

# The International Comparison of Post-materialism: The Effects of Welfare Characteristics and Individual Security\*

SEONGKYUNG CHO | KOREA UNIVERSITY  
IN-JIN YOON\*\* | KOREA UNIVERSITY

*This study compares civilian post-materialism levels of 10 advanced countries by examining the effects of welfare characteristics and individual security on post-materialistic values. The results indicate that individuals' post-materialistic values are more staunchly determined by characteristics of their countries' welfare and level of individual security than economic levels of individuals and nations. Moreover, this study finds that the type of welfare system and the level of welfare provision of a particular country have a significant relationship with insecure life event experiences and a sense of insecurity among individual civilians. Overall, research results show that, as for the countries having reached a certain level of economic development, the issue at stake is not the height of national economic development, but the amount of the nation's economic resources needed to help secure the lives of its people. The research also shows that the security of life by welfare provisions lays the groundwork for the pursuit of post-materialistic values.*

**Keywords:** post-materialism, welfare, welfare regime, insecurity, World Values Survey

---

\*Earlier versions of this article were prepared for presentations at the social psychology session of the Annual Meeting of the Korean Sociological Association in Seoul, December 20, 2014, and at the Open Refereed Roundtable Session II of the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association in Chicago, United States, August 22-25, 2015. We appreciate the valuable comments of participants. This work was supported by the National Research Foundation of Korea Grant funded by the Korean Government (NRF-2013S1A3A205251).

\*\*Direct all correspondence to In-jin Yoon, Department of Sociology, Korea University, 145 Anam-ro, Seongbuk-gu, Seoul, 136-701, Korea (E-mail: yoonin@korea.ac.kr; Tel: +82-2-3290-2490).

## Introduction

Human beings are thought to have different levels of needs starting from the most basic level, survival, to the highest level, self-actualization. Maslow elaborated this idea in his hierarchy of needs (Maslow 1943; Belk 1985). Although Maslow's theory was originally developed to explain human development at an individual level, U.S. political scientist, Ronald Inglehart, applied this idea to societies and examined the relationship between socioeconomic developments of societies and their cultural values. According to Inglehart's developmental stage theory, people living in countries that have achieved economic development are likely to pursue post-materialistic values that emphasize self-expression, subjective well-being, and quality of life in contrast to materialistic values that regard economic and physical security as the highest value (Inglehart 2005).

Inglehart's theory seems to work for many countries with different levels of socioeconomic status, but there are still significant variations in terms of post-materialism, even among relatively affluent countries. For example, South Korea's economic level ranked 12<sup>th</sup> in 2005 and 14<sup>th</sup> in 2013 by GDP (Gross Domestic Product) standards (World Bank 2014), but its level of post-materialism is lower than the world average. According to the 2005 World Values Survey, South Korea's post-materialism rate (i.e., the percentage of post-materialists in the population) was 3.9%, which was 10~15% points lower than advanced countries of the West, and 5% points lower than all countries participating in the WVS. What is more disappointing is that since the first survey in 1981, South Korea had witnessed a steadily increasing rate of post-materialists until 1990, at which point it began to lose its momentum (Park and Kang 2012).

South Korea is not the only country that does not fit the supposedly linear relationship between economic development and post-materialism; some wealthy countries score lower in post-materialism than less affluent ones. For example, the United States reported 38,175 USD GDP per capita in 2002, which was higher than Northwestern countries such as Sweden (28,119 USD), Denmark (32,344 USD), and the Netherlands (27,111 USD), but the US post-materialism rate was lower than that of these countries (Inglehart and Welzel 2005).

The above observations lead us to suspect that economic development alone is not a sufficient condition of post-materialism, and there are other important factors that facilitate or hinder the growth of post-materialism. We

propose that security is one of the important determining factors of post-materialism. If we review Maslow's theory of hierarchy of needs again, we can see that security is the next human need after all physiological needs are fulfilled. If economic development provides a materialistic base of human livelihood, then security of safety, health, employment, and family provide social and psychological foundations of human existence. Thus, we postulate that only when a society provides security at both societal and individual levels can people realistically think of and actually pursue post-materialistic values. If social security is guaranteed by social welfare, and individual security is determined by the actual experience and perceived feeling of insecurity, then we can expect that, in addition to economic development, high levels of social welfare and individual security will encourage people to go beyond materialistic values and seek post-materialistic ones. For this reason, this study tries to analyze the effects of welfare characteristics (welfare regime and welfare level) of countries and individual security (actual experiences of insecurity and perceived feelings of insecurity) on an individual's reported level of post-materialism.

We also attempt to contribute to the study of post-materialism by including East Asian countries for analysis. East Asian countries have not received enough attention by researchers unlike Western countries have most often been the focal point of research. Since several East Asian countries have achieved similar economic developments to Western countries, it is interesting and worthwhile to observe if the former follows the model of the latter in terms of post-materialism.

Post-materialism warrants a serious sociological analysis because it reveals the priority values of members of a society, which in turn affects their behaviors, relationships with significant others, and ultimately, quality of life. The number and proportion of post-materialists in a society can influence public opinion and policy making, and, in the long run, determine the characteristics and quality of a society (Han 2004).

This study is distinguished from previous research by examining both individual and national-level variables that affect post-materialistic values. Previous research on post-materialism tends to focus on individual characteristics. If we consider that individual life is shaped by national characteristics, it becomes clear that we need to examine both individual and national characteristics relevant to post-materialism.

This study has a special aim of finding answers to the questions of why South Korea demonstrates such low post-materialism and how we can raise its level to match its economic development. As we pointed out earlier, South

Korea ranks lower than the world average in post-materialism despite its high level of economic growth. This situation is akin to cultural lag and should be overcome if South Korea intends to develop into a more mature society (E.H. Kim 2002).

## Review of Preceding Studies

### *Determining factors of post-materialistic values*

Values that people respect and adhere to are important barometers of quality of society, equally as important as other quantitative indicators of social development, like gross national income. We can say that a society is still at an immature level in a qualitative sense if its members retain materialistic values even after the society achieves a high level of economic development. It is a popular opinion that we need to consider both economic and non-economic aspects of society if we want to measure accurately its quality. For that reason, research on this topic has developed a concept of quality of society that encompasses both objective conditions of life and subjective perceptions of people (Jung and Ahn 2011).

Then, how are post-materialistic values formed? Inglehart introduced two hypotheses to answer this question: the 'scarcity hypothesis' and 'socialization hypothesis.' The scarcity hypothesis postulates that when material needs like hunger and physical security are satisfied by economic development, people are likely to pursue post-materialistic goals like belonging, self-esteem, and aesthetic and intellectual satisfaction. The socialization hypothesis posits that people's basic values are largely fixed when they reach adulthood, and change relatively little thereafter (Rokeach 1968). Thus, cohorts who have experienced economic scarcity during their adolescent years are likely to place high value on meeting economic needs as they reach adulthood. On the other hand, cohorts who have achieved and been able to sustain high material affluence can shift to non-economic values like individual improvement and personal freedom. The two hypotheses are slightly different in their focus, but they equally highlight the importance of objective economic conditions as the basis of post-materialism.

Aside from economic conditions, other demographic and social factors have also been found to have significant impacts on the formation of post-materialistic values. They include age (La Ferle and Chan 2008), gender (Yang 2006), and level of education (Wu 2011). National and social

characteristics are also known to play important roles in determining the level of post-materialism, not just individual characteristics. In this regard, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) said that the nationality of people becomes an important predictor of their values, and ‘the overall sense of security within the social context’ is a clue to explain variations in post-materialism among nations. They further developed this idea by stating that welfare characteristics of a particular nation determine a sense of security of its people, and security in turn affects the formation of post-materialistic values (Inglehart and Welzel 2005). Thus, economic growth itself does not solve the survival needs of people; the degree to which and how survival and security needs are met socially are more decisive factors of post-materialism.

Previous research has discussed only at theoretical levels the relationship between welfare characteristics of a nation-state and psychological states of individual members, but empirical research has not been conducted to determine this relationship. This research aims to make a contribution to the study of post-materialism by proving empirically the relationship only theoretically discussed in existing literature.

#### *Welfare and post-materialistic values*

The welfare of a society is known to affect people’s pursuit of post-materialistic values by protecting and guaranteeing their lives from various risks such as “aging, diseases, unemployment, disasters, and poverty” (Jeon 2013). Welfare can be understood as social solidarity that constructs the base of happiness and well-being of members of a society (Jung and Joo 2013). Each society has different characteristics of welfare and they result in differences in the quality of life of its members. Previous research has analyzed various components of welfare and determined welfare regime, welfare system, welfare policy, and welfare level as key components of welfare (Nam 2002; Moon 2008; Cantillon 2009; Gho 2011; M. S. Kim 2011; Kim and Seo 2014). In this study, we focus on welfare regime and welfare level, which are known to reveal most clearly the characteristics of a welfare state. Welfare regime and welfare level are closely related because each agent of welfare service (state, market, and family) has different weight or importance in each welfare regime, and this in turn results in different welfare levels (Lee and Ku 2007). However, welfare regime and welfare level show different aspects of welfare in the sense that welfare regime points to goals and overall orientation of a state towards welfare, while welfare level measures the degree to which welfare is guaranteed by a state. We think we can have a more

comprehensive view of welfare when we consider both dimensions.

More specifically, welfare regime is defined as “the way in which welfare provisions are distributed among the state, market, and family” (Ryu 2002). The proportions of welfare provisions among the three agents determine characteristics of welfare states, and welfare regime is the typology of such characteristics. Esping-Andersen (1990; 1999) proposed three types of welfare regimes: social democratic, conservative, and liberal on the basis of ‘level of decommodification,’ ‘types of stratification,’ ‘relative importance between the country and market,’ and ‘level of defamilialization.’ Here, ‘decommodification’ refers to the degree to which a person can preserve his or her livelihood without working. Welfare stratification means the level that each country’s welfare characteristics impact social stratification. Reliance on market indicates the relative importance of the market on welfare provision compared to that of the state (Aspalter 2006; Lee and Ku 2007).

Types of welfare regime determine who is responsible for providing resources for social security. If individuals and the market were the main caretakers, people would be more vulnerable to various risks and feel more insecure about their lives than if they were able to depend on the country for additional protection. In a similar fashion, the level of welfare is related with the level of social security. Previous studies have pointed out that the overall level of welfare is the highest in social democratic regimes and the lowest in liberal regimes, while conservative and East Asian welfare regimes are in between the two (Aspalter 2006; Lee and Ku 2007). For example, according to Lee and Ku (2007), social democratic welfare states provide the most universalistic welfare, followed by the conservative welfare regime, the East Asian welfare regime, and the liberal welfare regime, in that order.

Previous studies on welfare regime have focused mainly on its categorization, often overlooking Asian countries in their analysis. Among East Asian countries, Esping-Anderson includes only Japan in his categorization of welfare regimes, defining its welfare regime as “a hybrid model containing both conservative and liberal characteristics” (Y. M. Kim 2011). Since then, East Asian countries began to receive scholarly attention and much of the discussion on their welfare characteristics “highlighted their exceptionality” rather than fitting them into existing welfare regime categories. (Y. M. Kim 2011)

There are three possible ways of dealing with the exceptionality of East Asian welfare: treating it as a hybrid type (Esping-Andersen 1999), categorizing it as a separate welfare system (Y. M. Kim 2004; Jung 2007), or, lastly, describing it as an immature system compared to that of Western states

(Y. M. Kim 2004). Each way highlights different aspects of East Asian welfare, but there is a consensus that the East Asian welfare regime needs to be treated separately from Western types. Similarly, Na (2010) claims that origin, characteristics, and contents of East Asian regime are particularly different from those of Western types. However, there is a different diagnosis that points to the trend that suggests welfare provisions by family and the market have weakened while the responsibility of a state has strengthened in East Asian nations. If this trend continues, the proposition of “exceptionality of East Asian welfare regime” would lose its ground in the future (Y. M. Kim 2011). Although the current trend in East Asian nations seems to move towards convergence with Western types, we think the existing differences between the East Asian type and Western types are still significant, so we include East Asian type as a separate type in addition to the three standard welfare regimes. Also, as we will later demonstrate, the level of post-materialism in the East Asian type is different from other welfare regimes and therefore is worth categorizing as a separate type.

We highlight the main characteristics of Esping-Andersen’s classified welfare regimes <Table 1> with respect to ‘decommodification,’ ‘welfare stratification,’ and ‘reliance on market.’ Because Esping-Andersen’s classification has been criticized for not including the new Southern EU members of the 1980s and East Asian nations (Ebbinghaus 2012), we adopted the complementary classification suggested by Aspalter (2006) and Lee and

TABLE 1  
FOUR TYPES OF WELFARE REGIME

	Social democratic regime	Conservative regime	Liberal regime	East Asian regime
Decommodification	maximum	high (for breadwinner)	minimum	minimum
Welfare stratification	minimum	maximum	low/dualism	medium
Reliance on Market	minimum	medium	maximum	medium/minimum
Examples	Sweden, Norway	Germany, France, Spain	US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand	Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan

NOTE.—The above findings were cited from Aspalter (2006) and Lee and Ku (2007).

Ku (2007).

The level of welfare can be defined broadly as “the general level of social security” within a society, including all three main sectors: state, market, and family. Or it can also be defined more narrowly as “the overall level of assurance” by the country rather than by the market and family. In our study, we employ the second narrow definition, which is often measured as the level of public social expenditure among OECD countries (Cantillon 2009; Gho 2011).

Both welfare regime and level of welfare are known to contribute to social security by reducing odds of experiencing insecurity and feeling a sense of insecurity about life. Here, the concept of insecurity is opposite to the concept of security, and is defined by Western et al. (Western et al. 2012) as the risk of economic loss as a result of experiencing unpredictable events in social life among laborers and the family. For this study, we make a working definition of insecurity as the state of being unsure of protection from social and economic risks or threats. Previous studies have affirmed the positive role of welfare on experiences of insecurity and senses of insecurity (Scruggs and Allan 2006; Karim, Eikemo and Bambra 2010; Whelan and Maître 2010; Hurrelmann, Rathmann, and Richter 2011) by demonstrating that the higher the levels of welfare, the lower the tendency to experience insecurity (Gough and Thomas 1994; Smith 1996; Cantillon, Marx, and Van den Bosch 2003). Also, in places where a high level of welfare effectively guarantees people’s basic needs or “assures an individual’s safety in social life,” members of that society might feel an increased “sense of security from social and economic threats” (Lee 2000).

Actually, experiences of insecurity are an underlying factor in Maslow’s theory of hierarchy of needs and Inglehart’s theory of post-materialism. Previous studies have also discussed how insecure experiences affect people’s psychology. For instance, scarcity situations in which basic needs such as food, clothing, housing, and medicine are not met have been proven to provoke depressive states. In addition to demographic characteristics of individuals such as age and life course, the welfare regime of a society is known to work as a socioeconomic context where individuals experience and feel insecurity and thus significantly affects their sense of insecurity (Mirowsky and Ross 2001; Levecque et al. 2011). Van den Broek (1999) mentioned that prolonged severe economic difficulties influence people’s political orientations. Also, Inglehart argued that the probability of accepting post-materialistic values diminishes when experiencing economic troubles (Cameron 2013). We can thus infer that experiencing socially or



economically-insecure states will affect individuals' senses of insecurity and in turn their post-materialistic values. Also, we can expect that members of societies with different welfare regimes will have different levels of post-materialism because the ways societies handle insecurity differ among themselves.

### *Research Hypotheses*

Based on the results of preceding studies, we propose the following hypotheses.

#### *Relation between welfare and post-materialism*

- H1: Post-materialism is more likely to be pursued in countries with higher levels of welfare.
- H2: Post-materialism is less likely to be pursued in the liberal welfare regime than in the East Asian welfare regime.
- H3: Post-materialism is more likely to be pursued in the conservative welfare regime than in the East Asian welfare regime.
- H4: Post-materialism is more likely to be pursued in the social democratic welfare regime than in the East Asian welfare regime.

#### *Relations between welfare and post-materialism via insecurity*

- H5: The level of welfare affects post-materialism via experiences of insecurity as a mediator variable.
- H6: The level of welfare affects post-materialism via a sense of insecurity as a mediator variable.
- H7: Welfare regime affects post-materialism via experiences of insecurity as a mediator variable.
- H8: Welfare regime affects post-materialism via a sense of insecurity as a mediator variable.

## Research Methods

### *Data and samples*

This study analyzes the 2010-2014 sixth wave data of the World Values Survey (WVS). The WVS has been carried out approximately every 5 years since 1981 under the lead of Ronald Inglehart and other scholars. When conducting the sixth survey, data were collected on 85,000 adults over 18

years old from 57 countries around the world. Although the survey collected data on sociocultural values of people worldwide, European countries were not included in the survey because it has its own survey, the European Values Study (EVS).

The subjects of this study were respondents from 10 countries with a GDP per capita over 15,000 US dollars in 2009. The 10 countries are Korea (N=1,046), Japan (N=1,218), Singapore (N=1,768), United States (N=2,025), Australia (N=941), New Zealand (N=381), Germany (N=1,376), Spain (N=898), Sweden (N=704), and the Netherlands (N=732). A total of 11,089 respondents were chosen for analysis after observations with missing values were excluded. The WVS collected information on various values, including post-materialistic ones. Since the main interest of this study is in post-materialistic values, they have been verified by approved systematic questions used in former studies. Moreover, these data are suitable for this study since they include various demographic and socioeconomic factors that can be related to post-materialistic values.

Meanwhile, in order to measure national-level variables, we used data collected by international and national organizations. As for the independent variable, a ratio of total public social expenditure to GDP was calculated using data provided by the OECD for the year 2009.<sup>1</sup> As for the control variables, GDP per capita and inflation rates were collected from data provided by IMF (International Monetary Fund) for the year 2009. Data for Gini's coefficient, which measures the level of inequality, were obtained from the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) for the late 2000s.<sup>2</sup>

### *Variables*

The dependent variable of this study is post-materialism. Inglehart's 12 questions that have been widely used in sociology and political science studies were used to measure the DV. The questions ask about desirable goals that represent materialism and post-materialism, using a 6-point scale, where higher points indicate stronger post-materialism.

The independent variables are welfare regime and level of welfare. Welfare regime complies with Esping-Andersen's classification of welfare state regime (Yeo and Kim 2006), except that the East Asian regime was

---

<sup>1</sup> We used ILO (International Labour Organization) data for 2010 in the case of Singapore because it was missing in the 2009 OECD data.

<sup>2</sup> We used data for 1997 in the case of New Zealand because the late 2000s dataset does not have information for New Zealand.

added as a separate category in this study. Among the 10 subject countries, United States, Australia, and New Zealand are categorized as the liberal welfare regimes, Germany and Spain as the conservative welfare regimes, Sweden and the Netherlands as the social democratic welfare regimes, and Korea, Japan, and Singapore as the East Asian welfare regimes. In this study, the East Asian welfare regime is our base category and each liberal, conservative, and social democratic welfare regime is measured as a dummy variable to determine its independent effect on the dependent variable. As mentioned earlier, the level of welfare is measured by calculating a ratio of total public social expenditure to GDP.

The variable named “insecurity” is regarded in this study as a mediator variable between welfare and post-materialistic value and has two subcategories: ‘experience of insecurity’ and ‘sense of insecurity’. As for the ‘experience of insecurity’, higher points indicate greater difficulties in meeting the basic needs of life. Specific questions referring to the level of insecurity and unstable experiences based on financial trouble<sup>3</sup> were asked to the respondents: how frequently they and their family experienced ‘limited food supply’ (food insecurity), had ‘little access to medical treatment’ (medical insecurity), or had ‘no cash income’ (income insecurity) within the past 12 months. In the structural equation model, we used these three questions as the measuring variables and ‘experience of insecurity’ as the single latent variable. Similarly, the ‘sense of insecurity’ is also a single latent variable, which has two types of questions as measuring variables. To represent the ‘sense of insecurity’, the levels to which they worry about ‘losing their job or unable to find a job’ and ‘having difficulty to provide a good education to their children’ were measured.<sup>4</sup>

The control variables of this study include both individual-level and national-level variables. Individual-level variables consist of such socio-demographic variables as sex, level of education, marital status, age cohort, and economic variables such as work field, employment status, and level of income (self-assessed family income level). National-level variables are GDP

---

<sup>3</sup> These questions are named as ‘economic hardship’ in previous researches in terms of representing the level of experience suffering from economic difficulties (Mirowsky and Ross 1999). However, in order to intuitively show the level of struggle by experiencing insecurity, this study re-named it as ‘experience of insecurity’.

<sup>4</sup> Insecurity experiences related with food, medical treatment, and income have been identified as the core areas of insecurity experiences in social science research (Dekker and Schaufeli 1995; Burgoon and Dekker 2010; Fusarelli 2011; Kim and Lee 2012; Western et al. 2012). Also, ‘work’ and ‘children’ are subjects that are directly linked to adults’ lives, thus they are proper fields that can show the sense of insecurity (Han and Yoon 2000; Park 2013).

per capita and inflation rate (as the indicators of a country's economic situation), as well as Gini's coefficient (the indicator of a country's level of inequality).

### *Method of Analysis*

In order to test the hypotheses proposed above, we used four methods of statistical analysis. Although the four methods produced overlapping results, each method retains merit by testing the series of research hypotheses we proposed earlier. First, a one-way ANOVA (analysis of variance) was conducted to determine significant differences in post-materialism by welfare regime and level of welfare. Second, an ANCOVA (analysis of covariance) was employed to determine if the differences in post-materialism are due to characteristics of welfare regime rather than the economic level of a country. Third, multiple regression analyses were used to measure the independent effects of welfare regime and level of welfare on post-materialism. This study intends to confirm each of the effects of welfare regimes and levels of welfare by controlling the control variables, at both individual and national levels. In order to do so, the results of the analysis, before and after controlling for the control variables, were compared, and models were created for each of the welfare regimes and levels of welfare. The results of the diagnosis analysis of the dependent variable confirmed that it does not violate the assumption of normal distribution so that we used the original value of the dependent variable in the regression analysis. We used the SPSS 18.0 program for the above statistical analysis. Finally, a structural equation model was used to determine structural relationships among welfare regime, level of welfare, insecurity, and post-materialism. This method was especially suitable for this study because we could observe the interaction effects between measuring variables that constitute theoretical variables. Also, it is appropriate for this study because some variables we try to measure are subjective in nature and a structural equation could reduce the error of measurement by considering the errors in the model when measuring subjective factors (Yoon 2000). Especially in this study, it was important that a bootstrapping method was used to verify the significance of the indirect effects through mediator variables.<sup>5</sup> Also, we tried to separate the direct effects of welfare variables on

---

<sup>5</sup> The bootstrap estimation method is a way of "verifying the statistical significance of indirect effects" (Bae 2014, p. 113). It is an effective method for testing indirect effects, although this "has limits of providing only the results of the overall indirect effects" when testing the mediating effects (Hwang et al. 2012).

post-materialism from their indirect effects that affect post-materialism via mediator variables. We used the AMOS 18.0 program for the structural equation model.

## Analysis Results

### *Difference in post-materialism by welfare regime and level of welfare*

The mean value of post-materialism was 2.26. We can interpret that materialism is stronger if the score is closer to 0, and post-materialism is stronger if the score is closer to 5. Because the mean value is 2.26, which is smaller than 2.5 (the mid-point of a 6 point scale), the respondents were slightly more materialistic than post-materialistic in their values. When we compared the level of post-materialism among nations, Sweden scored the highest point at 2.831, while the United States scored the lowest at 1.949.<sup>6</sup> When we compared the weighted mean value of post-materialism among welfare regimes, the social democratic regime scored the highest point at 2.56, followed by the conservative regime (2.55), the East Asian regime (2.11), and the liberal regime (1.99).

### 1) One-way ANOVA results

The first research question inquired if there are differences in post-materialism among different welfare regimes and levels of welfare. The one-way ANOVA results revealed significant group differences. A Scheffe post-hoc test proved that the liberal welfare regime is quite different from the other types of welfare regimes. The East Asian welfare regime also turned out to be significantly different from the other types. Another interesting finding is that the conservative and social democratic welfare regimes are not different from each other in the level of post-materialism, while they are different from the liberal and East Asian welfare regimes.

To test the group difference on the level of post-materialism by its level of welfare, the 10 countries were grouped into three categories by assessing the ratio size of the total public social expenditure to the GDP: high welfare spending countries (Sweden, Germany, Spain), medium welfare spending

---

<sup>6</sup> The post-materialism score for each nation is as follows: the United States (1.949), Australia (1.964), Japan (2.08), Singapore (2.116), South Korea (2.141), Spain (2.204), New Zealand (2.234), the Netherlands (2.305), Germany (2.78), and Sweden (2.831).

countries (the Netherlands, Japan, New Zealand, U.S), and low welfare spending countries (Australia, Korea, Singapore). Then we conducted a one-way ANOVA among the three groups and found that there are significant group differences on the level of post-materialism. Also, a Scheffe post-hoc test revealed that the countries in the high welfare spending group are quite different from those in the medium and low welfare spending groups. However, there are no significant differences between the medium and low welfare spending groups.

## 2) ANCOVA results

We proposed that characteristics of welfare regime would have an independent effect on post-materialism, net income level of individuals, and economic level of one's country. To test this hypothesis, an ANCOVA was conducted to examine the group differences in the level of post-materialism among different regimes after controlling for the income level of individuals and the economic level of their countries. Results of the ANCOVA confirmed our hypothesis by showing that the pursuit of post-materialistic values differed significantly among welfare regimes even after we controlled for income and GDP per capita variables. Among the control variables, the subjective family income levels of individuals had a significant effect on post-materialism whereas GDP per capita, an indicator of a country's economic level, turned out to be an insignificant variable.

As a final analysis, family income and GDP per capita variables were included, as well as welfare regime and level of welfare variables; group differences of post-materialism levels were examined. The interaction term of welfare regime and level of welfare was also included in the analysis because the two variables might have a synergy effect on post-materialism. In other words, if a country has a liberal policy towards welfare and actually spends more for welfare it may induce citizens to further seek out post-materialistic values. Results confirmed that along with family income variables, both welfare regimes and levels of welfare variables have significant effects. The GDP per capita variable again turned out to be insignificant as was observed in the previous table, and contrary to our expectation, the interaction term of welfare regime and level of welfare was insignificant.

TABLE 2  
DIFFERENCES IN THE LEVEL OF POST-MATERIALISM BY WELFARE REGIME

Source of variance	Sum of squares	df	Mean squares	F-ratio	Scheffe post-hoc test		
					Average value	Liberal	Conservative
Between	651.106	3	217.035				East Asian
					1.99	***	***
Within	14437.943	11085	1.302	166.633***	2.55	***	***
					2.56	***	***
Total	15089.049	11088			2.11	***	***

\*\*\*  $p < .001$

TABLE 3  
DIFFERENCES IN THE LEVEL OF POST-MATERIALISM BY THE LEVEL OF WELFARE

Source of variance	Sum of squares	df	Mean squares	F-ratio	Scheffe post-hoc test		
					Average value	High	Middle
Between	638.582	2	319.291				Low
					2.62	***	***
Within	14450.467	11086	1.303	244.951***	2.07	***	***
					2.08	***	***
Total	15089.049	11088					

\*\*\*  $p < .001$

**TABLE 4**  
**DIFFERENCES IN THE LEVEL OF POST-MATERIALISM BY WELFARE REGIME**

Source	Type III sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.
Corrected model	659.744	5	131.949	101.349	.000
Intercept	1370.812	1	1370.812	1052.907	.000
Error	14429.305	11083	1.302		
Total	69853.000	11089			
Corrected total	15089.049	11088			

Source	Type III sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.
Income	7.682	1	7.682	5.901	.015
GDP per capita	.750	1	.750	.576	.448
Welfare regime	658.201	3	219.400	168.519	.000

R Square=.044 (Adjusted R Square=.043)

NOTE.—Income and GDP per capita are controlled.

**TABLE 5**  
**DIFFERENCES IN THE LEVEL OF POST-MATERIALISM BY THE LEVEL OF WELFARE**

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	645.603	4	161.401	123.860	.000
Intercept	1699.306	1	1699.306	1304.059	.000
Error	14443.447	11084	1.303		
Total	69853.000	11089			
Corrected Total	15089.049	11088			

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Income	6.598	1	6.598	5.063	.024
GDP per capita	.283	1	.283	.217	.641
Welfare Level	644.059	2	322.029	247.128	.000

R Square=.043 (Adjusted R Square=.042)

NOTE.—Income and GDP per capita are controlled.



**TABLE 6**  
**DIFFERENCES IN THE LEVEL OF POST-MATERIALISM BY WELFARE REGIME AND WELFARE LEVEL**

Source	Type III sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.
Corrected model	758.513	8	94.814	73.308	.000
Intercept	1107.697	1	1107.697	856.443	.000
Error	14330.536	11080	1.293		
Total	69853.000	11089			
Corrected total	15089.049	11088			

Source	Type III sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.
Income	4.833	1	4.833	3.737	.053
GDP per capita	.687	1	.687	.531	.466
Welfare regime	112.848	3	37.616	29.084	.000
Level of welfare	97.884	2	48.942	37.841	.000
Welfare regime *	1.939	1	1.939	1.499	.221
Welfare level					

R Square=.050 (Adjusted R Square=.050)

NOTE.—Income and GDP per capita are controlled.

### *Effects of welfare on post-materialism*

#### **1) Research model**

The previous ANOVA and ANCOVA aimed at measuring the group differences on the level of post-materialism. Now we try to determine independent effects of the welfare regime and level of welfare, net of socio-demographic characteristics of individuals and national economic conditions. For this purpose, we conducted a multiple regression analysis and used weighted values using the sample size against the population of a country at the point of the 6<sup>th</sup> WVS to avoid the problem of oversampling.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The population size of each country was obtained from the World Bank. The population size and the year of data collection are as follows: Australia 23,130,900 (in 2012), Germany 80,621,788 (in 2013), Japan 127,338,621 (in 2010), the Netherlands 16,804,224 (in 2012), New Zealand 4,470,800 (in 2011), Singapore 5,399,200 (in 2012), Korea 50,219,669 (in 2010), Spain 46,647,421 (in 2011), Sweden 9,592,552 (in 2011), the United States 316,128,839 (in 2011).

To determine net effects of each of the control variables and independent variables, we entered a series of regression models in sequence. Model 1 includes only control variables at an individual level such as sex, years of education, marital status, level of income, working field, supervising position, and age cohort. Model 2 includes only control variables at a national level such as GDP per capita, level of inequality, and inflation rate. Model 3 and Model 4 include only levels of welfare and welfare regime variables, respectively, and Model 5 considers both the level of welfare and welfare regime variables. Models 6 through 10 examine the effects of both control and independent variables in different combinations. Model 6 considers both the individual-level control variables and the level of welfare variable, and Model 7 looks at both the national-level control variables and the level of welfare variable. Models 8 and 9 add the individual-level and national-level control variables, respectively, to the welfare regime variable. Finally, Model 10 considers all individual-levels and national-levels control variables, along with the level of welfare and welfare regime variables.

## 2) Results of the regression analysis and hypothesis testing

<Table 7> shows the results of the multiple regression analyses with post-materialism as the dependent variable. The  $R^2$  values of each model are between .019 and .075, all of which were statistically significant at  $\alpha=.001$ . The individual-level control variables in Model 1 were shown to be statistically significant except for the variables measuring the position of supervisor and the age cohort of 25~34 years old. Also, as seen in Model 2, the national-level control variables such as GDP per capita, level of inequality, and inflation rate were all shown to be statistically significant. In Models 3 through 5, statistical significance of the independent variables were tested without controlling for control variables. The level of the welfare variable in Model 3 had a significant and positive effect on post-materialism. Also, the welfare regime type had a significant effect but the direction of its effect differed by the type of welfare regime. Compared to the East Asian regime, the liberal welfare regime lowered the level of post-materialism ( $B=-.125$ ), while conservative and social democratic regimes increased the degree of post-materialism ( $B=.455$  for each type, respectively). When both the level of welfare and welfare regime variables were included in Model 5, the two had significant effects and the direction of their effects remained the same, as in Models 3 and 4.

Models 6 through 10 considered the control and the independent variables at the same time. Results from Models 6 and 7 confirmed that the

level of welfare has a significant and positive effect, net of the control variables, indicating that are people more likely pursue post-materialistic values when their country has higher levels of welfare. Results of Model 8 confirmed again that the welfare type has an independent effect, and its effect differs by the type of welfare regime. Compared to the East Asian regime, the liberal regime had a negative effect while the conservative and social democratic regimes had a positive effect on post-materialism. The positive effect of the social democratic welfare regime became insignificant in Model 9 when we added the national-level control variables. This suggests that its positive effect is partly due to the economic level and level of inequality among social democratic countries.

Finally, in Model 10 we considered all control and independent variables simultaneously. One important finding is that the level of welfare variable became insignificant after we controlled all control variables. However, welfare regime variables maintained their significant effect. Compared to the East Asian welfare regime, the liberal regime scored lower while the conservative regime scored higher in post-materialism.

Based on the above results, results of the hypothesis testing are as follows. First, Hypothesis 1, which expects the positive relationship between the level of welfare and post-materialism, was supported. Second, Hypothesis 2, which assumes that post-materialism would be less likely to be pursued in the liberal welfare regime than in the East Asian regime, was supported as well. Hypothesis 3, which assumes that post-materialistic values would be more likely to be pursued in the conservative welfare regime than in the East Asian regime, was also supported. Finally, Hypothesis 4, which predicts that post-materialism would be less likely to be pursued in the social democratic welfare regime than in the East Asian regime, was 'partially' supported. In Models 4 and 8, the social democratic welfare regime showed significantly higher level of post-materialism compared to the East Asian welfare regime when national-level control variables were not included, but in Models 9 and 10, its effect became insignificant after we included those control variables.

TABLE 7  
RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β
Constant	2.303***		3.233		1.391***		2.072***		1.937***	
Sex		-.055**		-.024						
Level of education		-.013***		-.041						
Marital status		-.091***		-.039						
Income level		-.015**		-.027						
Work field		.045***		.114						
Supervising		-.006		-.003						
Age 25~34		-.019		-.006						
Age 35~44		-.095**		-.032						
Age 45~54		-.139***		-.047						
Age 55~64		-.204***		-.067						
Age over 65		-.307***		-.098						
National economic variables										
GDP per capita				.000***						.066
Gini coefficient				-.039***						-.240
Inflation rate				-.047***						-.042
Level of welfare										
Rate of TPSE										.035***
										.150
Welfare regime										
Liberal										-.125***
Conservative										-.054
Social democratic										.455***
										.157
										.455***
										.068
										.387***
										.058
R <sup>2</sup>	.020		.040		.022		.041		.041	
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.019		.040		.022		.040		.041	
F	32.675***		246.567***		403.283***		248.439***		188.783***	

TABLE 7  
(CONTINUED)

	Model 6		Model 7		Model 8		Model 9		Model 10	
	B	β	B	β	B	B	B	β	B	β
Constant	1.425***		2.556***		1.832***		1.722***		1.213**	
Sex										
Level of education										
Marital status										
Income level										
Work field										
Socio-demographic variables										
Supervising										
Age 25~34										
Age 35~44										
Age 45~54										
Age 55~64										
Age over 65										
National economic variables										
GDP per capita										
Gini coefficient										
Inflation rate										
Level of welfare										
Rate of TPSE										
Welfare regime										
Liberal										
Conservative										
Social democratic										
R <sup>2</sup>										
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>										
F										

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

*Effects of welfare on post-materialism via insecurity*

**1) Research model**

We proposed that the welfare regime and level of welfare determine the level of insecurity, which in turn affects post-materialism. We used a structural equation model to test the mediating effect of insecurity between welfare and post-materialism. As mentioned earlier, insecurity is measured by both experience of insecurity and sense of insecurity. Hypotheses 5 through 8 refer to possible relationships between welfare type and post-materialism and between the level of welfare and post-materialism as the experience of insecurity and sense of insecurity as the mediating variables. The structural equation model set for testing these hypotheses are shown in <Figure1>.

Before we started the main analysis, the reliability of the two mediating

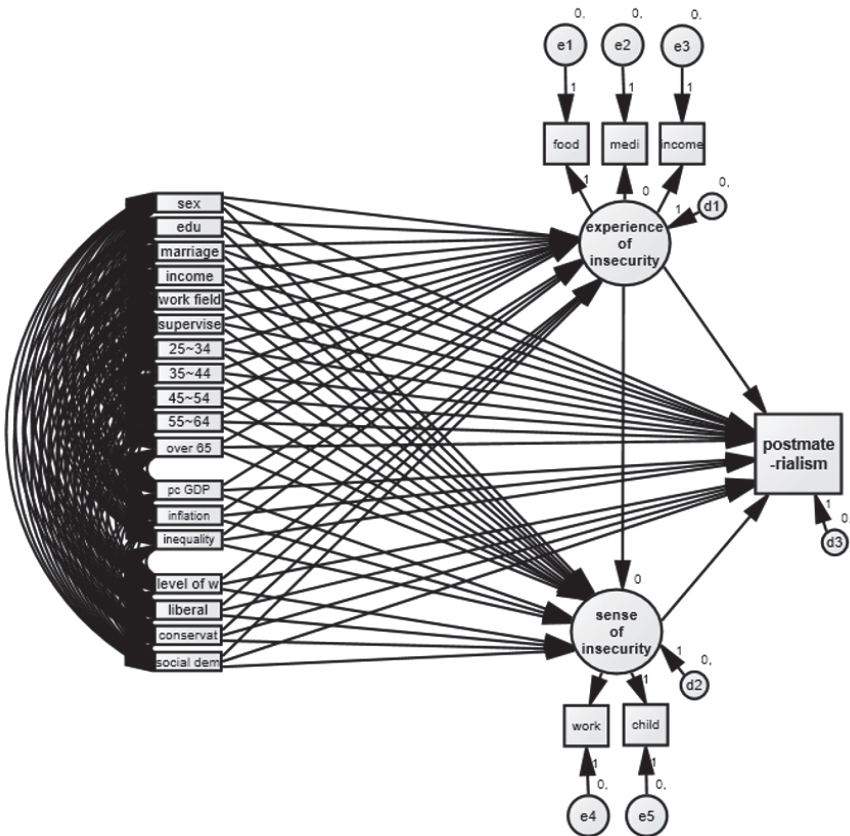


FIG. 1.—Structural equation model

variables that were measured by two or more questions by calculating Cronbach's  $\alpha$  coefficients was examined. The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  coefficients for the variables measuring experience of insecurity and sense of insecurity were, .783 and .765, respectively, indicating that the two mediating variables are highly reliable (Hair et al. 2009; Jang and Kim 2011). Also, we checked the validity of the two mediating variables by using a confirmatory factor analysis. We confirmed that the factor loading values for all the measuring variables were significant at  $\alpha=.001$ , and that the test values that compose each of the latent variables validly explain the latent variables (Jung and Ahn 2011; Hwang, Lee, and Yi 2012). In addition, the two latent variables were significantly and positively correlated with each other ( $r=.276$ ). As a final check-up point, we calculated various model fit indices to determine the suitability of our models. All the indices such as CFI (.991), TLI (.960), and RMSEA (.038) met the standards of suitability of models (Lee and Lim 2008, pp. 34-35).

## 2) Results of the structural model and hypothesis testing

<Table 8> shows the estimation of parameter values of the structural model that establishes the relationships among major factors affecting post-materialism. It especially represents the relationships among the independent variable, mediator variable, and dependent variable. When comparing the size and significance of standardized coefficients of the variables, the conservative welfare regime variable had the biggest effect (standardized coefficient  $\beta=.153$ ), followed by the level of inequality (Gini's coefficient), level of education, liberal welfare regime, level of welfare, sense of insecurity, experience of insecurity, social democratic welfare regime, working field, the age cohort of 65 years or older, inflation rate, and marital status, all in decreasing order. Other variables were not significant at the significance level of  $\alpha=.05$ .

<Table 8> shows similar results to <Table 7>. Since the structural equation model in <Figure 1> considered all the individual and national-level control variables, as well as the welfare regime and level of welfare variables, it corresponds to Model 10 in a multiple regression model in <Table 7>.

Main findings are as follows: First, compared to the East Asian welfare regime, the liberal regime scored lower in post-materialism ( $B=-.238$ ) while the conservative ( $B=.442$ ) and the social democratic regime ( $B=.222$ ) scored higher. Second, the level of welfare variable turned out to be insignificant in its net effect on post-materialism, as we already observed with Model 10 in <Table 7>. Third, the level of welfare variable was not significantly related

**TABLE 8**  
**ESTIMATED RESULTS OF RESEARCH MODEL**

Path	Estimate		S.E.	C.R.
	B	B		
Level of welfare → Insecurity experience	-0.001	-0.012	0.002	-0.258
Liberal regime → Insecurity experience	0.19***	0.207	0.028	6.775
Conservative regime → Insecurity experience	-0.068**	-0.065	0.023	-2.92
Social democratic regime → Insecurity experience	0.011	0.009	0.029	0.4
Level of welfare → Sense of insecurity	0.022***	0.228	0.004	5.413
Liberal regime → Sense of insecurity	-0.687***	-0.37	0.052	-13.185
Conservative regime → Sense of insecurity	-0.763***	-0.362	0.043	-17.593
Social democratic regime → Sense of insecurity	-1.059***	-0.418	0.054	-19.666
Insecurity experience → Sense of insecurity	0.418***	0.207	0.024	17.444
Level of welfare → Post-materialism	-0.011	-0.084	0.006	-1.945
Liberal regime → Post-materialism	-0.238**	-0.094	0.074	-3.238
Conservative regime → Post-materialism	0.442***	0.153	0.062	7.183
Social democratic regime → Post-materialism	0.222**	0.064	0.077	2.893
Insecurity experience → Post-materialism	0.181***	0.065	0.034	5.324
Sense of insecurity → Post-materialism	-0.096***	-0.07	0.02	-4.756

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

with experiences of insecurity. Fourth, compared to the East Asian welfare regime, the liberal regime was significantly and positively related with experiences of insecurity ( $B = .190$ ), while the conservative regime was significantly and negatively related with experiences of insecurity ( $B = -.068$ ). The social democratic regime did not have a significant effect as seen in



<Table 7>.

As for the sense of insecurity, both the level of welfare and welfare regime variables were significantly related with the subjective feeling of insecurity. The level of welfare variable had a positive relation with a sense of insecurity ( $B=.022$ ), and the liberal welfare regime variable was related with a lower sense of insecurity ( $B=-.687$ ), resulting in a higher sense of security than the East Asian regime. The conservative regime ( $B=-.763$ ) and the social democratic regime ( $B=-1.059$ ) were also related with a lower sense of insecurity than the East Asian regime. The two mediator variables were positively related with each other; the non-standardized regression coefficient of insecure experiences on the sense of insecurity was .418 and significant at  $\alpha=.001$ . This can be interpreted as people with more insecure experiences will also have an increased sense of insecurity. Finally, in terms of relationships between insecurity and post-materialism, experience of insecurity was positively related with post-materialism ( $B=.181$ ), while the sense of insecurity was negatively related with post-materialism ( $B=-.096$ ). These results suggest that it is subjective insecurity rather than objective insecurity that thwarts the pursuit of post-materialism. Meanwhile, the level of education ( $B=.039$ ) and working field ( $B=.025$ ) were confirmed to have positive effects on post-materialism, whereas marital status ( $B=-.11$ ), age cohort of 65 years or older ( $B=-.191$ ), and level of inequality ( $B=-.020$ ) had negative effects on post-materialism. Estimates of each relationship are shown in <Figure 2>.

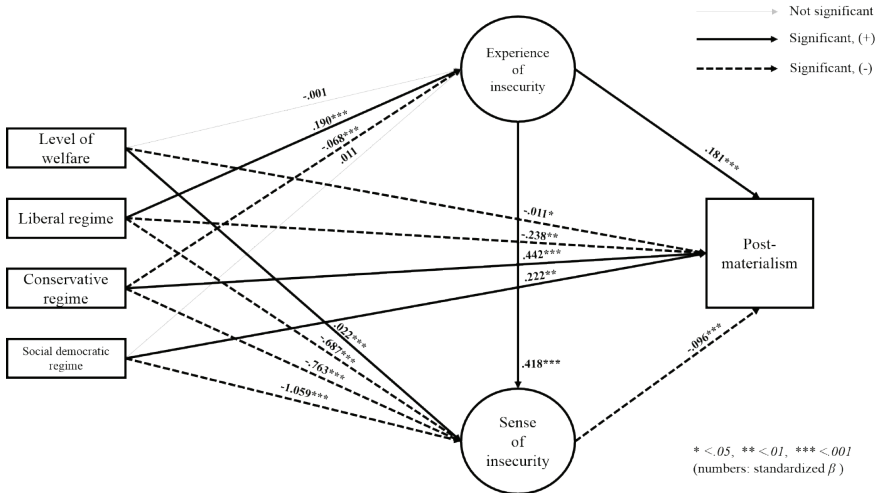


FIG. 2.—Research model analysis results

The results of our analysis confirmed the findings of previous studies in many respects. The level of education has been known to have a significant positive (+) effect on post-materialism (Abramson and Inglehart 1994; Abramson 2011), and the same effect was found here. As reported in previous studies, age cohort of 65 years or older was related with lower points in post-materialism compared to the age cohort of 24 years or younger (La Ferle et, al. 2008; Park and Kang 2012). Among the variables at the national level, the level of inequality (Gini's coefficient) exhibited a negative relation between social inequality and post-materialism as reported in previous studies (Milligan 2012; Benedikter 2013).

### 3) Testing the effects of the mediator variables

Meanwhile, as seen in <Figure 2>, most of the independent variables included in this study have significant relations with mediator variables (experience of insecurity and sense of insecurity), and the dependent variable (post-materialism). In order to better determine the mediating effect of insecurity, we used a bootstrapping estimation method. The results of the bootstrapping method on the total effects, direct effects, and indirect effects of independent variables (the level of welfare and welfare regime variables) on the dependent variable are shown in <Table 9>.

The results of <Table 9> show the total, direct, and indirect effects of each of the four independent variables on post-materialism. The 'direct effect' of the level of welfare on post-materialism was marginally significant at level of  $\alpha=.1$ . However, the total effects, direct effects, and indirect effects of the other variables were all shown to be significant at  $\alpha=.05$ . Not only are the indirect effects significant, but the direct effects are also significant, meaning

TABLE 9  
RESULTS OF BOOTSTRAPPING

Estimates	Total effect		Direct effect		Indirect effect	
	B	$\beta$	B	$\beta$	B	$\beta$
Level of welfare	-.013*	-.101	-.011†	-.084	-.002*	-.017
Liberal regime	-.146*	-.057	-.238**	-.094	.092*	.036
Conservative regime	.506*	.175	.442*	.153	.063*	.022
Social democratic regime	.325*	.094	.222*	.064	.103*	.030

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ , †  $p < .1$

that the insecurity variables are playing the role of 'partial mediation' rather than full mediation in the relation between the welfare variables and post-materialism (Bae 2014, p. 422). More detailed examination of each variable is as follows.

First, the level of welfare showed a significant relationship with the total, direct, and indirect effects, but as mentioned above, the direct effects were marginally significant. In other words, the level of welfare influences post-materialism by itself, but also indirectly by the insecurity variables as mediators. Therefore it could be said that the indirect effects are more significant than the direct effects. However, the direction of the effectiveness was negative (-), different from what was initially predicted.

Second, the total effects, direct effects, and indirect effects of conservative and social democratic welfare regimes are significant and positive, indicating that people in those welfare regimes are pursuing post-materialistic values more strongly than those in the East Asian welfare regime.

Third, the direct effect of liberal welfare regime on post-materialism is negative, but the indirect effect on post-materialism via insecurity is positive so that the total effect of the liberal welfare regime on post-materialism is somewhat offset by the mediator variable.

#### *Path analysis of indirect effects*

So far, we have examined the total effects, direct effects, and indirect effects of each independent variable on the dependent variable. However, as mentioned earlier, in order to know the individual mediating effect of each mediator variable, additional analysis is required. Hence, we added phantom variables to the model and conducted the bootstrapping estimation method to analyze the multiple mediator models in order to determine the route of the mediating effects via experience of insecurity and sense of insecurity.<sup>8</sup> <Figure 3> is the model with the phantom variables, and <Table 10> is a reconstitution of the analysis results of <Table 9> and <Figure 3> by the direct effects and individual indirect effects.

Through an analysis of the multiple mediator models, the individual

---

<sup>8</sup> Through a multiple mediator model analysis using phantom variables, we can test not only the total indirect effects on all the mediating variables but also the individual indirect effects on each mediator (Jang, Lee, and Kim 2014). This study assigns 2,000 bootstrap samples in order to confirm the indirect effects, and conducts an analysis by setting a 95% confidence level to test the size and significance of the indirect effects.

**Table 10**  
**RESULTS FOR EACH EFFECT**

	Direct effect		Indirect effect	
	Welfare (level/ regime) → post- materialism	Welfare (level/ regime) → insecurity experience → post- materialism	Welfare (level/ regime) → sense of insecurity → post- materialism	Welfare (level/ regime) → insecurity experience → sense of insecurity → post-materialism
	B	B	B	B
Level of welfare	-.011 <sup>†</sup>	0	-0.002**	0
Liberal regime	-.238**	0.034**	0.066**	-0.008**
Conservative regime	.442*	-0.012**	0.073**	0.003**
Social democratic regime	.222*	0.002	0.101**	0

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ , <sup>†</sup>  $p < .1$

paths of the effects of independent variables on the dependent variable were confirmed through each of the mediating variables. In other words, a total of three paths of indirect effects are shown regarding each independent variable: the route of the effects of the independent variable on the dependent variable through 'experiences of insecurity', the route through 'sense of insecurity', and the route of the effects of the independent variable on 'experience of insecurity' which then influences 'sense of insecurity' and finally on the dependent variable. Results of the path analysis are as follows.

First, in the case of the level of welfare, neither the path through experience of insecurity (p2) nor the route through experience of insecurity and sense of insecurity (p7) were significant. Therefore, Hypothesis 5, which expects a mediating effect of insecure experiences between the level of welfare and post-materialism, can be rejected. The route through sense of insecurity (p4) was significant, but mentioned above, was in the opposite direction (-) than what was initially expected. Accordingly, Hypothesis 6, which assumes that the level of welfare influences post-materialism through sense of insecurity as the mediator, was 'partially' supported. The route of the

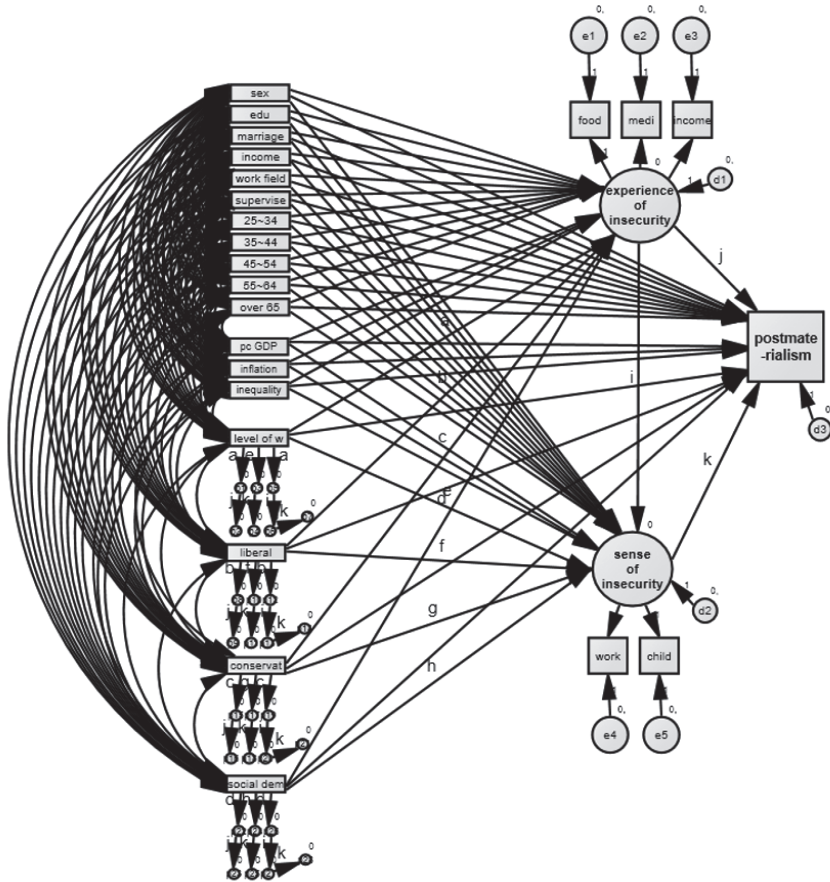


FIG. 3.—Phantom variable added model

indirect effects through sense of insecurity was significant, but the effects were modest and the direction was opposite to that of the results of the regression analysis.

Second, in the case of the liberal welfare regime, all three paths were significant. The routes through each of the experiences of insecurity (p9) and senses of insecurity (p11) were in a positive direction (+), but the route of the effects of the experience of insecurity in the liberal welfare regime on post-materialism through sense of insecurity (p14) was in a negative direction (-). As examined above, considering that the overall indirect effects of the liberal welfare regime were in a positive direction (+), each of the indirect effects through experiences of insecurity and senses of insecurity could be said to be

greater than the indirect effects of the liberal welfare regime through the two steps of experiences of insecurity and senses of insecurity. However, as seen in <Table 10>, it is mentioned above that the negative (-) direct effects of the liberal welfare regime on post-materialism are greater than that of the positive (+) indirect effects combining all the above indirect effects.

Third, in the case of the conservative welfare regime, all three paths were significant. The path through experience of insecurity (p16) was influential in a negative (-) direction, and the routes through sense of insecurity (p18) and indirect effects through two steps (p21) were in a positive (+) direction. The effects of the conservative welfare regime, compared to the East Asian welfare regime, were positive (+) on post-materialism through sense of insecurity, rather than through experiences of insecurity. Considering that the overall indirect effects of the conservative welfare regime on post-materialism were in a positive (+) direction, the sense of insecurity effect and the effects through the two steps of insecure experiences and senses of insecurity, which are in a positive direction (+), were exercising great influences.

Finally, as for the social democratic welfare regime, neither the route through experiences of insecurity (p23) nor the route through the two steps (p28) was significant. However, the path through sense of insecurity (p25) was significant and in a positive (+) direction. This can be understood in the same context as the relative weights of each effect. In other words, the indirect effects through insecurity in the social democratic welfare regime were due to senses of insecurity rather than experiences of insecurity, and because the social democratic welfare regime reduces senses of insecurity, members of that society can better pursue post-materialistic values. Thus, although the social democratic regime cannot lower experiences of insecurity, it can provide a sense of life security and thereby encourage its people to pursue post-materialism.

The above results partially confirmed Hypothesis 7 and Hypothesis 8, which expected a mediating effect of insecure experience and sense of insecurity, respectively, on post-materialism. In the liberal welfare regime, all the routes of indirect effects were significant, but the paths were in opposite directions when comparing them with the regression analysis results, except for the route through the two steps of insecure experiences and senses of insecurity. Also in the case of the conservative welfare regime, all paths were significant, but the route through experience of insecurity was in the opposite direction. As for the social democratic welfare regime, while the path through sense of insecurity was not only significant but also was considerable in size,

the route through the two steps, through experiences of insecurity and senses of insecurity was not significant. Overall, most indirect effects were significant and substantial enough to prove the role of insecure variables as mediator variables.

## Conclusion

Major findings of this study can be summarized as follows. First, individuals' post-materialistic values depend more heavily on their country's welfare characteristics (welfare regime and level of welfare) than on the individual and national economic level. Second, people from countries with a higher level of welfare are more likely to pursue post-materialistic values. Third, compared to the East Asian welfare regime, post-materialistic values are less likely to be pursued in the liberal regime, but they were more likely to be sought in conservative and social democratic welfare regimes. Fourth, experience and sense of insecurity play a mediating role between welfare and post-materialism. Specifically, the sense of insecurity effect was greater than that of actual experiences, which highlights the influence of social psychological factors on the individual's value system.

These findings confirm and supplement findings of existing researches in several respects. First, welfare characteristics of a country do affect individuals' value systems. In particular, the welfare regime and level of welfare are significantly related with post-materialism even when individual and national economic levels are considered. This is consistent with Maslow's argument (Eo 2004) that only when lower needs such as materialistic, physical, and economic needs are met, do people pursue higher non-materialistic values. Also, when we consider welfare as a socioeconomic condition of individuals, our findings supplement and expand on Inglehart's thesis that socioeconomic conditions affect people's post-materialistic values.

Second, compared to the East Asian welfare regime, the post-materialism rate is lower in the liberal welfare regime and higher in the conservative and social democratic regimes. Also, the social democratic and conservative regimes produce a lower sense of insecurity, in other words, a higher sense of security, which results in a stronger tendency to pursue post-materialistic values in combination with a higher level of welfare in those regimes. Compared to the East Asian welfare regime, a more universal welfare system in social democratic and conservative regimes lowers one's sense of insecurity, which allows people to pursue higher post-materialistic

values rather than survival values. In the social democratic welfare regime specifically, only a sense of insecurity was proven to have a meaningful indirect effect on post-materialistic values, showing that the provision of a high level of universal welfare significantly improves people's psychological sense of security.

Third, insecurity (insecurity experience and sense of insecurity) mediates between welfare and post-materialistic values. The mediator effect of insecurity has been discussed in previous research but has not been empirically tested. Our study makes a contribution to the study of post-materialism by empirically proving the mediator effect of insecurity, especially a sense of insecurity, as a social psychological variable between welfare and post-materialism.

These findings provide an important implication for South Korea's post-materialism. The reason for its low level of post-materialism is attributed to a lower level of welfare and a higher sense of insecurity. Since these two variables interact with each other, South Koreans have to depend on themselves for securing livelihood, health, family, and other scarce resources. The insecurity and instability of employment, income, and overall standard of living are known to have exacerbated after the Asian financial crisis in 1997. In the process of painful economic restructuring, the idea of a lifetime workplace has given way to irregular and temporary jobs, inequality widens among classes, and neoliberalism weakens a sense of community and solidarity among ordinary people. Under these circumstances, people are stuck at the stage of materialism and do not have enough willpower to move on to the next stage of post-materialism. Even when national wealth, as measured by GNP or GDP, increases, ordinary people's lives do not improve at the same rate, and their sense of security and happiness dwindle in the middle of class polarization. Since it is unlikely for the current trends to turn around in the future, prospects of post-materialism in South Korea are quite bleak.

Having known that welfare and insecurity are important factors of post-materialism, however, provides us with keys to progress to post-materialism. The adoption of a more universal welfare would lead to a greater sense of security that individuals could feel in their daily lives, and enhanced security in life would in turn encourage people to seek higher and more inclusive values, like realization of self and consideration for others, rather than obsess over the material conditions of themselves and their immediate family.

We want to conclude by acknowledging the several limitations of this study and areas of future research. First, there are several results that we



could not explain convincingly enough. For example, contrary to our expectations, in multivariate analyses, welfare level did not significantly affect the level of insecurity experiences. Also, the higher welfare level did not lead to a lower sense of insecurity and stronger support for post-materialistic values, and higher level of insecurity experiences led to stronger support for post-materialistic values. Also, there is a need for an explanation that accounts for within-group differences between nations that belong to the same welfare regime. For example, the difference in post-materialism scores between Germany and Spain, which were both categorized as the welfare regime, was 0.576, while the difference between Germany and the Netherlands, which was categorized as the social democratic regime, was 0.475. Future research needs to determine additional factors that result in group differences among nations and welfare regimes. Finally, our multiple regression analyses demonstrated that welfare characteristics of nations have statistically significant effects on post-materialism of individual members, but the values of adjusted  $R^2$ s of each model were small, indicating that some variables important for individual post-materialism were not included in the regression models.

In addition, future research needs to examine more thoroughly the relationship between welfare regime and welfare level. When we included both variables in the analysis, the effect of welfare regime remained significant while the effect of welfare level tended to be less pronounced than when we included it alone. For example, when we included welfare level while excluding welfare regime, it was negatively related with insecurity but positively related with post-materialistic values as we expected in research hypotheses. This result illustrates that there are certain characteristics of welfare regime that are beyond the explanatory power of welfare level alone.

Finally, we included only 10 countries for analysis because of limitations in data, but future research needs to include more countries for a more thorough analysis. As we mentioned earlier, the United Kingdom (Britain), France, and other European countries were not included in the sixth wave of the World Values Survey. If the next wave of WVS includes those important countries, we can determine more clearly the differences in post-materialistic values among welfare regimes. Also, if we can include other sources of insecurity, like aging insecurity in addition to work insecurity and children insecurity, the effect of insecurity as a mediator variable can be more clearly determined.

## References

- Abramson, Paul R. 2011. "Critiques and Counter-critiques of the Postmaterialism Thesis: Thirty-four Years of Debate." Global Cultural Changes Conferences, March 11, 2011, Leuphana University, Lüneburg, Germany and University of California, Irvine, U.S.A.
- Abramson, Paul R. and Ronald Inglehart. 1994. "Education, Security, and Postmaterialism: A Comment on Duch and Taylor's "Postmaterialism and the Economic Condition"?" *American Journal of Political Science* 38(3): 797-814.
- Aspalter, Christian. 2006. "The East Asian Welfare Model." *International Journal of Social Welfare* 15(4): 290-301.
- Bae, Byoung-Ryul. 2014. *AMOS 21: Gujobangjeongsig modelling [AMOS 21: Structural Equation Modeling]*. Seoul: Chung Ram Books.
- Belk, Russell W. 1985. "Materialism: Trait Aspects of Living in the Material World." *Journal of Consumer research* 265-280.
- Benedikter, Roland. 2013. "The Future of Economic Idealism in East Asia." *Challenge* 56(3): 28-41.
- Burgoon, Brian and Fabian Dekker. 2010. "Flexible Employment, Economic Insecurity and Social Policy Preferences in Europe." *Journal of European Social Policy* 20(2): 126-141.
- Cameron, Sarah M. 2013. "Postmaterialism in Times of Crisis." European Consortium for Political Research General Conference, September 4-7, Sciences Po Bordeaux, Domaine Universitaire, France.
- Cantillon, Bea. 2009. "The Poverty Effects of Social Protection in Europe: EU Enlargement and Its Lessons for Developing Countries." Pp. 220-242 in *Building Decent Societies: Rethinking the Role of Social Security in Development*, edited by Peter Townsend. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cantillon, Bea, Ive Marx, and Karel Van den Bosch. 2003. "The Puzzle of Egalitarianism: About the Relationships between Employment, Wage Inequality, Social Expenditure and Poverty." *European Journal of Social Security* 5(2): 108-127.
- Central Intelligence Agency. 2014. "Gini Index – Late 2000s." Retrieved September 8, 2014. (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2172.html>).
- Dekker, Sidney W. A., and Wilmar B. Schaufeli. 1995. "The Effects of Job Insecurity on Psychological Health and Withdrawal: A Longitudinal Study." *Australian psychologist* 30(1): 57-63.
- Ebbinghaus, Bernhard. 2012. "Comparing Welfare State Regimes: Are Typologies an Ideal or Realistic Strategy?" European Social Policy Analysis Network Conference, September 6-8, Edinburgh, United Kingdom.
- EO, Soo-Young. 2004. "Gachibyeonhwawa minjujuui gong-gohwa: 1990-2001nyeon

- gan-ui byeonhwa bigyoyeongu [Value Changes and Consolidation of Democracy in Korea: Comparison of Change in the Three Waves of Surveys: 1990, 1996 and 2001]." *Hangugeongchihaghoebo* [Korean Political Science Review] 38(1): 193-124.
- Esping-Andersen, Gosta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fusarelli, Lance D. , "School Reform in a Vacuum: Demographic Change, Social Policy, and the Future of Children." *Peabody Journal of Education* 86(3): 215-235.
- Gho, Kyeong-Hwan. 2011. "Nanum tong-gyelo salpyeobon sahoebogjisujun-ui gugjebigyo [Measuring Welfare by Charitable Donations and Social Activities]." *Bogeonbogjipoleom* [Health and Welfare Policy Forum] 182: 78-89.
- Gough, Ian, and Theo Thomas. T. 1994. "Why Do Levels of Human Welfare Vary among Nation?" *International Journal of Health Services* 24(4): 715-748.
- Hair, Joseph F, William C. Black, Barry J. Babin, and Rolph E. Anderson. 2009. *Multivariate Data Analysis 7th Edition*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Han, Gyung-Hae and Soon-Duck Yoon. 2000. "Tteonan jangnam, nam-eun jangnam: Saeng-aegwajeong gwanjeom-eseo bon nongchonnoin-ui geojuyhyeong gyeoljeong-yoin [Failed Parental Strategy? Determinants of the Living Arrangements among the Rural Elderly in Korea]." *Hangugsahoeohag* [Korean Journal Sociology] 34(3): 649-669.
- Han, Joon. 2004. "Social Capital, Post-materialism and Institutional Confidence in South Korea: 1981-2003." *Development and Society* 33(2): 165-183.
- Hurrelmann, Klaus, Katharina Rathmann, and Matthias Richter. 2011. "Health Inequalities and Welfare State Regimes: A Research Note." *Journal of Public Health* 19(3): 3-13.
- Hwang, Na-Young, Ja-Hyeong Lee, and Ki-Hye Yi. 2012. "Gajeongbaegyeong-gwa haggyojeog-eung-eul jungsim-eulo han godeunghagsaeng-ui aleubaiteu sigan gyeoljeong-yoin bunseog [Structural Relationships between the Determinants of Adolescents' Working Hours in South Korea]." *Hangugeongsonyeon-yeongu* [Studies on Korean Youth] 23(1): 223-250.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 2005. "Monitoring Mass Values and Beliefs: A Neglected Factor in Social Analysis." World Bank Conference, 'New Frontiers of Social Policy: Development in a Globalizing World,' December 12-15, Ngurdoto Mountain Lodge, Arusha, Tanzania.
- Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge University Press.
- International Labour Organization. 2014. "Total Social Expenditure as a Percentage of GDP – 2010." Retrieved October 1, 2014. (<http://www.socialsecurityextension.org/gimi/gess/ShowSearchIndicators.action>).
- International Monetary Fund. 2014. "GDP per Capita – 2009." Retrieved May 22,

2014. (<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2013/02/weodata/WEOOct2013all.xls>)
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014. "Inflation Rates – 2009." Retrieved May 22, 2014. (<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2013/02/weodata/WEOOct2013all.xls>)
- Jang, Eun-Jin and Jeoung-Kun Kim. 2011. "Hugigesipan sinloe yoin yeongu: Onlain syopingmol hugigesipan-eul jungsim-eulo [The Consumer Trust on e-WOM: In the Perspective of Seller Managed Web Review Boards]." *Jeongbosiseutem-yeongu [The Journal of Information Systems]* 20(4): 233-254.
- Jang, Mi-Hee, Jia Lee, and Ae-Sil Kim. 2014. "Jiyeogsahoe jaeganoin-ui uulgwa geonganghaeng-wiwau gwangyeeseo bunnopyohyeon bangsig-ui maegaehyogwa-e daehan seongbyeolchai [Gender Specific Role of Anger Expression in Association with Depression and Health Behavior in Community-Dwelling Elders]." *Jeongsinganhohaghoeji [Journal of Korean Academy of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing]* 23(1): 39-49.
- Jeon, Young-Jun. 2013. "Sedaegan bulpyeongdeungdo haesoleul wihan jaejeongjeongchaeggwaje: Bogjijeongchaeg-eul jungsim-eulo [Policy Suggestions for Improving Generational Equity with Special Consideration of Social Welfare Policies]." *Eung-yong-gyeongje [Korea Review of Applied Economics]* 15(2): 107-151.
- Jung, Geun-Sik and Yoon-Jung Joo. 2013. "Sahoesa-eob-eseo sahoebogjilo: 'Bogji' gaenyeomgwa jedoui byeonhwa. [Conceptual History of 'Welfare': From Social Work to Welfare]." *Sahoewa yeogsa [Society and History]* 98: 5-41.
- Jung, Hae-Sik and Sang-Hoon Ahn. 2011. "Sahoelui jil hawi yeong-yeoggan-ui gwangyee gwanhan yeongu: Sahoegyongjejeog anjeonseong-gwa sahojeog eungjibseong-eul jungsim-eulo [A Study on the relationship among the sub-domains of Social Quality: Socio-economic security and social cohesion]." *Sahobogjiyeongu [Korean Journal of Social Welfare Studies]* 42(2): 205-233.
- Jung, Mu-Gwon. 2007. "Hangug baljeonjuui saengsanlejmimgwa bogjicheje-ui hyeongseong [The Historical Formation of the Developmental Production and Welfare Regimes in Korea]." *Hangugsahoejeongchaeg [Korean Social Policy Review]* 14: 257-307.
- Karim, Syahirah Abdul, Terje A. Eikemo, and Clare Bamba. 2010. "Welfare State Regimes and Population Health: Integrating the East Asian Welfare States." *Health Policy* 94: 45-53.
- Kim, Eun-Hee. 2002. "Gajogsaenghwaljugie ttaleun majbeol-i namnyeoui seong-yeoghal taedowa gyeolhonmanjogdo yeongu [A Study on the Sex Role Attitude and Marital Satisfaction of Dual-Earner Men and Women across the Family Life Cycle]." *Hanguggajogbogjihag [Korean Journal of Family Welfare]* 10: 99-119.
- Kim, Heung-Ju and Hae-Jin Lee. 2012. "Hangug-ui meoggeoli bojang siltaewa jeongchaeggwaje [Food Security in Korea and Its Policy Agendas]." *Bogeonsahoeyeongu [Health and Social Welfare Review]* 32(2): 468-499.
- Kim, Mi-Sook. 2011. "OECD guggau adong-gajogbogjijichul hyeonhwang-gwa

- hyogwaseong bigyo [Family Expenditures and Its Effectiveness among OECD Countries].” *Bogeonbogjipoleom* [Health and Welfare Policy Forum] 173: 79-93.
- Kim, Yeon-Myeong. 2004. “Dong-asia bogjichejelon-ui jaeggeomto: Bogjicheje yuhyeong bigyo bangbeoblonjeog munjewa dong-asia bogjicheje yuhyeonghwai ganeungseong [Re-examination of East-Asian Welfare Regime: Methodological Problems in Comparing Welfare Regimes and the Possibilities of Identifying East-Asian Welfare Regime].” *Sahoebogjijeongchaeg* [Social Welfare Policy] 20: 133-154.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2011. “Dong-asia sahoebogjiui ye-oseong? [Still Welfare Exceptionalism in East Asia? Review and Prospect for the Recent Welfare Developments in East Asian Countries].” *Aseayeongu* [The Journal of Asiatic Studies] 54(1): 7-21.
- Kim, Yoon-Tae and Jae-Wook Seo. 2014. “Hangug-ui bogjitaedowa bogjijedo: Gaebyeol bogjijedo-e daehan gyeongjehwaldong-inguu taedo [Welfare Attitude and Welfare Institution in Korea: Public Support for Welfare Institutions].” *Donghyang-gwajeonmang* [Trend and Prospect] 90: 331-378.
- La Ferle, Carrie, and Kara Chan. 2008. “Determinants for Materialism among Adolescents in Singapore.” *Young Consumers: Insight and Ideas for Responsible Marketers* 9(3): 201-214.
- Lee, Hak-Sik and Ji-Hoon Lim. 2008. *Gujobangjeongsig mohyeongbunseoggwa AMOS 7.0* [Structure Equation Model Analysis and AMOS 7.0]. Seoul: Bub Moon Books.
- Lee, In-Hee. 2000. “Sahoebogjiui guseongchegyee gwanhan yeongu [Research on the Structure of Social Welfare].” *Jeongchijeongboyeongu* [The Journal of Political Science & Communication] 3(2): 219-242.
- Lee, Yih-Jiunn, and Yeun-wen Ku. 2007. “East Asian welfare regime: Testing the Hypothesis of the Developmental Welfare State.” *Social Policy & Administration* 41(2): 197-212.
- Levecque, Katia, Ronan Van Rossem, Katrien De Boyser, Sarah Van de Velde, and Piet Bracke. 2011. “Economic Hardship and Depression across the Life Course: The Impact of Welfare State Regimes.” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 52(2): 262-276.
- Maslow, Abraham Harold. 1943. “A Theory of Human Motivation.” *Psychological Review* 50: 370-396.
- Milligan, Scott. 2012. “Economic Inequality, Poverty, and Tolerance: Evidence from 22 Countries.” *Comparative Sociology* 11(4): 594-619.
- Mirowsky, John, and Catherine E. Ross. 1999. “Economic Hardship across the Life Course.” *American Sociological Review* 64(4): 548-569.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. “Age and the Effect of Economic Hardship on Depression.” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 42(2): 132-150.
- Moon, Jin-Young. 2008. “Dong-yuleob(CEE) guggau sahoejeog baeje hyeonsang-gwa bogjichejee gwanhan yeongu [A Study of the Welfare System of Central and Eastern European Countries].” *Yuleob-yeongu* [The Journal of Contemporary European Studies] 26(1): 47-77.

- Na, Byung-Kyun. 2010. "Seogujeog dong-asia bogjigugga damlon-ui hangug-e daehan jeog-yong-ganeungseong yeongu [A Study on the Applicability of East Asian Welfare State Discourse to the Development of Korean Welfare State (Regime)]." *Sahoebogijyeongu [Korean Journal of Social Welfare Studies]* 41(3): 5-28.
- Nam, Chan-Seob. 2002. "Hangug bogjicheje-ui seong-gyeog-e daehan gyeongheomjeog yeongu: Esepung-aendeoseun-ui gijun-eul jungsim-eulo [The Nature of the Korean Welfare System-Searching for Some Empirical Bases]." *Sanghwang-gwa bogji [Journal of Critical Social Welfare]* 11: 163-202.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2014. "Total Social Expenditure as a Percentage of GDP – 2009." Retrieved March 18, 2014. ([http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/government-social-spending\\_20743904-table1](http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/government-social-spending_20743904-table1)).
- Park, Jae-Heung and Soo-Taek Kang. 2012. "Hangug-ui sedae byeonhwawa talmuljiljuui: Kohoteu bunseog [Intergenerational Change and Postmaterialism in Korea: Cohort Analysis]." *Hangugsahoehag [Korean Journal of Sociology]* 46(4): 69-95.
- Park, Soon-Young. 2013. "Jichejang-aein-ui sahoejabongwa jiwihogdeug: Sahojeog baeje-ui jaejomyeong [Social Capital and Status Attainment of People with Physical Disabilities: Reconsidering Social Exclusion]." *Jibangjachiyeongu [Studies in Local Government and Autonomy]* 16: 163-184.
- Rokeach, Milton. 1968. *Beliefs, Attitudes and Values*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ryu, Yeon-Kyu. 2002. "Hugisan-eobsahoe bogjigugga wigie daehan talgajogjuuijeog daeeung [De-familializational Response to the Crisis in the Welfare States of Post-industrial Society]." *Sanghwang-gwa bogji [Journal of Critical Social Welfare]* 11: 237-242.
- Scruggs, Lyle, and James P. Allan. 2006. "The Material Consequences of Welfare States: Benefit Generosity and Absolute Poverty in 16 OECD Countries." *Comparative Political Studies* 39(7): 880-904.
- Smith, George Davey. 1996. "Income Inequality and Mortality: Why Are They Related?" *BMJ: British Medical Journal* 312: 987-988.
- Van den Broek, Andries. 1999. "Does Differential Cohort Socialization Matter? The Impact of Cohort Replacement and the Presence of Intergenerational Differences in the Netherlands." *Political Psychology* 20(3): 501-523.
- Western, Bruce, Deirdre Bloome, Benjamin Sosnaud, and Laura Tach. 2012. "Economic Insecurity and Social Stratification." *Annual Review of Sociology* 38: 341-359.
- Whelan, Christopher T., and Bertrand Maître. 2010. "Welfare Regime and Social Class Variation in Poverty and Economic Vulnerability in Europe: An Analysis of EU-SILC." *Journal of European Social Policy* 20(4): 316-332.
- World Bank. 2014. "Gross Domestic Product – 2013." Retrieved December 2, 2014. (<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/WDI-2013-ebook.pdf>)

- World Values Survey. 2014. "World Values Survey 6<sup>th</sup> Wave." Retrieved May 20, 2014. (<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp>).
- DProduct Wu, Chung Li. 2011. "Sahoegyongjejeog byeonhwawa talmuljiljuuijeog gachi-daeman-e daehan bigyo bunseog [Socioeconomic Change and Postmaterialist Values: A Comparative Analysis of Taiwan]." *Seongeoyeongu [Election Studies]* 1(2): 159-191.
- Yang, Hye-Seung. 2006. "Tellebijeon olag peulogeulaem sicheong-i gaeindeul-ui muljiljuuijeog gachigwan mich salmgwa sahoee daehan manjogdo-e michineun yeonghyang [The Effects of Viewing Entertainment Programs on Material Values and Feelings of Relative Deprivation]." *Hangugbangsonghagbo [Korean Journal of Broadcasting]* 20(4): 121-155.
- Yeo, Eugene and Tae-Wan Kim. 2006. "Hangug-ui sodeugbulpyeongdeung donghyang-gwa jeongchaegbanghyang [The Trend of Inequality and Policy Implication in Korea]." *Bogeonsahoeyeongu [Health and Social Welfare Review]* 26(1): 95-134.
- Yoon, Sang-Chul. 2000. "Jeongchijeog bupaewa gugjejeog yeongye [Political Corruption and International Linkage]." *Hangugsahoehag [Korean Journal of Sociology]* 34: 269-296.

**SEONGKYUNG CHO** received her B.A. in Economics from the Department of Food and Resource Economics at Korea University and M.A. in Sociology from Korea University. Her major research areas include social policy, social psychology, and inequality. *Address:* Department of Sociology, Korea University, 145 Anam-ro, Seongbuk-gu, Seoul, 136-701, Korea. [E-mail: bukskcho@gmail.com]

**IN-JIN YOON** is professor of Sociology in the Department of Sociology at Korea University in Seoul, Korea. His areas of interests are social psychology, international migration, multiculturalism, minority, social conflict, and social policy. *Address:* Department of Sociology, Korea University, 145 Anam-ro, Seongbuk-gu, Seoul, 136-701, Korea. [E-mail: yoonin@korea.ac.kr]

