is tough and there are so many various factors come into play. For example, the proportion of Asian population in that year's intake can just vary. Who knows? I'm thinking of rolling admission system for South Korean university admission

Q: Can you tell the least criteria? Least satisfactory level?

A: I haven't given a deep thought about it yet. But, if he only gets to state universities, the state university that is not really famous, then maybe Korean universities would be better option. In the past SNU's free-specialty programme was mostly the target in that case. Anyhow, if he cannot enter US universities at top-level or slightly under... then I would rather send him SNU. Then his post graduate would be in the US.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-20)

⁵¹ Following response is from a pupil interviewee who is a top-performer in a non-Gangnam public high-school. Comparing to the top-performer in Gangnam the surrounding

rate of university entrance retrial among Gangnam pupils, due to the high expectancy of parents or pupils themselves.⁵²

4th open coding is ‘pupils being well-disciplined, which is conducive to successful results from the competition’. A secondary-school teacher mentioned that the number of problematic pupils is less in wealthier Gangnam area, and the other secondary-school teacher responded that the characteristics of problematic pupils in Gangnam is different from the ones in relatively less well-off area. Explanation of the difference is rather complex and out of this research’s boundary, but a common trait of the problematic pupils in Gangnam is that their academic performance are not

expectancy is notably different.

“Q: Have you ever talked about your future with your parents?

A: I’ve done several times... but they never definitely said anything. They kept saying that I should follow what I like the most.

Q: Is there lower-limit satisfying your parents?

A: Dad says that I should get in at least within In-Seoul universities, because it is too far to get there otherwise. Mum sets it above University of Seoul, and then she makes it one of the top-10 universities. It’s her satisfying criteria, but she says ‘it is ok’ although I can’t get in there.

Q: What about you? What’s your lower-limit?

A: I would like to go at least, Hanyang University, Seoul National, Korea, Yonsei, Sugang, Sungkyunkwan, and Hangyang; I want to enter one of those six.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-21)

⁵² Following interview contents is from a teacher interviewee working in Gangnam:

“There is one pupil, who studied longer time to enter a university. He was admitted to SNU for a specialty in aircraft engineering and medical school in Korea University. He wasn’t satisfied and he retried university admission to enter SNU medical school, but he failed by marginal difference. He kept on retrying twice more, making it four times of admission attempt, and finally he succeeded in SNU medical school. This is the sentiment prevailing in Gangnam. You can have a look at those afterschools specialised in university entrance retrial. Of course there are normal retrying guys, but quite large amount of pupils are actually admitted to either Korea University or Yonsei University. They are the one who chose to do so, in order to enter SNU.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-22)

necessarily low. A parent interviewee said that she has not witnessed “surprisingly problematic students” in Gangnam⁵³, and another pupil interviewee added a comment that those supposedly problematic students’ nation-wide academic performance is not bad.⁵⁴

5th open coding is ‘early establishment of studying pattern and relatively stable academic performance’ and 6th coding is ‘early management of Gangnam pupils’ various certifications’. All of the high-school teacher interviewees bore testimonies that the academic performance of pupils in Gangnam is relatively stable, meaning that well-performing ones and worse-performing ones do not change much. Considering those worse-performing pupils are still high in nation-wide ranking, it is possible to state that the studying patterns of Gangnam high-school pupils are somehow established. A teacher interviewee explained that this phenomenon is due to early establishment of the studying “habit” of Gangnam pupils.⁵⁵

⁵³ Following response is from a parent interviewee who has moved in Gangnam under educational purpose:

“No matter those pupils are well-performing or not, the environment in general is great. For example, there is no inschool violent... It’s better when pupils are ‘similar’, since when there is too much of difference, inschool violent or bully emerge... As far as I have experienced this area, there is no such thing, of course some people might feel differently. (...) Because there is a certain goal, pupils control their emotion. University students are matured, but high-school pupils are largely influenced by parent’s affection, etc., I think by far Gangnam pupils are nice and well-disciplined. That’s why people are attracted to Gangnam, no matter the pupils are well-performer or not.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-23)

⁵⁴ Following is a relevant interview contents:

“It is definitely true that there are some mates who lie down from the morning session and wake up after finishing all the classes. But their nationwide ranking is quite high. This starkly shows the difference between Gangnam and non-Gangnam. It’s somehow natural, even though the guy has seriously given up studying, the parents can drag him to a university’s main gate. This atmosphere and potential...” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-24)

⁵⁵ Following response is from a teacher interviewee working in Gangnam public high-school:

In addition, another teacher interviewee who also approved the above opinion mentioned that non-Gangnam pupils' performance in general get better during last year of high-school period, since that period might be the first time for those non-Gangnam pupils to study substantially harder.⁵⁶ Coincidentally or not most of the Gangnam pupil interviewees kept their position in the school ranking from at least from secondary-school periods, except a pupil who lived in Europe during the secondary-schooling years and found Korean high-school examination difficult. A secondary-school teacher interviewee working in Gangnam explicitly informed that her pupils' life is full of study-related activities, according to her official counselling results.⁵⁷ Along with these early academic activities, the Gangnam residents

“Q: Is the ranking during the first year in high school continues until the last year?

A: I think it continues in case of Gangnam area. It is true that the workload of 1-year high-schooling is more than that of 3-year secondary-schooling, and it is natural that everyone's performance gets better. But, in case of pupils whose performances are higher during the secondary-school, their studying pattern or habit continues, and certainly their ranking is higher.”(For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-25)

⁵⁶ Following is the relevant interview contents:

“Q: I've interviewed teachers in Gangnam and they said the ranking in first year continues toward the last year.

A: (...) Pupils in Gangnam have generally made effort since their primary schooling periods, so there is less chance of ranking subversion between high-performers and middle-performers. On the other hand, non-Gangnam pupils are not trained of systematic studying during secondary schooling periods; they lay back more. (...) It is not quite true that non-Gangnam pupils' performance dramatically improves during the high-schooling periods, rather their time-spending on study increases and their performance increases accordingly.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-26)

⁵⁷ Following is the relevant interview contents:

“I was shocked by amount of after-schooling. A secondary-school (located in south-eastern part of Gangnam District) was not like this, although they went to after-schools, like from 6pm to 9pm. In here, well, the reason why this school starts early is that the parents want to send their kids to after-schools... It is quite rare that secondary-school starts from 8am. (...) The parents actually requested the school to finish early, as far as I know, because in that case they

manage various certificates since they possess more information. In particular Gangnam pupils join in student societies which are conducive to successful competition of university entrance (e.g. Red Cross affiliated one or geography study group)⁵⁸, while non-Gangnam pupils tend to join in student societies giving a leisure time. A parent interviewee who once considered ‘comprehensive school record process’ as her children’s viable strategy talked about exhausting experience of certification preparing, mainly due to inexplicable competition of university admission system.⁵⁹

can let their kids attend after-schools... It’s like from 5pm to 10-11pm. It is like their everyday lives. (...) They said they’ve done like this for long long time, and that’s why the characteristics of stress in this school is different.”(For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-27)

⁵⁸ There is a case that a pupil actively organise a student society. Following is a response from a parent interviewee studying in Gangnam public high-school:

“My son did a small group activity, regarding psychology... He got though reading approximately 10 book on psychology and debated about it with the members. (...) The school launched the programme, for pupils who want to deeply study something they want, with their own choice of team members. There were more than twenty teams who applied in that programme, but about ten teams were chosen. Later this activity led to awarding session, it’s this kind of programme. It’s good that the school support something like this. (...) My sons actively organise the team as a leader, in order to study psychology.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-28)

Following is an interview contents responded by a parent interviewee whose son entered KAIST with comprehensive school record process.

“Hyundai is famous for its car industry. In Hyundai High-school, there is a very old student society on automobile. My older son accessed to a webpage of the high-school, and he applied to the high-school with passion because of that student society. What he has done in the school was mainly that student society activity, for three years. I think that was underlying points making him enter KAIST. He was once featured in a magazine, with some accomplishment in his level, you know, high-school level. (...)” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-29)

⁵⁹ Following is the relevant interview contents:

“I and my sons made some effort for the comprehensive school record process, entailing TOEFL test. But, nothing is firmly established as such criteria, so I though it’s more like a gamble. (...) You know, in TOEFL test, exceeding 100 points of score is very well-performed results, but Korean universities want 120 points. Yonsei and Korea, they all want that. (...) For that TOEFL, you need to

7th coding of ‘early determination of career path, in line with social construction of job hierarchy’ and 8th coding of ‘early determination of academic career, including from categories of high-schools and the level of final degree conferral’ are interlinked to each other. Early determination of job pursuit might not be a particular trait of Gangnam residents, but those jobs which Gangnam pupils desire are notably posh in social perception. The interviewees living in Gangnam mentioned as their most preferred jobs are diplomat official, lawyer, school teacher, psychology professor, and ones in the field of international trade, although all those desired career-paths are not yet firm since they can be modified according to the university entrance.⁶⁰ Two secondary-school teachers said that pupils in Gangnam have bigger ambition than non-Gangnam pupils, in general. Especially one of the teacher interviewee showed the list of desired future career of the pupils in charge, and those listed jobs were also in posh-kinds, such as medical doctor, dentist, school teacher, atomic physicist, or lawyer. Those dreams seemed to be the backbone of early involvement to the competition, as a secondary teacher mentioned that some of her pupils decided to apply

sacrifice quite many things. Also, you never know whether TOEFL delivers firm results, although you got the highest points. So I and my son decided to steer the direction to simply work on school marks, after giving a long thought.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-30)

⁶⁰ The logic behind the determination of career path shows some element of personal history, as shown at following interview contents from a Gangnam pupil:

“Q: Have you considered of your future career?

A: Yes, I think of the career of diplomatic officials. (...) International relationship... my life has been with somewhat related to it. (...) Actually it’s not the job what I like. I like to get the life quality by acquiring that job position. I was in Kazakhstan when I was a primary school pupil for 3 years and half, and at then my dad got documented treat as a diplomatic official. Also some of my friends’ parents are diplomatic officials, I directly experienced the treat. It’s sweet. I like to pursue this international life. But I don’t cling to become the diplomats, maybe I’ll just do what I like. (...) Now the top priority is the university entrance. A good results in university entrance makes my life choice wider.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-31)

to a prestigious independent private high-school on the course of pursuing the pupil's future career.⁶¹ A parent interviewee living in Gangnam whose child goes to a foreign language high-school decided to let her child go to the high-school, since there are certain supportive measures for the child to apply universities in the United States. Her husband discreetly hopes that his child continues the academic career at a law school.⁶² A pupil interviewee definitely desires to confer doctoral degree, since the pupil wants to pursue a career of psychology professor.

9th coding is 'distinctive resource of Gangnam residents, including wealth, time, and information'. This coding features more class-based distinctiveness of Gangnam citizens. For example, parents' jobs of the interviewees living in non-Gangnam area are as following: 1) white-collar

⁶¹ There is a comment of another secondary-school teacher that she is worried of a pupil's dampening prospects if the pupil would fail.

“Q: Are pupils consider going to prestigious high-schools from first year of secondary-schooling?

A: I think so. The one I advise, she decided to pursue the goal entering Korea Minjok Leadership Academy from the first year. She's so preoccupied to going there. I told her like... Ok, she 'will' make it, but, who know? Life is mysterious. So I told her that it is okay not successfully entering there. I worried of her discouraging feeling in case of the failure.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-32)

⁶² Going to law school represents that the one acquire a certificate of “professional” job. “Professional” jobs in South Korea require certain amount of special education or a certificate relevant to the job, for example ten years of special education is required to become a medical doctor. Jobs such as lawyer, treasurer, medical doctor, oriental-medical doctor, patent attorney, dentist, and professor are regarded as “professional” ones. Following is the interview contents concerning this issue:

“Q: Have you considered a career path for your younger son?

A: My husband hopes that my son makes a special study of economics and later goes to a law school. (...) After the graduate, when he gets to the society, you need 'something', something like lawyer or treasurer certificates. You know, South Korean society is small. That's why... Within natural science section, it's easy: one can pursue jobs like researchers. People in liberal arts section... it's difficult in my perspective (smile). It's difficult to settle down, in realistic sense. Whatever a person does, it's better to possess a 'professional' certificate.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-33)

worker in a trading company and school teacher; 2) public official and hair designer; 3) self-employer (real-estate agency) and white-collar worker; and 4) parcel deliverer and cookery educator. Comparatively, parents' jobs of the interviewees living in Gangnam area are as following: 1) owner of asset management company and the board director of the same company; 2) executive member of national cooperative bank (high-ranked public official) and public school teacher; 3) owner of logistics company and housewife; 4) high-ranked officer of exhibition-related company and housewife; and 5) executive member of trading company and housewife. Among Gangnam interviewees, four of five mothers are autonomous in time spending and one mother is in the field of education. This difference would bring about vast difference in time allowance on general educational affairs and collecting information related to university admission⁶³, not to mention the wealth which could be transubstantiated to good quality serviced-goods. According to the teacher interviewees, the difference in time allowance is the most notable one in comparatively discussing Gangnam and non-Gangnam parents. They commented that the attendance rate of school briefing in Gangnam schools is far more than that in non-Gangnam schools.⁶⁴

⁶³ Following interview contents show the link between autonomous time spending and collecting information. This is responded by an interviewee in a Gangnam public high-school:

“My mum... I don't think she's done particular more than anyone else, but she actually goes every admission briefings... The universities come to do that, from Yonsei or Korea... They all come, so my mum goes there. Genuinely the difference will be the information in here. Mums do something and acquire some quality information, from whatever source. (...) The period of last year in high-schools is the state of special situation, and mums want to send their kids to good universities. It's pitiful... I think. I question like 'does it really necessary?' Anyhow, they've got distinctive information. They hunt a lot. (...) It's like division of labour: 'you guys make your best effort on studying, and we will set strategy with this information, so don't be distracted'.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-34)

⁶⁴ Following response is from a teacher interviewee working as a teacher in non-Gangnam high-school:

The third axial coding is ‘distinctive interpersonal circumstance constructed from personal histories’, and this axial coding entails open coding words related to pupils’ environments formulated by the parents’ personal histories. To clarify the difference with the second axial coding, the third axial coding concerns more of pupils’ personal subjective experience-based external factors, while the second axial coding contains parents’ behaviours related to social relationships such as relative wealth.

1st entailing open coding is ‘unintended conducive factors for successful competition’. These factors are mostly derived from past experience of the pupils, for example a pupil interviewee went to an international primary-school in Kazakhstan and an international secondary-school in Germany, and his foreign language comprehensive ability is naturally higher. Also another interviewee’s family went to Canada for a year, and now the pupil’s English skill is relatively competent. Those

“Q: I guess parents tend to come often, in here non-Gangnam, since they don’t go to private after-school seeking for information (related to university admission).

A: Well, the thing is: although school sets a schedule of having counselling week, as at the moment, parents in here show difficulty making a livelihood, you know, so there are lots of people who cannot attend the counselling session or take care of any educational affairs. It is a burdensome for them to call a day-off or something (...) Parents in Gangnam show great passion, as two to three hundreds of them attend school briefing for parents of a same graders. But, contrastingly in non-Gangnam, even though first-second-third graders’ parents are all invited, the number of attendee doesn’t exceed a hundred to two.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-35)

Following response is from another teacher interviewee:

“In non-Gangnam, both parents work for the livelihood, so they cannot pay attention to the education on their children, or they manage to try but they cannot afford the time. Therefore in non-Gangnam high-schools, the school arrange two different schedules for school briefing: one in daytime for someone who can come, the other one in evening for the rests after their work. In Gangnam, even though some parents are joint-breadwinners, their jobs allow autonomous time management in most of the cases, since their jobs are likely to be ‘professionals’” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-36)

families' residential experiences in foreign countries were not necessarily under educational purpose, but actually they had to stay those countries for parents' profession.⁶⁵ To introduce another similar interesting story, the top-ranked pupil interviewee in the Gangnam public high-school recalled that he "became friendly" to books, since his mother often volunteered reading out loud for disabled people and he mostly followed the volunteer works during the childhood period.

2nd open coding is 'early exposure to academic affairs in general'. For theoretical clarity, 5th open coding of second axial coding concerns collective behaviour pressured by neighbouring competitors and continuation of habitual competitiveness, while this coding concerns individuals' live-experiences which might have inspired the pupils. For example, a Gangnam interviewee started to consider studying psychology while he read comic books, and soon after his father introduced a psychology professor. The professor recommended several books and subsequent reading of those books fostered him to even organise a student society. Another Gangnam pupil who shows confidence in mathematics live with mother who studied architectonics and father studied mineral and energy resources engineering in Seoul National University, and even his father studied post-graduate programme in US. Entire family members are apt at mathematic skills and often the pupil debate with his parents over certain issues. Three out of five pupil interviewees said that they often witness their parents studying or learning, such as preparing professional

⁶⁵ This experience in foreign country seems quite typical, as a secondary-school teacher responds:

"In here, foreign experience is so common; it is almost nothing special. At least half of the pupils have lived in foreign countries, and they are good at English. But they are poor in Korean. Their English ability surprises me from time to time: sometimes I feel they are better than me in speaking when I assign them to do a speech. They are fluent, since they lived in foreign countries for 4-5 years." (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-37)

work for the next day. Those parents' academic activities are far from bureaucratic repetition and introducing someone involved with academia to their children is rather aristocratic, so it can be reasonable speculated as the Gangnam citizens' attempt of distinction. In fact, two out of four non-Gangnam interviewees mentioned about their parents' academic endeavour, but only one talked about past academic inspiration from everyday lives (watching a history-based soap opera).

Difference in academic-related everyday lives seems to lead to another difference in unofficial personal networks. In this context, 3rd open coding is 'parents' informal network based on their personal history'. All of non-Gangnam interviewees said that they gather most of the information related to university entrance from organisational sources, such as after-schools or high-school teachers. Contrastingly all of parent interviewees living in Gangnam actively involve in information collecting from many different sources including their unofficial personal networks. Initial hypothesis on this matter was based on a documentary and literatures (Hwang S.-J, 2006; Kim S.-H, 2013) showing a university entrance guru mother assembling exclusive network with fellow pupils' parents. However counter-intuitively, the unofficial networks of Gangnam mothers were more private or one-on-one based, rather than being resembled to a luxurious-social-club as commonly depicted in mass media. Those relationships between mothers often stem from the past, such as fellow pupil's mother or that mother's introduction to another mother having sent her child to a prestigious university.⁶⁶ This behavioural pattern is one of "habitus" of

⁶⁶ Following two responses are from parent interviewees living in Gangnam:

“Q: Where did you learn that prior-learning is necessary?

A: From mums... they talk about many things. Sometimes I buy coffee to listen to mums who were 'successful' (someone successfully sent her children to prestigious universities). The information is necessary, somehow.

Q: How do you get to know them?

Gangnam housewives; the relationship with the other mothers is privileged to ones who can afford the time and these relationships represent those mothers' history concerning education affairs on their children. The employed mothers among interviewees had different relationships as "habitus"-embodiment, for example public teacher being networked with the one who are also public teachers. Popular media discourse induces misconception that the group tutoring practices in Gangnam were based on such exclusive mothers' network, but it turns out that the group tutoring is just any other kinds of private education, based on this research's interview data.

Fourth axial coding is 'private education investment' and this entails an open coding of 'private education practice being better quality in Gangnam'. There were elements of private education within 9th coding of second axial coding as a condition and 1st, 2nd, 5th, and 6th coding words of second axial coding as embodied real behaviour patterns. Those coding words in second axial coding concern collective behaviour of citizens, being structured by everyday lives in Gangnam area where most of neighbours actively attempt to deliver successful results from educational competition.

A: The starting point was the school. Primary-school and secondary-school... the network continues. The mums know who entered where. (...) It's like a community among mums." (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-38)

"Q: Where do you acquire the information for university admission?

A: I just listen to graduates' mums. It's better to listen to them. I only listen to someone who's got the 'solid result' but I don't go private after-schools' briefing. In case of mine, I've been in foreign countries... So when I meet people who I used to know in that foreign country, since they've sent their children to universities already, they tell me many things. Suppose we have a dinner, then we talk about our kids. It's like this, like friendly gathering. (...) In school, there is a group messenger chatroom (smart phone application). There used to be one when my kid was 10th-grader, and it changes as my kid proceeds to next level. We exchange some words concerning university entrance, but we don't give some decisive information. Just already-knowns-informations are exchanged." (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-39)

In this fourth axial coding, the description is more on real phenomenon occurring in Gangnam area.

In fact vast majority of South Korean parents privately invest on pupils' education, as table 4 indicated earlier, so the behaviour of participating into private educational investment is not an attempt of distinction. In Gangnam as any other places in South Korea, residents put their pupils on private education. Except one interviewee seemingly having economic constraint, eight out of nine pupil interviewees have participated in private education within their lifetime. According to the data, the point of distinction is the quality of those private educational practices. As discussed thus far, citizens in Gangnam have distinctive resources such as wealth, time, personal network, and information. These differences were all reflected in the interview data: while three out of four non-Gangnam interviewees have participated into after-schooling only, all Gangnam interviewees have participated into both personal tutoring and after-schooling. In particular, one Gangnam interviewee participated into group tutoring which is regarded as the most effective private educational practice. In general, after-schooling is most common practice among South Korean citizens, and personal tutoring is somewhat more privileged to wealthier people since employer should cover the loss of opportunity cost of the lecturer not receiving tuition from multiple sources. Counterintuitively 3-4 sized group tutoring is more preferred among Gangnam citizens, because the lecturers are highly renowned and the presence of other pupils brings in synergy effect.⁶⁷ In this

⁶⁷ Following response is from a parent interviewee living in Gangnam. Her son is the only case doing this mode of private education among this research's interviewees.

“Q: Are you closed to the other parents?

A: Yes I'm close to them. That's why we do together.

Q: Are those children's performance similar?

A: Their performances are similar for the subjects they are tutored together. My son gets tutored of English with similar performers and mathematics with

context two interviewees working as high-school teachers all bore testimonies that majority of Gangnam pupils participate in that mode of private education, but there was not many cases known to this research's interviewees and their surrounding citizens. A pupil interviewee going to a Gangnam public high-school reported that some fellow pupils in natural science section participate into the group tutoring, apart from one interviewee in this research.

Actually the most common practice even among Gangnam residents was after-schooling. The personal tutoring is utilised as a complementary measure, in time-pressuring situations such as preparing school examinations within a short period. Simple after-schooling might be enough for the pupils since only the best quality lecturers can survive in harsh competition of Gangnam after-schooling industry.⁶⁸ In fact one of the after-schooling

another similar performing group.

Q: Was there anyone who was kicked-out?

A: Not with the performance, but in case the pupil is not diligent. For example a pupil is too fond of computer game, or has to work out for an hour everyday... I was worried of someone damaging the scholarly atmosphere.

Q: How did you find those team members?

A: As a starting, I was introduced to a pupil and a parent who's performing similar. If my son and another pupil perform similar, then they decide to study together... If two more pupils are necessary, my-side and the other-side try to find ones each. (...) It is not the case all four of mums were close from the beginning. Only one of is who I was close to at first. Now four of us meet regularly, like once in a month, in order to exchange our opinion, so that we can communicate with the tutor." (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-40)

⁶⁸ Following interview contents partially overlaps the relevance with 9th coding of second axial coding, but it is worthy to read the competency of Daichi-dong after-school lecturers.

"It is true that Daechi-dong is the centre of after-school lecturers. If some are kicked out, they move to Banpo-dong or Mok-dong (Yangcheon District). And also the mums in Gangnam are very well-informed of the quality of those lecturers. They know who helps or who is harmful... The lecturers who were pushed apart from Daechi-dong, they brag of their career record and advertise themselves that they were once Daichi-dong after-school lecturers... There is a

industry's product is internet-transmitted lectures which cover nation-wide audiences, and most of the stably subscribed lecturers are the ones working at Daechi-dong in Gangnam. Although the the most common practice utilised by both Gangnam and non-Gangnam citizens is after-schooling, it is still true that there is quality difference. According to the interview data the quality difference is derived from parents' time allowance, income, and geographical disadvantage. Among three non-Gangnam interviewees who participate in private education, only one pupil goes to after-schools in Gangnam. The two remaining pupils did not choose their after-schools with thorough information, as one interviewee goes to an after-school due to the presence of friendly fellow pupils and another interviewee goes to another after-school since his father knows the owner of the after-school.

Fifth axial coding is 'mentality fostered by the status of competitor', and this axial coding is the most related to the mentality. As South Korean institutional setting of education regime features stark hierarchy and citizens in Gangnam are the ones who actively join into the competition directed toward the top-ranked university, there is a spiritual base bolstering the citizens' behaviour: distinctive mentality of Gangnam citizens, which is linked to the status of competitor.

The 1st entailing open coding is 'pupils being aware of parents' resource input and expectation'. It seems obvious that citizens in Gangnam actively invest on children's educational affairs with high level of expectation, and those children know it. All of the pupil interviewees living in Gangnam mentioned that they are aware of parents' effort and do appreciate it. An interesting response was from an interviewee whose family moved in Gangnam, and he acknowledged his parents' endeavour to possess

certain premium of Daechi-dong After-school Street. (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-41)

a right to access toward the Gangnam.⁶⁹ Another interviewee commented that she should also deliver quality educational service for her children, and that was the reason why she studies involving into the competition.⁷⁰

2nd open coding is ‘internalised competitive mentality’. An interviewee working as a high-school teacher gave a hint that Gangnam 12th graders are often overly sensitive when they are interrupted of their time management on studying, since they have spent years of time aiming to enter prestigious university. Over this long time, it is natural to internalise certain mentality adapted to the competition. A pupil interviewee living in Gangnam talked about some conversations with his schoolmates and shed light on justifying mental mechanism of fellow students regarding the competition.⁷¹ The status of competitor and entailing production of winners

⁶⁹ Following response is from an interviewee studying in a Gangnam public high-school:

“Maybe it is limited to the pupils in Gangnam, but anyhow there should be positive value from cost-benefit ratio. In case that someone ended up a poor quality university after receiving that much of private educational investment... then... my parents lose their face. (...) My family history starts from a small room in Heuksuk-dong. Then we moved to Gwangjang-dong since that place is famous for primary-school-related education, and then right after the graduation ceremony my family moved into this Gangnam, Daechi-dong. My parents made a lot of effort. We were not completely poor family, but we ‘moved up’ toward here. (...) For me, the family history is the internal motivation, taking up more than 90%. Honestly I don’t care of me making living; I will feed me without my parents’ help. But, my parents face and their effort for me, they are the ones I should pay back. I do care about it.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-42)

⁷⁰ Following response is from an interviewee studying in an independent private high-school and living in Gangnam:

“Studying... I never thought of the reason, but from 11th-grader’s period, I started thinking of making my own living. Being employed... this kind of thing. Nowadays, you know my parents invest a lot after I got to the high-school... Call me too old, but nowadays I think about whether I can also deliver this much of private educational service to my kids. I should study hard for that.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-43)

⁷¹ Following response is from the pupil interviewee who talked about it:

“You know, my mates talk about their life. (...) They all think about those issues, related to the reason why they are going to the universities. They should

and losers, which discussed at 2nd open coding of second axial coding, seems to compel pupils to compare themselves with others or to equip catching-up mentality. One pupil interviewee regretfully said he should have studied mathematics harder and another pupil interviewee was not confident on her performance even though the objectively documented ranking is not bad in standard of private independent high-school.⁷²

mentally equip the justification mechanism. They should be able to answer questions like ‘why am I studying?’, ‘why do I put this much of effort?’. Without these, some problems will emerge... (...) All of my mates think about: the reason why they’re making that effort or what is the fruit after getting through all this. They keep thinking about it...” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-44)

⁷² Following interview contents show a pupil interviewee’s catching-up mentality:

“I regret on a piece of my past. When I was in Germany, I considered taking natural science track, and I even choose quite a lot of courses related to natural science. I knew even when I was in Germany that I would come to South Korea and Korean mathematics is difficult. I should have studied the Korean mathematics while I was in Germany, but I didn’t. My mum even hired a personal tutor, but I didn’t study enough. (...) As the price, I faced a big trouble on Korean mathematics when I firstly arrived in here. During the winter-off in between 10th-grader to 11th-grader, maybe I started thinking of studying hard. But anyhow I failed taking the natural science track.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-45)

Following interview contents show a pupil interviewee who is not confident enough, even though her documented ranking and objective prospect is promising.

“Q: Do you think the reason why your parents do not concretely talk about your future career is not to pile a burden on you?

A: Well... In fact I’m the youngest among all relatives in the family. My older relatives, they were all better performer than I am, but they are still struggling to be employed after graduating the universities. (...) My mum also understands that getting a job is difficult, so she only talks about something realistic. Actually they talked about SKY when I entered the high-school first, but I did not expect myself that much.

Q: How about the in-school ranking of you now?

A: Until 11th-grader’s period, I’ve been doing well: 20th in total, among 200 liberal arts section. But firstly when I was 10th-grader I was like 100th among 400 pupils.

Q: Have you got a lower limit for university entrance?

3rd open coding is ‘identifying personal dignity depending on degree of the success in competition’. It seems that Gangnam pupils learned and internalised the expectancy of their surrounding people, so they count their self-esteem based on their performance in the educational competition. As discussed at chapter 3 the educational unit in South Korea is a family due to its commodified characteristics, and the whole family members’ dignity can depend on the pupils’ results in university admission. Some interviewees living in Gangnam responded that they should keep the performance up to the dignifying level.⁷³ Interestingly the matter of dignity

A: Well... SKY universities are everyone’s dream. But nowadays, my classmates and teachers all think, like ‘I would not retry the university admission if I can make it up to this one’ rather than ‘this one is where I want to enter’. (...)

Q: I think you should get some confident.

A: (Smile) That’s what counselling teachers tell me everyday, from the beginning. I don’t trust myself.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-46)

⁷³ The matter of dignity seems to continue to the later stage of subsequent career path, according to following response from pupil interviewees living in Gangnam:

“Q: Why do you think people want to enter prestigious universities?

A-1: I don’t know exactly... But one thing I know is that the brand of university is largely influential when I ask for investment for my business, even when I meet girlfriends, or when I seek for jobs. Apart from this, personal pride matters.

A-2: In essence, South Korea is academic-clique dominating society. In anywhere at anyfield, the idea of considering the university’s brand firmly exists. Also stated earlier, ‘personal pride’, I think it’s quite important. (...) Maybe it is the first gate facing the real life... It’s better to pass ‘right’ one. Most of the people think that the university entrance decides almost everything of one’s life.

A-1: Also children of my father’s friends mostly have entered the universities, and those people behave like either being boastful with a great result or complete disappearance. My father says, ‘I know someone’s kid scored something in math, but he doesn’t contact me any longer’. Well, I shouldn’t make my father one of them, if I do, my father loses his face. (...)

Q: Do you also think that you should take a career path with certain level of social status?

does not only apply to citizens living in Gangnam as a non-Gangnam interviewee feels the same⁷⁴, although there is the difference on level of expectancy. The Gangnam interviewees' standard was generally top 3 universities but non-Gangnam interviewees' standard was definitely below the level of Gangnam interviewees.

Sixth axial coding is 'imagined geographical significance'. During the interviews there were responses with some sentiment that the space of Gangnam is imagined as special. To introduce those, the 1st entailing open coding is 'distinctive identity of Gangnam citizens constructed by both themselves and non-Gangnam citizens'. Both non-Gangnam citizens and Gangnam citizens perceive the space of Gangnam as special. All the interviewees living in Gangnam said they are aware of privileged social status being Gangnam citizens. Interesting responses were actually the ones perceived by non-Gangnam citizens, creating imagined boundary.⁷⁵ 2nd

A-1: Of course. I can't sell snacks in a food truck." (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-47)

⁷⁴ Following response shows a similar sentiment with the Gangnam interviewees above, and the interviewee is a pupil studying in non-Gangnam public high-school.

"Anyhow when people haven't heard of one's university name, then they will think this guy hasn't made effort enough, ending up at a 'never-heard-never-seen' university. So, it's better to go somewhere people know in Seoul, rather than somewhere utterly unknown, when my in-school performance is the same. If it's possible I'd like to enter one of the known universities... but I don't know whether I am desperate to go." (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-48)

⁷⁵ Following is a report from a parent interviewee living in Gangnam:

"Q: I saw a book features what 'Gangnam mums' do in terms of education. I think there is a certain image on 'Gangnam mums'.

A: I feel quite much. When my son entered the D Foreign Language High-school... As you know, the high school considers school marks on English and other various things... So there are varieties of people in the high-school. Naturally people from non-Gangnam are majority over people from Gangnam. I felt some nuanced difference of looking at me, as I just stayed in here until my son graduates secondary-school and my son went to the D High-school. A parent there said 'oh, you're from Gangnam', like this. Of course any pupils

open coding is ‘variation in Gangnam area’. As discussed at chapter 2, the crude administrative boundary of Gangnam District, Seocho District, and Songpa District does not reflect the real distribution of citizens who are ‘eligibly’ called Gangnam citizens. In addition, although the level of wealth might be similar, a parent interviewee living in Seocho District within Gangnam area talked about differences between Seocho-dong and Apgujeong-dong, in terms of educational practice.⁷⁶ It might be interesting follow-up researches examining whether any geographical area within Gangnam features higher position than others.

5. Discussion

entering D High-school must have been the top performers in each secondary-schools, so the parents’ got some pride. Anyhow, they showed a bit of prickling look on me.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-49)

Following response is from a pupil interviewee living in Gangnam and studying in an independent private high-school:

“They call us ‘ones who takes Bundang-line (metro line penetrating Gangnam area)’... or sometimes Bundang-fam. I lived in Gangbuk and moved in here, so I don’t particularly feel the difference, but seemingly they do... (...) Maybe there are some differences. But I don’t know whether that difference actually helps. It’s not a law that Gangnam residents are naturally well-performers and non-Gangnam residents are under-performers.” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-50)

⁷⁶ Following response is from the parent interviewee living in Seocho-dong:

“My older son has been grown up at here, and after the secondary-school I sent him to Hyundai High-school, and then I met mums who are not from here. The Hyundai High-school is an independent high-school so there were some pupils from far away, but the high-school mainly consisted of pupils living in Apgujeong-dong. I felt they are different. They are not like mums in Seocho-dong, and I couldn’t get along with them. (...) They largely put emphasis on private education... and it’s not after-schooling. They choose a lecturer and bring to group tutoring... I felt a bit of hesitant. Among those Gangnam mums there should be some difference. (...) In Seocho-dong, fathers are mostly law-‘professionals’ and mums do arts or music. In Apgujeong-dong, they are like ‘I’ll support you with hiring tutors’ (...)” (For the interview contents in Korean language, see Appendix II-51)

This chapter puts forward a discussion utilising the open and axial coding words presented at chapter 4. Paradigm model and consequential matrix are developed to integrate the theory utilising the concepts constructed in the chapter 4. Paradigm model defines the relationship among the axial coding words, and consequential matrix integrates the axial coding words into the historical current and identifies sequential development of the phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss, 2007).

In this chapter, concepts such as “controlled consumption”, “social space”, “field”, “practice”, and “habitus” are utilised as analytic framework (Lefebvre, 1968; Lefebvre, 1974; Bourdieu, 1984). To give a definition of “field”:

... each social field provides a way of accumulating and distributing field specific forms of capital (social capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital, and national capital) and mechanisms for the conversion of capital between fields; each of these forms of capital is in a sense a ‘transubstantiation’ of economic capital. ... a social field is an ordering of different aspects of social life that provides a structure and history to agents who invest in specific practices (Rawolle & Lingard, 2008: 732).

On the other hand, “practice” shall be defined as any activities practised by the agents within their “field”, thus it is “mental states, ethically informed actions, or rational decision making” which is essentially relational to the “field” (Rawolle & Lingard, 2008: 730-731). In comparative sense, in the context of class-struggle as Bourdieu (1984) did, agents’ activity in “field” is competitive, strategic, oriented to external goods, and agents’ real “practice” is cooperative, pluralistic, and oriented toward internal goods (Warde, 2004: 25). The practice of agents mostly occurs within their “habitus” as Rawolle and Lingard (2008: 731) explains, “[h]abitus provides the connection between agents and practices through ‘system of dispositions’, which are bodily incorporations of social history”. The habitus

is bodily incorporation in a sense that the social history of an individual is actualised through the one's behaviour.

If the concept of field in everyday life on the education is related to a certain geographical space, theoretical combination with a concept of "social space" (Lefebvre, 1974) is possible. In a nutshell, "social space" is constellation of everyday social relations' "production", reflecting social context on the space (*ibid.*). Lefebvre (1974: 86-87) explains the "social space" in his literature as following:

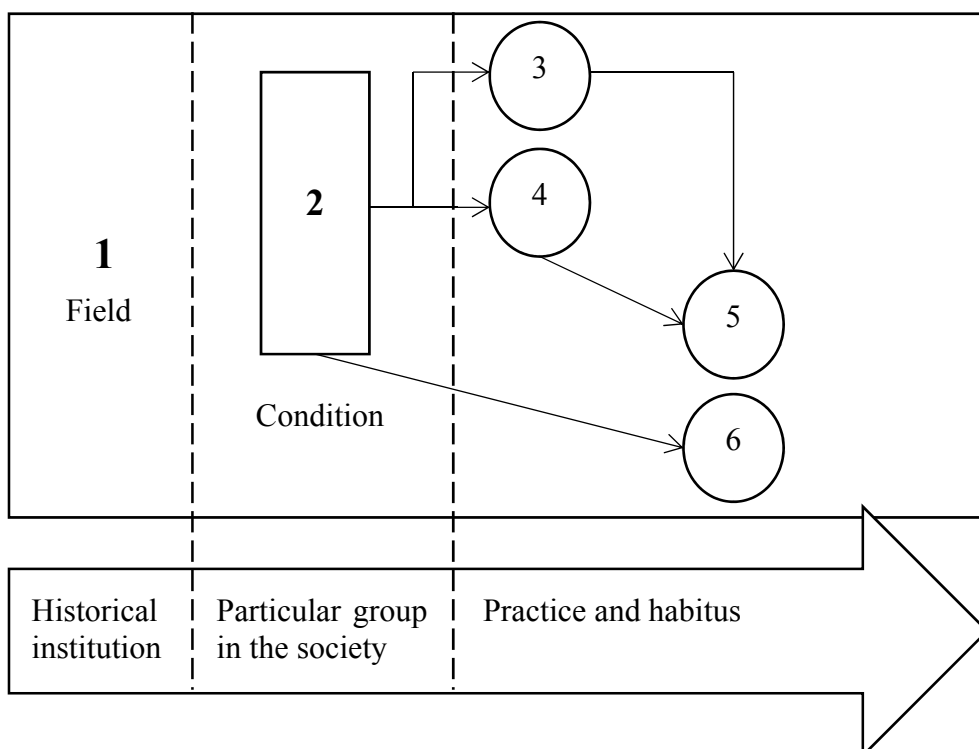
Thus social space, and especially urban space, emerged in all its diversity — and with a structure far more reminiscent of flaky mille-feuille pastry than of the homogeneous and isotropic space of classical (Euclidean/Cartesian) mathematics. *Social spaces interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another.* They are not things, which have mutually limiting boundaries and which collide because of their contour or as a result of inertia.

5.1. Paradigm Model

Figure 5 shows the paradigm model advanced in this research and the numbers given to each diagram represent the axial codings. The axial coding words are listed at right part of the figure 5 as a reminder.

The first axial coding provides a ground embracing all other axial coding words, as it was described to be the most institutional-wise at last chapter. In fact the entailing open coding words did not especially concern only Gangnam residents' educational activities, although there were differing degrees of adaptation between citizens living in Gangnam and the others, within the given institutional setting on the South Korean education regime.

Figure 5. Paradigm Model



1. Negotiation with the institutional setting on the education regime
2. Gangnamer as a new social class
3. Distinctive interpersonal circumstance constructed from personal histories
4. Distinctive Private educational investment
5. Distinctive mentality fostered by the status of competitor
6. Imagined geographical significance

On this given institutional-wise structure in South Korea, there is a particular group of people living in Gangnam who show distinctive behavioural pattern. Thus the second axial coding is contained by the first axial coding. Second axial coding entails open coding words which are highly Gangnam specific, even making citizens in Gangnam eligible be called as a new social class in terms of educational activities. Those Gangnam specific open coding words all describe socially constructed behavioural pattern of ‘Gangnamers’, as accumulated embodiment of the individuals’ history. In this context, they are aristocrats in the “field” of

education (Bourdieu, 1984).

As theorised by Bourdieu (1984), the aristocrats show distinction over number of generations by transubstantiating certain type of capital to another type of transferrable capital. In South Korean educational field, educational aristocrats (Gangnamers) transubstantiate their social capital (related to third axial coding) and wealth (related to fourth axial coding) into transferrable capital (elite-education). Third and fourth axial coding words describe practice and habitus as an aristocratic social class member in the educational field. Therefore, second axial coding is the condition for emergence of third and fourth axial coding words. In addition, the open coding words entailed within fifth axial coding are cultivated by the conditionality of second axial coding and emergence of third and fourth axial coding words. Moreover, the educational aristocrats are the ones who are able to transubstantiate symbolic capital (related to sixth axial coding) to the educational activities. With all those mixture of behavioural patterns, the mission of distinction is accomplished. The elite-education in Seoul occurs in the space Gangnam.

5.2. Consequential Matrix

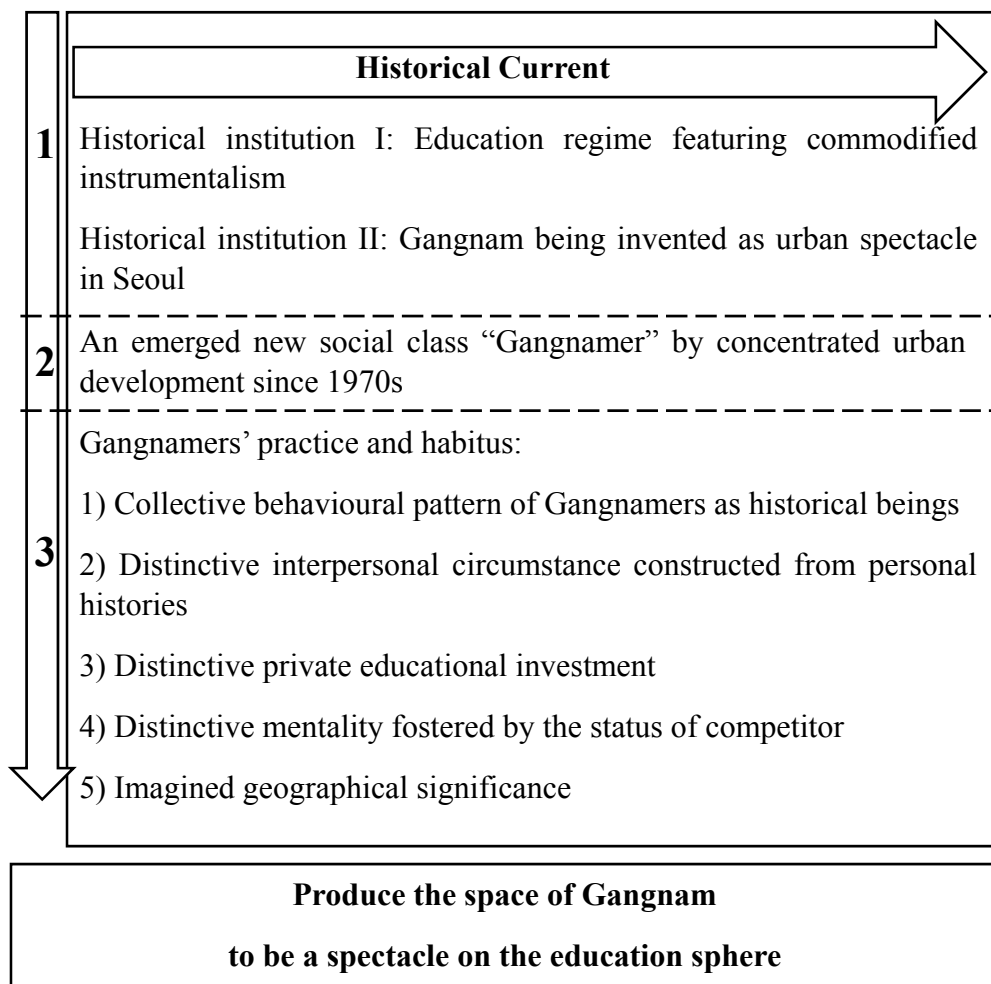
The whole sets of axial coding words from second to sixth construct the elite-education of Gangnam residents, as they are the mixture of practice and habitus. My contention is that the characteristic of educational field matters as the root-cause of the privileged educational practice. In other words, the elite education is a relational adaptive behaviour to the educational field given to Gangnam residents. Thus the real educational practices of Gangnam residents consist of strategic choices in the context of history and institutional development.

Figure 6 is the consequential matrix advanced in this research. The numbers given to a left hand side arrow-diagram represent the sequence of

driving factors producing the phenomenon in the space of Gangnam.

As discussed in detail at chapter 2, the historical context of South Korea steered the education regime to feature commodified instrumentalism as its historical-institutionalist characteristic. The commodification entails the inequality derived by the each actor's mobilisable resource and produces hierarchical structure. This stubbornly hierarchical structure of the education regime led the South Korean education sphere to be the theatre of class struggle.

Figure 6. Consequential matrix



The brightest group on the theatre are 'Gangnamers' who are the beneficiaries of the invention of urban spectacle, displayed as second

historical-institutional development at figure 7. Due to the invention, the space of Gangnam has become one of the elements of educational field, especially from the perspectives of the residents in the space. The Gangnamers are well-educated and possess abundant resources, making them aristocrats in the educational field. They offer elite-education for their children with the constellation of distinctive habitus and practice, as discussed with paradigm model at figure 6 and listed again at figure 7. The elite education is constructed by the Gangnamers' personal histories, as being beneficiaries of quality education and also as the ones who have pursued elite career paths.

However, I argue that the Gangnamers' elite education is not mere embodiment of their personal histories and rather it is the controlled consumption of educational service compelled by the historical-institution. Gangnamers' abundant resources include their time, and they spend their time on childrens' education rather than any other activities. Their behaviours are relational to the all-emcompassing social structure including the educational field. Kim Woo-Yung's (2008) research introduced at chapter 2 shows that South Korean labour market has been structurally liberalised with globalisation trend, so there are emerging problems regarding temporary workers connected to their scholarly attainments. Additionally when the institutional setting on education regime is vertically stratified, active attempt of equipping socially acceptable index, which is prestigious universities' brand, is wise strategic choice. In fact the strategic behaviour is actively pusued by Gangnamers in general, in the space of Gangnam. However, Gangnam pupils are not necessarily always the winners, since losers always exist unless the pupil reaches the top. Plus, the notion of being within top-echelon is ambiguous and constructive by one's expectation, so Gangnamers' habitus setting the expectation high would more likely produce losers. Moreover it is possible that Gangnam pupils can fail to enter prestigious universities, even though some would retry the

university entrance several times.

Still, no matter the final results are, those Gangnamers do consume the prearranged educational serviced-goods, while they try to access toward the prestigious academic cliques. Their consumptive behaviours are spotlighted by mass media, since they are one of the few social groups who can afford the controlled consumption, along with distinctive resources and favourable surrounding. The space of Gangnam is dynamically produced as the spectacle on the South Korean education sphere and the space attracts enormous amount of pupils around the country, both in person and via internet-transmitted lectures. ‘Consuming educational service as if it is at Gangnam’ has become the imagined standard of South Korean citizens. In the meantime, the hierarchical structure in South Korea keeps reproduced through the education sphere where the controlled consumption is pursued imitating Gangnamers’ spectacle.

5.3. Selective Coding and Writing a Storyline

The selective coding embracing all the axial coding words and entailing open coding words is ‘active adaptation to the institutional arrangement’. The Gangnamers are the ones who accept the given characteristics of the educational field, and actively pursue the strategic behaviour on the field. They deliver elite-education to their children with distinctive resources (wealth, information, and personal network) and distinctive habitus and practice. In the mean time the children’s mentality are also cultivated by the situation of competition, and those children might successfully acquire memberships of prestigious universities’ academic clique. These are all adaptive behaviour along with the hierarchical institutional arrangement. Moreover, the social space featuring elite image with Gangnamers’ relatively higher-performance in educational competition produce the social space of Gangnam as an urban spectacle on education sphere. The

Gangnamers actively try to adapt to the historical current in South Korean society with the controlled consumption of educational services. Following is the storyline finishing the grounded theory discussion presented in this research:

I am an 18 years old pupil living in Gangnam. I wake up at 6am, and I begin my daily schedule. It's always tiresome experience waking up early, especially after I slept at 1am yesterday, but I had to finish my task of the day. I study autonomously, scheduling my tasks by myself. My aim is to enter one of SKY universities, but my school marks do not seem to allow it. Probably simple school record process does not fit my portfolio, so I would rather focus on studying CSAT or essay writing. I am good at writing, so essay shall be my viable strategy. However, I should not give up working on school marks, since I will eventually have to make use of total nine chances (three from regular admission system and six from rolling admission system). Soon it is midterm period, so I will have to prepare for it. My mum said she knows a good tutor on mathematics. It is strange that one of my after-school mate said that she should crash into the after-school for entire period of midterm exam. Maybe her family has not saved the enough money. I remember she does not live in Gangnam; actually she comes to the after-school because the Daechi-dong after-schools are generally better than her neighbourhood. I understand it because I also moved in Gangnam when during my secondary-school period. I feel fortunate and appreciate the fact that I was born in a family living in Gangnam. Actually this is why it is my mission to enter one of SKY universities. I cannot fail. I do not want to lose my and my parents' face in front of all relatives who went to SKY universities. My performance in CSAT is better than school marks in ranking. Maybe it is because my school mates are well-performing ones. One of my mates whose ranking higher than me said he wants to enter universities in the US. I do not understand why he makes that much effort on school marks while he would not make use of any of those high marks. He only takes up a position higher than me in school

ranking. I feel sometimes frustrated by this fact. For a long time, I have been dreaming of becoming a successful businessman after graduating one of the SKY universities' business schools. Maybe I would not have to enter business school, since nowadays the ones who studied liberal arts become more successful businessmen, as demonstrated by Steve Jobs. My father is a professor teaching Korean literatures. He occasionally brings his mates into home, and they are mostly poets or novelist. One novelist used to bring me a book written by him, and I liked it quite a lot. Because of him I established my habit of reading books. My father sometimes said money is not important but he wants me to enter one of SKY universities. I do not know the values in lifetime enough, but probably 'honour' is more important than 'material abundance'. Anyhow he supports me with various means. I should pay this debt, by entering a prestigious university.

6. Conclusion

There are number of limitations in this research: 1) coverage of the categories of high-schools is limited by insufficient sampled interviewees, i.e. international high-schools, arts and music high-schools, and vocational high-schools are not covered; 2) pupils who are retrying the university admission are not covered; 3) this research only sampled pupils who perform relatively better for its methodological constraint. Therefore it is difficult to state that this research shows all aspects of the practices for university entrance preparation conducted by Gangnam residents. Moreover, since this research employs qualitative method, there are some points requiring further validation through follow up researches utilising quantitative methods. The limitations due to methodological constraints are followings: 1) the proportions of pupils from Gangnam studying in special-purpose high-schools, special high-schools for talented, and independent private high-schools are not firmly studied; 2); percentage of sources of

initiatives in educational units (i.e. a family) entering favourable schooling environments (special high-schools for talented, special-purpose high-schools, and private independent high-schools); 3) whether it is actually true that group tutoring is the most preferred type of private education; 4) the percentage of pupils who experienced group tutoring and personal tutoring is not studied; 5) the percentage of pupils who actually aspire to enter the prestigious universities is still vague; and 6) distribution and proportion of prestigious university graduates in parents' generation is vague.

Despite abovementioned limitations, this research can draw meaning implication in the field of educational sociology, urban sociology, pedagogics, urban planning studies, social policy, and social geography. This research's starting point is the critical assessment on the South Korean education regime, in the perspective that the education ought to be provided as a welfare service. However in South Korea, with gradual process of institutional development, not only education regime's private sector comprising various forms of private educational investment has been commodified but also public sector has been commodified with emerging hierarchical structure of high-schools. After 1990s, the hierarchy of high-schools are bolstered by legal setting which categorises different sets of high-schools, such as special high-schools for talented, special-purpose high-schools, independent private high-schools, public high-schools, integrated high-schools, and vocational high-schools. Before this legal arrangement is established, the hierarchy of high-schools were mainly influenced by geographical location, inducing the ones in Gangnam take top positions in 1970s and 1980s. Even before then, the high-schools were stratified by their symbolic values and the value sustaining examination criteria. Perhaps the critical juncture was 1973 to late 1980s, when legal setup of hierarchy was not yet introduced and actually the ranking of high-school was legally flattened. On top of this, universities have been vertically stratified during entire history of South Korea. In fact, the stratified structure

of the education sphere has been transformed into a theatre of class struggle, evidenced by various statistical data presented in this research. In the meantime, the space of Gangnam has accumulated the spectacular social relationship in terms of residents' wealth, commercial areas, symbolic values, aristocratic cultural facilities, and the quality of education. This accumulation of the spectacular social relationship has been produced by political decision of urban managers in Seoul since 1970s, as discussed in detail at second section of chapter 2.

In this context, a new social class of Gangnamer emerged on the South Korean educational field and they draw a distinction with their habitus and practice, constructed by their personal histories. Their personal histories are deeply intertwined with both being well-educated and delivering the educational provisions to their children. Their distinctive practice and habitus include distinctive interpersonal circumstance and consumption pattern of educational serviced-goods. Also the high expectancy on the childrens' educational performance as Gangnamer's habitus cultivates distinctive mentality of pupils related to the status of competitors. Finally, the distinction drawn by both non-Gangnam residents and Gangnamers themselves form a certain symbolic capital sustaining the self-esteem of the pupils. With all those elements, the elite-education is completed.

However, my argument through this research is that the Gangnamers are also the ones who are deeply influenced by historical-institutional factors, which have affected their personal histories. The distinctive behaviour of Gangnamers is essentially 'active adaptation to the institutional arrangement', since they have the sufficient resources to take adaptive actions. As a result of the active adaptation, the performance of Gangnamers in educational competition is remarkable. This truth integrates into the spectacular social space of Gangnam, producing Gangnam as the urban spectacle, even on the sphere of education. Gangnam attracts people

by various means, and this social space has been established as a certain standard especially in terms of education. In South Korea, the warning of Lefebvre (1968: 25) is noteworthy that he is loath that people join in catching-up game without discerning historical-institution which controls the consumption of citizens.

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Appendix I. Terms & Agreements for Interviews

1. 나는 이 설명서를 읽었으며 담당 연구원과 이에 대하여 의논하였습니다.
2. 나는 위험과 이득에 관하여 들었으며 나의 질문에 만족할 만한 답변을 얻었습니다.
3. 나는 이 연구에 참여하는 것에 대하여 자발적으로 동의합니다.
4. 나는 이 연구에서 얻어진 나에 대한 정보를 현행 법률과 생명윤리심의위원회 규정이 허용하는 범위 내에서 연구자가 수집하고 처리하는데 동의합니다.
5. 나는 담당 연구자나 위임 받은 대리인이 연구를 진행하거나 결과 관리를 하는 경우와 보건 당국, 학교 당국 및 서울대학교 생명윤리심의위원회가 실태 조사를 하는 경우에는 비밀로 유지되는 나의 개인 신상 정보를 직접적으로 열람하는 것에 동의합니다.
6. 나는 언제라도 이 연구의 참여를 철회할 수 있고 이러한 결정이 나에게 어떠한 해도 되지 않을 것이라는 것을 압니다.
7. 나의 서명은 이 동의서의 사본을 받았다는 것을 뜻하며 연구 참여가 끝날 때까지 사본을 보관하겠습니다.
8. 나의 서명은 이 연구에 필요한 녹음에 동의하는 것을 뜻합니다.

연구참여자	동의서 받은 연구원	법정 대리인
성명	성명	성명(참여자과 관계)
서명	서명	서명
날짜 (년/월/일)	날짜 (년/월/일)	날짜 (년/월/일)

Appendix II. Original Interview Transcripts (Korean)

1.

Q: A 중학교(강남구 남동부 소재)와 B 중학교 (강남구 남서부 소재)가 어떻게 차이가 있던가요?

A: 네 차이가... 같은 강남이라 해도 제가 느끼는 차이가 크더라고요, A 중학교 같은 경우, B 중학교에 대해 빈부 격차가 더 크다고 해야 하나, 제가 느끼기에는. 그런데 여기는... 제가 담임선생님으로서 생활지도 하기가 수월한 부분이 있어요.

Q: A 중학교 학부모님들 직업 생각나는 대로 말씀해 주신다면...?

A: 그렇게 전문직이 많진 않았어요. 보통 다 회사원. 조금 열악한 분들은 그래도 없었고요, 다 회사원이신 분들이 많았고, 교사도 몇 분 계셨고요.

2.

근데 그게 강남 애들이 공부를 잘 하는 것은 맞는 것 같아요. 제 작은 애 같은 경우에도, 다른 여고를 다니는데요, 처음 시험을 봤는데, 영어는 모의고사 1등급이 169명이 나왔어요, 다 맞은 아이들이. 하나만 틀려도 170 몇등이고요, 두 개 틀려도 300 몇 등이에요.

3.

Q: 고교 등급제 말인데요, 선배들 보면 확실히 그런 것이 있어 보이나요?

A: 일단... 선배들이 기본적으로 좋은 대학을 가시는 편이 아니고... 여기 학원에서 한 번 상담을 했었어요. 거기에서 나온 이야기가... 내신 등급은 좋다... 그런데 학교가 문제다. (...) 지금까지 학교에서 서울대를 보낸 적이 없어요. 연세대랑 고려대를 몇 번 가긴 했는데, 그걸 합쳐도 매년 5명을 못갈 거예요, SKY 레벨로.

4.

Q: 두 자녀분 다 일반고를 안 나왔는데... 일반고가 꺼려지시는 게 있던가요?

A: 시점의 문제인데, 저희 큰 애가 고등학교 입학할 때는 2011년도거든요. 그때 자율고가 생기면서, 일반고가 슬럼화 되기 시작했어요. 그곳에 보낼 수는 없었고요. 요새는 내신으로 가기 쉬워지고 그러면서, 오히려 일반고 가는 것이 낫다... 강남권 일반고는 살아나는 것 같더라고요. (...) K 고는 그때도 인기 많았어요. 인기 많고, 명문이고...

5.

Q: 강남으로 어떻게 이사오게 된 건가요?

A: 중학교 때 고등학교 어디 갈까 고민을 했었어요. 분위기도 좋고, 애들 공부 잘 하는 고등학교 오고 싶었어요. H 고등학교는 자사고니까, 지원을 했는데, 혹시 떨어지면, 그 주변 고등학교 가게 될까봐… 떨어지면 강남에 있는 학교에 오고 싶어서요. 진선여고… 아니면 숙명.

6.

Q: 처음에 K고 지원할 때, 어머니의 권유가 영향이 더 컸었나요?

A: 아뇨 제가 가자고 했어요.

Q: 왜요?

A: 저는 일단은 외고 자사고는 전혀 안 썼어요. 그냥 일반고 가려고 했는데, 제 주변은 A고나 B 고라서… 거긴 죽어도 가기 싫고. (….) 솔직히 그 때는 별로 자세히 생각은 안 했어요. 우선 한 번 쓰고 보자. 원서 쓸 때 K 쓰고 서울 쓰고… 그쪽으로 가고 싶은 마음이 괜히 컸어요. 아버지 K고 나오시고… 아버지랑 관계가 원래 소원했거든요. 고등학교 오니까 갑자기… (….)

7.

Q: 선생님께서 느끼는… 강남-비강남 차이가 있습니까?

A: 강남에는 학부모 직업이 아무래도 전문직이 많지요. 비강남에는 회사원이나 조그만 자영업? 여하튼 강남에는 대부분 전문직이니까 엄마들이 집에 있고… 비강남권은 조그만, 이마트 이런 데에서 일을 하더라도 엄마들이 맞벌이 하는 경우가 많아요. 그래서 학부모가 학교에 오고 싶어도 올 수 있는 시간이 별로 없지요.

8.

Q: 스카이에서 조금 안 좋은 과를 붙고, 조금 떨어지는 대학에서 무역학과 붙으면 어디 가고 싶어요?

A: 솔직히 스카이 갈 것 같아요. 왜냐면 복수 전공이란 것이 있어서 (웃음). 문과는… 상담 선생님들이, 문과는 간판빨이라고… 잘 모르겠어요, 원하는 과여도, 엄마가 과연 어떻게 생각할건지… 고민 하다가, 엄청 고민 하다가 스카이 갈 것 같아요.

9.

Q: 대학교 학과는 어디 가고 어요?

A-1: 아까 외교관 말씀 드렸는데… 그것 때문에 대학 학과 정하진 않아요. 일단 저는 직업이 우선이라기 보다는, 현재 목표는 대학이 우선이거든요. 일단 대학을 최우선적으로 생각하고, 제가 희망하는 대학에 합격한 후에 제가 생각했던 진로가 바뀔 가능성이 있다고 봐야죠.

A-2: 사회학? 일단 고려는 중인데, 정확히 정한 것은 아니에요. 문과는 일단 그냥 대학 (브랜드). 특정 직업, 과 상관 없이 일단 대학.

10.

Q: 경영학이요? 주위에서 경영학 얘기 많이 해요?

A: 1등 하면… 일단 가야 할 것 같은 느낌이… 아 그러니까… 애들도 1등 하면 경영학 가는 거 아니야 생각도 하고. 법대가 지금 없어졌잖아요. (…) 문과는 1등 하면 경영 가야지, 이과는 1등하면 의대 가야지… 이런 분위기인데, 저는 이게 현실과 이상의 괴리랄까? 아무런 그게 없으면 심리학과 가죠. (…) 제 친구는, 개도 공부 잘 하니까 의대 가려고 하는데… 개도 자기의 재능을 의대에 낭비하고 싶지 않다 그래요. 자기의 꿈을 펼치고 싶다, 자기의 재능을 맘껏 발산할 수 있는 데에 가고 싶다.

11.

Q: 또 다른 강남에서 살면서 얻을 수 있는 혜택이 뭐가 있을까요? 비강남에서는 불평등으로 느낄 수 있을 만한 것이라면?

A: 저는 확실히 있다고 봐요. 철저하게 있어요. 학원 같은 것도 보면, 강남대성 선생님 현장, 그런 거 보면. 똑 같은 캠퍼더 갖다 놓고 우리 수업하는 장면을 찍더라고요. 찍어서 인터넷 강의로 올리는데, 그걸 전국의 수많은 학생들이 Q&A 같은 것 올리면 대충 조교 같은 선생님이 답변하거나 무시하는 경우도 있는데, 우리는 그 자리에서 소통을 할 수 있고. 나가기만 해도 사방이 학원예다가, 신문지에도 전단지 끼어 들어가오는 거 보면 다 학원이잖아요. (…)

12.

작년에 학생회장이었던 학생이 저희 반이었는데… 일단 애가 너무 바르고, 어머니가 또 너무 좋으셨어요. 극성스럽고 그런 어머니… 치맛바람이 아니라… 학생도 역시나 가정교육도 잘 받았고, 공부도 잘하고 아이도 너무 훌륭한데, 절대 빠가지

않고, 아이들이랑도 잘 지내고, 그런 모습이 너무 좋아 보였어요. 그 친구가 열심히 준비를 했어요, 용인외고(Hankuk Academy of Foreign Studies) 가고 싶어해서, 그게 되게 강했거든요. 결국 안되었어요. 진짜 열심히 하고, 스트레스도 많이 받고, (...) 그래서 제가 격려도 많이 해주고... 학생회장도 했고 성적도 좋고 그러니까 떨어질 이유가 없다 (...) 그렇게 했는데 면접을 좀 못 봤든지... 좀 자신감 있어하는 스타일은 아니긴 해요. 어쨌든 결과적으로 합격이 안되어서 아쉬웠던. (...)

13.

Q: 최근에 제가 듣기로... 100점이 너무 많이 나왔다고 하던데요?

A: 네... 제가 어렵게 냈거든요. 잘 하는 애들이 다음 시험엔 더 어렵게 내달라고 ...

Q: 그러면... 100점 학생 수가 줄어들긴 해도, 중간 정도 되는 애들은 점수가 너무 떨어지지 않을까요?

A: 그럼요. 그래서 제가, 아이러니 한 것이, 그런 애들도 많아요. 잘 하는 애들이 많은데, 잘 하는 애들이 두터운 거지, 사실은 못 하는 애들도 있거든요. (...) 그 애들이 성취감을 느끼고 해야 하는데, 조금 잘하는 아이들 때문에 시험을 어렵게 내야 하니까... 이런 걸로 고민 해본 것이 처음이에요.

14.

Q: 내신 부담이 크죠?

A: 크죠. 진짜 크죠. 저 같은 경우는 진짜 커요. 이게 역설적인 것이, 경쟁체제 안에 있으면서, 경쟁 체제에서 벗어나야 잘 할 수 있어요. 왜냐면, 맨 위에 있으면 너무 불안하니까, 뺏기는 일 밖에 안 남았잖아요. 그 부담감을 탈피하려면, 나 자신한테 초점을 맞출 수밖에 없어요. (...) 그래서 저는 친구들을 경쟁자로 최대한 생각 안 하려고 해요. 일반적으로 다 친하잖아요. 근데 내신 기간이 되면, 애들 사이에서도 알 수 없는... 그런 게 있잖아요. (...)

15.

항상 공부를 안하면... 전에 했던 공부보다 더 공부를 해야 그나마 유지가 되는 거예요. 갑자기 훅 오르기도 하고, 떨어지기도 하고. 모의고사 같은 것은 특히 자습실에 등수대로 나누거든요. 1등부터 40등이 있으면, 1등에서 40등은 가장 좋은,

가장 좁은 방을 쓰고요, 40등부터 135등까지는 중간 방을 쓰고… 나머지 200등 이후는 위로 올리고. 저희 선배들은 등수대로 앉았데요, 저희는 이름 순이긴 했지만… 저희 예비소집 때 첫 문구가 웰컴 투 헬이었어요.

16.

Q: 어렸을 때부터 공부 열심히 했나요?

A: 잘한다기 보다… 못 하면 안 되는 걸로 여기고… 어렸을 때부터 학원 다니고. 영어학원을 4살인가 5살 때 처음 갔을 거예요. 일부러 부모님들 눈에 잘 보여야 한다는 그런 것이 있어서. 재밌기도 했고, 싫어하고 그런 것도 아니라서… 잘 하면 좋고, 떨어지면 별로지요. (….) 초등학교 때도, 한 달 전부터 시험공부 하고. 왜 그랬는지 모르겠어요. 중학교 때도 사소한 과목 있잖아요, 체육 음악 이런 거… “다 맞을 거야” 그러면서…

17.

Q: 학부모님들께서도 ‘흔히 말하는 명문대’ 졸업 하셨죠?

A: 네. 그랬죠.

Q: 자녀분이 의식을 좀 하는 것 같던가요?

A: 부모가 그랬으니까 너도 이래야 해 그렇게 직접적인 것 보다… 너도 당연히 그런 것 아니니? 그런 것 있잖아요. 무의식적으로. 너는 꼭 그렇게 해야 해 그런 게 아니라, 당연하지 않니? 집안 분위기나 친척분들 다.

Q: 친척분들도 대부분 좋은 대학 나왔나요?

A: 네.

Q: 스카이 정도는 기본으로?

A: 네 스카이 까지는… 고모는 이화여대 나왔고. 그래도… 고등학교 때 성적들이 보면, 신랑이나 제 성적 보다도 제 아들 성적이 더 나쁜 것은 맞아요. 생각해 보면, 지금 세대는 다 열심히 하고, 저희 세대는 또 안 그랬거든요.

18.

Q: 부모님이 간섭을 많이 안 하는 편이에요?

A: 공부하라고 하시는데… 부모님이 다 바쁘셔서요. 어머니도 매일 저녁 때 들

어오시거든요. 근데 신경은 써주려고 노력은 하세요. 아버지는 피곤하시니까 일찍 주무시길 해요.

19.

Q: 비강남권 학교에서 근무하실 때 학부모님들과 만나보신 적도 있으시죠?

A: 네.

Q: 강남권 학부모님들과 차이가 있다면 어떨까요?

A: 자식 생각하는 거야 똑같죠. 다 똑같은데, 시간을 많이 못내는 경우가 많고. 그 다음에… 목표, 기대수준, 이런 것들이 차이가 있죠. (….) “이 정도면 되었다” 하는 수준이 강남권 고등학교 학부모와 비강남권 고등학교 학부모와는 차이가 있어요.

20.

Q: 자녀분 두 분이 다 성적이 좋은 편이었나요?

A: 큰 애는… 물론 다른 사람들은 그 정도면 좋은 거라고 하지만, 큰 애는 그렇게 열심히 공부하는 스타일은 아니었어요.

Q: 카이스트 입학 한 거면, 제가 보기에는 상당히 좋아 보이는데요? 서울대 들어간 것 보다 좋은 결과 아닌가요?

A: 일단 과고 애들은, 정말 관심이 있고 -holic 된 애들은 카이스트 좋아 하는데, 아직은 고정관념이 그렇진 않더라고요. 서울대를 가고 싶어하죠… 그런데 정말로 연구가 좋고 그런 애들은, 카이스트를 우선 점점 가려고 하더라고요.

Q: (둘째 자녀분) 미국 유학 가죠? 아이비리그 얘기를 계속 하던데…

A: 아직은 그 나이 애들이… 학교에서 워낙 그 얘기를 하니까, (….)

Q: 만약 생각하고 있는 그 대학들, 입학 실패하면, 한국으로 대입 할 수도 있지 않습니까?

A: 저는 마음속으로 하고 있죠. 양쪽으로 해야 되는데… 왜냐면 지금 외국 대학에서, 그때 그때 그쪽에서 어떻게 뽑느냐, Asian 비율을 어떻게 하느냐에 따라서, 해마다 굉장히 바뀌어요. 어떤 변수가 있을 지 몰라서, 수시로라도 해봐야지요.

Q: 어디 정도는 최소한 갔으면 좋겠다 하는 대학이 있나요, 국내든 국외든?

A: 생각은 안했는데요... 거기까지 생각은 안 했는데... 주립대도 아주 유명한 데 아니면, 만약 국내 대학이... 서울대 자유전공 같은 경우가 옛날에 많이 그랬는데. 미국 대학은 조금 우리가 말하는, 탑 레벨이나 조금 그 밑에를 못 들어간다... 그러면 서울대를 보낼 것 같아요. 그리고 대학원을 미국으로 보내고...

21.

Q: 어머니랑 진로 관련해서 좀 진지하게 이야기해본 적이 있어요?

A: 몇 번 얘기는 해봤는데... 정말 뭔가 정해주신 것 없고, 니 하고 싶은 것 하라는 말씀은 계속 하셨죠.

Q: 그래도 부모님이 어느 정도 대학까지는 가는 것이 좋겠다는 것 있지 않습니까?

A: 아버지는 인 서울 안에만 들어라. 지방으로 가면 가기 힘들니까. 어머니는 시립대 안으로 가라, 그럼 10위권이죠. 그렇게 가면 좋겠는데... 그렇게 못 가도 괜찮다고는 하세요.

Q: 본인은 어디 까지 가고 싶어요?

A: 한양대 까지는 가고 싶어요. SKY, 서강대 성균관대 한양대. 이 안에서 가고 싶어요.

22.

친구 하나는, 굉장히 오랫동안 공부를 해서 뒤늦게 대학을 간 친구가 있어요. 서울대학교 기계 항공과 고대의대를 동시에 합격했는데, 기계항공과를 선택했어요. 근데 의대가 가고 싶어서 재수를 했는데, 한 문제 때문에 서울대 의대에 불합격했어요. 그래서 다시 삼수를 해서 서울대 의대를 지원하고, 또 안 되고, 사수를 해서 서울대 의대를 갔지요. 이게 여기 정서예요. 강남대성도 가보면, 물론 일반 재수생들도 많지만, 연고대 다니는 애들도 되게 많아요. 서울대를 가기 위해서 반수나 재수를 선택한 아이들이죠.

23.

공부를 잘하고 못하고를 떠나서 환경들이 좋아요. 예를 들어 학교 폭력이라든가... 서로 비슷비슷해야 하는데, 너무 다르면 학교 폭력도 생기고 왕따도 생기고... 제가 경험한 바로는 그런 것이 없다고 알고 있어요, 사람마다 다르긴 하겠지만. (...) 목표가 있으니까, 아이들이 감정 컨트롤을 하고... 대학교 가면 어느 정도 정신이

성숙 하겠죠, 근데 고등학교 때는 아무래도 가정에서 부모님이 해주는 사랑이라든지 그런 것에 영향을 많이 받기 때문에, 아이들이 제가 경험한 바로는 그래도 대부분 착하고 바른 것 같아요. 그래서 공부를 잘하고 못하고를 떠나서 그 분위기 때문에 강남을 찾는 것이 아닌가… 그런 생각이 들어요.

24.

진짜, 아침에 와서 누워서 점심 안 먹고 종례 끝나고 일어나는 애들 있거든요, 분명히. 그런 애들도 전국 평균 보면 상당히 높은 점수를 받고. 그럴 수밖에 없는 것이, 그게 진짜 철저하게 강남-비강남의 차이를 반영해주는 것 같아요. 공부와 담을 쌓고… 그래도 어떻게든 끌고 가서 대학을 보낼 수 있는 분위기와 저력.

25.

Q: 1학년 때 성적이 3학년 때까지 거의 유지가 되나요?

A: 강남지역 같은 경우는 거의 유지가 된다고 봅니다. 원래 성적이라는 게 중학교 3년 과정의 성적이 고등학교 1년간의 과정보다 학습량으로 보면 떨어지긴 하거든요. 그러니까 고등학교 과정에서 학습량이 많아지면 당연히 성적이 오르는데, 대체로 중학교 때 성적이 좋았던 애들은 그 습관 혹은 패턴이 유지되어서 가니까, 당연히 순위가 높죠.

26.

Q: 강남 지역 선생님들 인터뷰를 해 보니까, 강남 지역에서는 1학년 때 성적이 끝까지 유지가 된다고 하더라고요, 못 하든 잘 하든.

A: (….) 강남권 아이들은 초등학교 중학교 때 공부를 어느 정도 하면서 노력을 했기 때문에, 고등학교 와서 늘어나는 폭이, 상대적으로 상위권과 중위권이 격차를 벌일 수 있는 기회가 적다고 하면, 비강남권 아이들은, 중학교 때 공부를 체계적으로 하는 것을… 훈련이 덜 되어 있는… 놀이가 더 많았던 친구들이기 때문에, (….) 비강남권에 있는 아이들이 고등학교를 거치면서 월등하게 성장한다라기 보다는, 자기 자신이 공부를 했던 시간들이 늘어남으로 인해서 어떤 실력이 늘어난 부분이 많은 것이죠. (….)

27.

애들이 정말 학원을 너무 많이 다녀서, 정말 깜짝 놀랐어요. A 중학교는 그 정도는 아니었거든요. 학원을 다들 다니긴 했지만 학교 끝나고 6시까지 가서 9시면 집

에 오고... 여기는, 이 학교가 등교 시간이 빠른 이유도, 학부모님들이 애들 학원을 보내야 한다고... 중학교가 8시 등교가 별로 없거든요. (...) 학부모님들이 일찍 끝내달라고 요청을 하셨데요, 제가 듣기로. 그래야지만 애들을 학원에 보내기 때문에... 5시쯤 학원 가서, 10시 11시에 끝나고. 이런 것이 일상인 거예요. (...) 그냥 이렇게 계속 해왔다는 식이에요. 그러니까 여기 아이들이 받는 스트레스는 좀 달라요.

28.

제 아이가 2학년 때 소그룹 활동을 했어요. 심리학에 관해서 심도있게... 책 한 10권 정도 친구들이랑 같이 읽고 토론하는 과정을 겪으면서 (...) 자기가 하고 싶어하는 공부에 대해서 심도있는 공부를 하자고, 학교에서 그런 프로그램을... 원하는 애들끼리, 작년에 한 20팀인가 넘게 지원 했는데 선택된 애들은 한 10팀? 그렇게 해서 나중엔 시상까지. 그렇게 하는 프로그램이거든요. 학교에서 그런 많은 지원을 해주시고 그러니까 (...) 애가 조장으로 애들을 모았지요. 심리학에 대해서 모여서 공부하자, 이렇게. (...)

29.

현대 고등학교, 현대 자동차가 있잖아요. 현대고에 자동차 동아리가 굉장히 오래된 것이 있어요. 애는 학교 홈페이지 뒤져서, 그거에 반해서 들어가서, 3년 동안 그것만 했어요. 카이스트에 들어간 것도 사실 그것... 자기들, 고등학교 애들 할 수 있는 정도로 해서, 잡지에도 나오고 (...)

30.

(학생부 종합전형) 하려고 했었죠, 토플도 시험 봤었고요. 근데 그런 것들이 어떤 규정된 게 아니라, 제가 생각할 때는 도박 같더라고요. (...) 토플이요, 사실 100점 이상만 해도 굉장히 잘 하는 거예요. 근데 한국 대학교들은 100점을 원하는 것이 아니라 120점을 바래요. 연고대나 이런 데에도... 100점 이상도 굉장히 잘 하는 건데 (...) 사실 만점자도 너무 많아요. 그래서 118점 이상이 되어야 연고대에서 봐주지. (...) 그 토플 하나를 위해서 많은 것을 포기해야 될 부분이 많거든요. 그래서, 이거 만점 받아도 합격할 수 있을지 아닐지도 모르는데, 아이랑 저랑 고민을 많이 해서, 그래서 그냥 단순히 공부를 열심히 하는 것이... (...)

31.

Q: 생각하고 있는 진로가 있다면?

A: 저 같은 경우는... 외교관 (...) 국제 교류... 그런 일단 지금까지 제가 살아왔던 인생의 길이 거의... 그런 부류라서요. (...) 저는 그 직업을 좋아하는 게 아니라고, 그 직업을 가짐으로서 얻는 삶의 혜택. 그게 좋아서... 왜냐면, 제가 초등학교 때 카자흐스탄에 있었거든요, 3년 6개월 있었는데, 거기서 제 아버지가 외교관 혜택을 받으셨어요. 또 제 주변 친구들 중에서도 외교관 부모님들이 많아서요, 그걸 직접적으로 경험해 봤어요. 혜택이 많잖아요. 국제적인 삶이 되게 좋더라고요. 근데 저는 꼭 외교관이 되어야겠다는 강박관념까진 없거든요. 외교관이 못 되면 그냥 제가 좋아하는 것. (...) 그냥 일단 지금 최우선의 목표는 대학교니까, 일단 지금은 대학교가 최우선이에요. 대학교가 딱 바로 잡혀야지, 초이스가 광범위하잖아요.

32.

Q: 1학년 때부터 아이들이 고입에 관심이 있나요?

A: 그럴 거예요. 저희 반에 민사고 가고 싶어 하는 애도, 딱 1학년 때부터 그 목표를 정해서, 민사고 생각하고 있더라고요. 그게 너무 머릿속에 가득 차있어서, 제가 거기 안 가도... 물론 합격할 거지만, 그렇지만 모르는 거잖아요 인생은. 민사고 합격이 안 되었을 때 좌절감이 너무 클 것 같은 거죠.

33.

Q: 혹시 둘째 자녀분에 대해서 생각하는 직업이 있다면요?

A: 아이 아빠는 경제쪽을 전공하길 바라고요. 나중에는 로스쿨을 보내고 싶어하더라고요. (...) 일단 사회 나와서... 뭐가 있긴 있어야 해요. 회계사나 변호사나... 우리나라 사회가 좁잖아요. 그러니까... 이과계통은 연구면 연구 계통으로 나가면 되는데... 문과 나온 친구들이 참 힘들어요, 제가 봐도 (웃음). 자리 잡기가 힘들어요, 현실적인 문제에 있어서. 어떤 직업을 해도 일단은 전문직 자격증은 따놓고 봐야 한다는...

34.

저희 어머니도... 다른 분들에 비해 특별하게 열심히 안 하신 것 같거든요, 그런데 입시 설명회는 다 다니시고... 대학교 자체에서도 설명회를 오더라고요, 연세대에서도 오고 고려대에서도 오고... 다 오니까, 그 설명회 가서 들으시고. 진짜 정보력 자체가 다른 것 같아요. 여기는, 엄마들이 다 정보를 어디선가 연줄이 닿아서 고급 정보가 있고. (...) 고3이란 특수한 상황이고, 대학을 보내야 한다는 생각에서

그렇게 하시는 것 같아요. 그런 안타까운... 제가 생각해도, 저렇게까지 할 필요가 있을까, 이렇게. 그런 정보력이 있어요. 발품을 엄청 파시는 거죠, 어머니들이. (...) 너희들은 공부에 최선을 다 하라, 우리는 정보 전략 이런 것 다 얻어서 공부에 전념할 수 있게...

35.

Q: 학부모님들 자주 찾아 오시죠?

A: 글썄요, 현재 우리 학교에서도 상담 주간 뭐 이렇게 해도, 학부모님들의 생계가 어렵기 때문에, 어려운 근로조건에 일을 하다 보니까 시간을 내서 상담이나 어떤 교육활동에 심혈을 기울일 만한 그런 가정형편이 안 되는 사람들이 많죠. 직장 내에서 조퇴를 한다거나 결근을 하는 것이 좀 부담이 되는. (...) 강남 쪽에서는 학부모 설명회 한다고 하면, 강당에 2-3백명씩 한 학년에 학부모가 와서 설명회를 할 정도로 관심이 높다라고 하면, 여기는 1-2-3학년 다 초대를 해도, 100명-200명을 못 넘는...

36.

비강남권으로 가면 부모님 두 분이서 아동바둥 하다 보니까, 아이들 교육에 더 소홀히 하고, 관심은 있지만 시간은 못 내시고 뭐 그런 것들이 많죠. 그런 학교들은 학부모 총회를 한다든가 진학 설명회를 하면, 2회를 해요. 낮에 한 번 하고, 오실 수 있는 분들을 위해서, 그 다음에 밤에 한 번 하고, 이제 직장을 마치고 오실 수 있는 분들을 위해서. 이쪽 강남권은 맛벌이를 하더라도, 시간을 낼 수 있는 그런 직업들을 많이 가지고 계시다고 보면 됩니다, 전문직이나 그런.

37.

여기 애들은 기본적으로 외국에서 살다 온 것이 아무것도 아니에요. 다 살다 왔어요, 대부분이, 한 반에 받은. 영어를 너무 잘해요. 그런데 국어는 잘 못해요. 영어를 너무 잘해서, 저도 깜짝깜짝 놀래요. 저보다도 잘해요, 발표를 시켜보고 그러면. 특히나 애들 스피킹은 너무 Fluent 해서... 왜냐면 외국에서 4-5년 살다 오고... 그러니까.

38.

Q: 선행 학습 해야 한다는 이야기는 어디서 들었던 건가요?

A: 엄마들끼리 뭐 이러더라 저러더라... 성공한 사람들 (성공적으로 자녀를 명문대

입학시킨 사람들) 커피 한 잔 사주면서 말도 듣기도 하고, 정보도 좀 얻어야 하니까.

Q: 그런 분들은 어디서 처음 만난 거예요?

A: 일단은 학교를 기점으로 해서 학교에서 처음 만나죠. 초등학교, 중학교 계속 연결 되어 있으니까. 누가 어디 갔다더라 하면 다 알잖아요. (...) 엄마들끼리 커뮤니케이션이죠.

39.

Q: 대입 관련 정보는 어디서 얻나요?

A: 저는 그냥 졸업한 선배 어머니들한테 듣고요, 졸업하신 분들한테 정보를 들어야 해요. 실제로 실적이 있는 그런 분들한테 이야기 듣고, 뭐 설명회나 이런 데는 안 가요. (...) 저 같은 경우 해외로 왔다갔다 해서... 해외에서 친분이 있었던 분들은 여기에서 다시 만나면, 그 분들은 이미 다 보냈기 때문에 그분들에게서 정보를 많이 얻어요. 밥먹자 그러면 밥먹으로 나가서 아이들 이야기 하고, 그런 식이고. 친목 같은 거죠. (...) 학교 같은 경우는 그룹 카톡이 있어요. 1학년 때도 있고, 학년 올라가면 계속 바뀌죠. 정보도 이야기 하고 그러는데, 핵심적인 정보는 이야기 안하지요. 그냥 알고 있는 내용들만.

40.

Q: 팀에 있는 학부모님들이랑 좀 친해요?

A: 네 친하죠, 친하니까 같이 하죠.

Q: 자녀분들 성적이 좀 비슷 한가요?

A: 그렇게 같이 하는 과목에 한해서는 비슷해요. 영어는 비슷한 아이들끼리, 수학도 그렇고요.

Q: 그 팀에 들어가고 싶은데 혹시 못 들어온 학생 있었나요?

A: 성적 갖고 그러지는 않았고요, 불성실한 경우에. 같이 하는 아이가 게임을 너무 좋아한다든지, 매일 같이 한 시간씩 운동을 해야 한다든지... 분위기를 흐릴까 봐 걱정을 하긴 했었죠.

Q: 팀 멤버는 어떻게 찾았어요?

A: 일단은 주변에 성적이 비슷한 아이들 소개로요. 제 아이랑 만약 저희 아이 친구가 성적이 비슷하다, 그럼 둘이 하기로 하면서… 비슷한 아이들 네 명이 필요하다면 한 명씩 더 찾는 걸로… (….) 처음부터 친한 사람은 일부죠. 나중에는 같이 친해지고 그랬죠. 한 달에 한 번은 만나요, 의견을 나누어야 하니까, 과외 선생님한테 뭐 부탁할 것들 중심으로…

41.

대치동이 학원 선생님들의 일번지이고, 여기서 쫓겨나면 반포로 가든지 목동으로 가든지, 이런 흐름이라서요. 또 이쪽 어머니들이 정보에 되게 강해서, 이 선생님은 들으면 점수가 잘 나온다, 이 선생님은 이상하다, 이런 거 다 아시니까, 여기서 쫓겨나면 다른 데로 가는 느낌이에요. 대치동에서 밀려난 선생님들이 다른 데 가거나 대치동에서 학원 강사 했다는 경력 내세워서 일 하고… 대치동 학원가의 특별한 지위가 있어요.

42.

비교적 강남 애들로 한정될 순 있지만, 투자한 돈에 비해 뽑는 것이 조금… 잔뜩 쏟아 부었는데 안 좋은 대학 갔다… 그러면… 부모님들이 영 그렇죠, 체면이. (….) 삶을 조금 풀자면, 처음엔 흑석동 원룸에서 시작되었어요, 가족사가. 나름 초등교육 메카랍시고 광장동 초등학교로 이사를 갔다가, 거기서 초등교육을 마치자 마자, 졸업식 끝나자 마자 이 대치동으로 이사를 왔어요. 땀모삼천 소리를 들었거든요, 부모님이. 완전히 빈곤층까진 아니어도, 하층 사이에서 나름 상층 사이에 끼여 있는 듯한 느낌에서부터 올라왔기 때문에 (….) 그게 진짜 공부하는 원동력이에요. 90% 가량 원동력이에요. 저는 솔직히 (….) 먹고 살 걱정을 안 해요, 딱히. 부모님 빨대 안 꽂고도 먹고 살 생각 하는데, 그런데 부모님 체면이 있고 해주신 게 있으니까… 이거는 최소한 보답해서 잘 해드려야 겠다, 그런 생각은 분명 있어요.

43.

공부… 예전에는 아무 생각 없이 했는데, 고 2 되서 밥 먹고 살아야지, 그런 거 있었어요. 직장도 가져야 하고. 그리고 요즘 와서 느낀 것은, 확실히 고등학교 와서 엄마아빠가 사교육에 돈을 많이 쏟아 붓잖아요… 너무 애늬오니 같은지 모르겠는데, 내가 어른이 되어서도 내 자녀들한테 사교육을 투자를 해줄 수 있을까… 그런 것도 있어요. 공부를 잘 해야죠.

44.

자기 삶에 대해서 이야기를 같이 해보잖아요. (...) 그런 생각을 다들 하더라고요. 왜 내가 대학을 가는... 그 당위성을 가지고 있어야 하고, 그러니까, 왜 공부를 하지? 내가 왜 이렇게 열심히 하지? 그런 목적 의식이 없으면, 언젠가는 뭔가 문제가 생기니까 그런 생각을 하는 것 같아요. (...) 다 그런 생각을 하더라고요. 내가 왜 이렇게 열심히 해야 하는지. 이렇게 해서 내가 얻는 것이 무엇인지. 이런 거에 대해서 생각을 계속 하니까.

45.

약간 후회한 게 있어요. 독일에 있는 중학교 있을 때, 제가 거의 이과계열 과목을 선택해서, 전공도 이과계열 생각하고 있었어요. 그때 독일에 있을 때에도 알고 있었던 것이, 고등학교 1학년 때부터 한국에 올 것이고 한국 수학이 어렵다는 것을 알았어요. 독일에 있을 때 한국 수학을 공부해야 했는데, 저희 어머니도 그걸 시켰거든요, 근데 제가 그걸 안 했어요. 어머니가 과외도 붙여주고... 제가 그걸 안 했어요. (...) 그래서 그걸 안 한 대가로 한국 오자마자 수학에서 큰 낭패를 봤죠. 1학년 끝나고 2학년 들어가기 전 겨울 방학 때, 그때 공부를 해야겠다는 마음이 강했던 것 같아요. 결국 이과 못 가고 문과 왔어요.

46.

Q: 부모님께서 진로를 좀 대략 말씀해주시는 이유가, 부담될까봐 그런 걸까요?

A: 그런 것보다, 제가 외가에서든 친가에서든 막내예요. 언니들 오빠들 항상 공부를 잘했는데, 대학교 가서, 그 언니 오빠들도 자기가 원하는 직장 못가지고 (...) 엄마도 약간 그게 힘들다는 것 알고, 얘기는 해도 현실적인 그런 얘기밖에 안 하고... 원래 고1때는 스카이는 가야지 그런 거 했는데, 저는 입학 할 때부터 큰 기대 안 했어요.

Q: 지금 전교에서 성적이 어떻게 되요?

A: 2학년 때까지는 잘했어요. 전교 20등? 200명 밖에 안돼요, 문과는. 1학년 때는 맨붕 왔었어요... 400명 중에 100 몇등?

Q: 대학 어디까지는 갔으면 좋겠다 하는 하한선 있어요?

A: 다들 거기가 목표이긴 하죠, 위에 SKY. 요즘에는 약간, 선생님도 그렇고 애들도 그렇고, 내가 가장 가고 싶은 대학교는 이거야 이거 보다는 여기까지만 가면 재수는 안 하겠다는 이 선 가지고 공부를 해요. (...)

Q: 좀 자신감을 가졌으면 좋겠는데.

A: 네, 항상 상담 선생님이 맨날 하는 얘데요. 맨 처음에 상담 받을 때도… 저는 저를 잘 못 믿어요.

47.

Q: 사람들이 명문대는 왜 가는 걸까요?

A-1: 정확히는 몰라도… 하다 못해 사업을 하나 하더라도, 누구한테 투자 좀 해달라 할 인맥마저도… 그런 것부터 시작해서 멀리 가면 여자친구 만나는 것도, 또 취직에 절대적으로 영향이 크기 때문에… 그 외에도 개인 프라이드.

A-2: 딱 한 마디로 하면, 학벌사회잖아요 우리나라는. 어딜 가나 어느 분야를 가나 대학교를 잘 나오면 뭐든지 잘된다라는 강박관념이 있는 것 같아요. 그리고 아까 얘기했던 것처럼 자기 자신감. 그게 꽤 중요한 것 같아요. (….) 그냥 삶을 살기 위한 첫 관문이지 않을까… 그 관문을 제대로 시작해야지, 그 대학이 모든 것을 결정짓는다는 그런 생각이 있잖아요, 대부분의 사람들이.

A-1: 또 아버지 지인분들 자녀들이 슬슬 다들 대학을 갔거나 그런 식인데… 다들 완전히 좋은 대학을 갔거나 완전히 잡적을 해버려요. “누가 수학을 어떻게 봤다더라 했더니 연락이 안된다” 그러니까, 아 이럼 안되는데, 잘 못하면 아버지 완전 개쪽인데 (….)

Q: 나중에 직업 선택할 때, 사회적 지위가 어느 정도 있는 것을 선택해야겠다는 생각도 해요?

A-1: 네 그건 확실히 생각합니다. 붕어빵 장사는 못할 것 같아요.

48.

일단 사람들이 모르는 대학 말하면 공부 안 하는 애구나, 그러면서 듣보잡 대학 이렇게. 그래서 인 서울이라도… 이름 없는 데, 무슨 대학이야 그런 데 보다는 인 서울에서 이름 있는 데 가는 게 좋죠, 똑 같은 내신이라면. 이왕이면 갈 수 있으면 좋을 것 같은데… 꼭 가고 싶은 것은 모르겠어요.

49.

Q: 책 좀 읽다 보니까, ‘강남 엄마’는 이리 한다, 뭐 그런 책이 있더라고요. ‘강남 엄마’에 대한 어떤 특이한 이미지가 있는 것 같습니다.

A: 많이 느끼죠. D 외고 갔을 때도… 그 외고는 영어 내신도 보고 다양하게 봐서, 굉장히 다양한 구성원들이 와요. 강남 지역 보다는, 아닌 지역이 전체적으로 봤을 때는 많잖아요. 여기서만 중학교 까지 있었다가, 고등학교 가니까 시선이 다른 거예요. “강남구에서 나왔네요”, 이렇게. 물론 여기서든 어디서든 D 외고 올 정도면 자기 중학교에서 전교권이었던 친구들이 오는 거잖아요. 나름 엄마들이 프라이드가 있는데, 약간 따가운 시선을 보냈었어요.

50.

“분당선 타는 애들이잖아요” 이렇게, 분당선 팸이라고… 분당선 애들 이렇게 불러요. 저는 강북에 살다가 넘어 온 거잖아요, 솔직히 저는 크게 차이를 못느꼈는데, 오히려 개네가… (….) 저는 넘어와서 그런지 몰라도, 별 차이 없다고, 솔직히 학원 가깝거나… (….) 다른 것 같기도 하고. 차이가 있긴 한데, 그게 과연 플러스가 되는 건지는 모르겠어요. 이쪽 산다고 해서 다 공부 잘 하는 것도 아니고 저쪽 산다고 해서 다 공부 못하는 것도 아니고.

51.

이 지역에서는 이 동네에서 자라서, 큰 아이가 중학교 이후로 현대고를 보내고 나니까, 이 지역 동네에서만은 아닌 엄마들이잖아요, 자사고라서 전체적으로 모이긴 했지만. 압구정동을 중심으로 한 학교더라고요, 또 다른 거예요. 여기 엄마와 조금 다른데… 저는 잘 안 맞더라고요. (….) 굉장히 사교육을 위주로 하는데… 학원도 아니고 그냥 선생님을 선택해서… 저도 싫었거든요 그게. 강남의 엄마들이 대치동이나 저쪽 강남 엄마들도 똑같지는 않은 것 같아요. (….) 서초동은 법조계 분들이 많으세요, 다른 분들에 비해. 아빠들은 그렇고요, 엄마들은 예체능계가 많으세요 (웃음). 압구정동은… “선생님은 대줄게” (…).

국문초록

대한민국의 교육체제는 한국의 위계적 사회구조를 보여주는 교과서적 사례이다. 초등교육과 중등교육의 목적은 학생들을 대학교에 입학시키기 위한 것이라 해도 과언이 아니며, 각 학생들의 학교 교육의 성과는 입학할 대학교의 순위에 따라 결정된다. 특히 한국의 고등교육 진학률이 괄목할 만큼 높아 고등교육이 하나의 사회적 의무가 되었다는 점에서, 이 현상은 의의가 크다. 이와 동시에 대한민국의 교육체제는 점진적으로 상품화(commodified)되어, 한국 교육의 역사-제도주의적 특성을 ‘상품화된 도구주의’로 만들었다. 이 상품화된 교육의 영역은 계급투쟁의 무대가 되었고, 그렇기 때문에 사적 교육 서비스를 더 구매할 수 사람들이 비교적 더 유리하다. 이러한 가운데 서울 도시화의 역사는 지리적 공간의 스펙터클인 강남을 발명하였는데, 이 공간은 교육을 포함한 다른 많은 차원의 것들이 호화스럽다. 이 연구에서는 다섯 명의 강남 학생들과 그들의 학부모 그리고 네 명의 비강남 학생들에 대한 심층면담이 실시되었는데, 이는 강남인들의 차별성을 조사하기 위한 것이다. 이 연구는 Corbin과 Strauss의 저서와 Charmaz의 다른 저서를 참고하여 역동적 사회현상을 파악하는 데에 유리한 근거이론적 접근법을 사용한다. 인터뷰 데이터가 출현시킨 축 코딩은 다음과 같다: 1) 교육체제의 제도적 환경과의 교섭; 2) 강남인이란 새로운 사회계급; 3) 개인적 역사에 의해 구조화된 차별적인 인간관계; 4) 차별적인 사교육 투자; 5) 경쟁상황에 의해 고양된 차별적 정신; 6) 상상화된 지리적 의미. 위에 언급된 축코딩은 각자에 맞는 덜 추상화된 개방코딩을

수반하며, 또한 각 개방코딩에 맞는 인터뷰 내용도 제시되었다. 이론적 통합을 위한 토론은 부르디외와 르페브르에 의해 발전된 개념들을 사용하며, 이에 따라 페러다임 모델과 결과 모형이 개발되었다. 코딩에 이어진 이론적 토론은 강남인들의 교육적 실천(practice)이 그들의 자녀들에게 차별적인 아비투스(habitus)와 실천의 복합체인 엘리트교육을 제공하므로 차별적인 것은 사실이라 밝힌다. 그러나 이 연구의 저자는 그러한 강남인들의 소모적 행위들은 사회의 힘에 의해 예정된 조종 당한 소비(controlled consumption)로 정의할 수 있다고 주장한다. 그러므로 모든 축코딩과 수반된 개방코딩을 감싸는 이 연구의 선택코딩은 ‘제도적 환경에 대한 적극적인 적응’이다. 강남인들은 주어진 교육의 장(field)의 현실을 수용한 채 적극적으로 전략적 행위를 따르는 사람들인 것이다. 이러한 가운데 강남에서의 교육적 실천은 대한민국 교육의 상상화된 표준으로 자리잡게 되며, 교육의 수도라는 이미지는 강남지역의 사회공간(social space)에 축적된다. 이 연구를 통해 토론된 메커니즘은 대한민국 사회의 위계질서가 강남인들을 좇아 조종 당한 소비가 일어나는 교육 영역을 통해 재생산된다는 것을 제시한다.

키워드: 위계, 사회 구조 재생산, 교육, 도시사, 근거이론, 부르디외, 장, 실천, 아비투스, 르페브르, 조종 당한 소비, 사회공간

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