School Choice Overseas: Are Parents Citizens or Consumers?

by

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ABSTRACT

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Currently, some Korean parents are educating their children in primary and secondary schools in foreign countries even though Korean schools demonstrate high performance as confirmed by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) Report. Using Hirschman's (1970) framework of "exit" and "voice," this study investigated characteristics of exiting parents and their reasons for educating their child(ren) in foreign schools. This study also examined the organizational, political and educational context of Korea, including the High School Equalization Policy (HSEP), private tutoring, change in the study abroad law, and the role these play in leading some families to leave their domestic local schools.

A survey questionnaire was administered to two groups of parents – parents whose children attend school domestically (staying parents) and parents whose children attend school abroad (exiting parents). Purposive sampling was implemented for data collection. Analysis employed logistic regression to assess which factors significantly contributed to the decision to exit or to stay.

This study's finding confirmed Hirschman's argument that exit may increase when opportunities for voice are limited. Before choosing schools in foreign countries, exiting Korean parents expressed their voice more actively at the school level than did staying parents. While exiting parents were prone to speak directly to the teachers, principals, and

school staff at the school level, staying parents were more likely to vocalize their voice through city and national level elections by actively demonstrating political action by casting ballots. Staying parents were more likely to choose their children's school by residential choice. In evaluating Korean schools, exiting parents gave lower marks to the local schools where their children attended while scoring Korean schools in general higher.

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Chapter I: Introduction

Driven by a shared dissatisfaction with South Korea's rigid educational system, parents in rapidly expanding numbers are seeking to give their children an edge by helping them become fluent in English while sparing them, and themselves, the stress of South Korea's notorious educational pressure cooker.

More than 40,000 South Korean schoolchildren are believed to be living outside South Korea with their mothers in what experts say is an outgrowth of a new era of globalized education.

Onishi, N. (June 8, 2008). For studies in English, Koreans learn to say goodbye to dad. *The New York Times*, p. 1.

Choosing schools abroad is a clear indicator of educational dissatisfaction in Korea. The exodus of students from schools, some fear, is trumping the educational commitment and contributions reflected in Korea's contemporary history. While Korean elementary and secondary schools have been the country's pride, in recent history, they have become the focus of complaint and outcry.

A series of Five-Year Economic Development Programs in Korea from 1961 to 1980 resulted in rapid economic growth that was accompanied by a high population increase, massive migration to urban areas, and a marked increase in the demand for education (Lee, 2006). The accelerated economic development, in turn, resulted in increased enrollment in vocational high schools and government support for science and technology education. However, preparation provided by vocational education is not

adequate in the current Korean economy, requiring its school systems to renew their aim and function under a new information era (OECD, 1998).

Two major roles of schools are to prepare future citizens in a democratic society and secure a future labor force for the market economy (Carnoy & Levin, 1985). Beyond the role of college and universities in fostering democratization in the 1970s and 1980s, Korean primary, middle, and high schools have been key institutions for the dissemination of democratic ideas by educating students about democracy and civility through the standard curriculum for preparing future citizens. Furthermore, since the enactment of the Act of Local Educational Autonomy in 1988, schools have been an arena to apply democratic ideals in promoting democratic control. Based on four principles of democratic control – decentralization, professional administration, popular control, and independence – the education offices of all metropolitan cities and provinces operate their K-12 schools and exercise their financial and personnel independently. Korean schools have performed successfully in preparing future workers, where the high quality and lower price of the workforce are fundamental to Korea's rapid economic growth.

However, more and more parents and students express discontent with Korean schooling because they perceive the schools' roles to be unsuccessful or limited. Acting on their dissatisfaction, some parents and/or students, instead of moving to different school districts, cities, or provinces when choosing a school, are crossing the national border. In fact, the number of students who choose to attend schools abroad has continuously increased since 2000 (Table 1). Recent research shows that among Korean parents who decide to send their children to school outside of their home country, 32%

select schools in the U.S., 17% in Canada, 13% in China, and 12% in New Zealand (KEDI, 2005).

Table 1. Number of K-12 students who attend schools abroad by year

School Year	Number of Students
1998	1,562
1999	1,839
2000	4,397
2001	7,944
2002	10,132
2003	10,498
2004	16,446
2005	20,400
2006	29,511

Ministry of Education and Human Resources of Republic of Korea, various years

In 2006, the number of students who left to pursue education abroad accounted for less than 1% of the total enrollment of students in grades 1 through 12. Although this percentage is a small portion of the total student population, which totals more than 7 million, their exodus cannot be ignored. Such students represent higher socioeconomic status (i.e., income, education) than their peers since choosing and attending schools in foreign countries require a considerable amount of information and resources. The main reasons parents choose schools overseas is improving their child's English/foreign language skills (36%), dissatisfaction with current schooling (36%), and the heavy economic burden of private tutoring in Korea (34%) (Kim, 2001). While only a selected

few families can afford to send their children abroad, many desire the option. Of the 31% of parents who have given it thought, 34% would like to do so, but only 6% have realistic plans or made preparations to follow through (Kim, 2001).

Choosing schooling abroad often results in the separation of family. When parents select non-residential day schools or want to take care of their children directly, spousal separation is likely. The resulting separation effect is known as "kirogi," the Korean word for wild geese. Kirogi families are an emerging phenomenon where spouses live separately for the sake of their children's K-12 education. An article in *The Washington Post* (January 9, 2005) defines this as a "wrenching choice," explaining the fledgling and unique family style of the kirogi in an analysis of the obsolete character of Korean education where jobs, social status, and even marriage prospects are often determined by performance on national school exams. This ultimately leads to young children leaving their home and country. Choi (2005) outlined five reasons behind the kirogi effect: 1) Korean parents' attraction to prestigious schools in foreign countries, 2) difficult socio-economic conditions in Korea, 3) excessive importance placed on college admission, 4) discontentment toward Korea's educational system, and 5) parents' attempt at improving their children's education through economic resources rather than family dedication of time and effort (pp. 255-257).

An additional factor may be the lack of opportunities for choosing schools that exist for those who remain in Korea. In Korea, parents have few opportunities to choose schools within the regular school system. Students in grades 1 through 12 are assigned to neighborhood schools regardless of whether the schools are public or private because both types of schools are under government control. Unlike the U.S., private schools in

Korea, as part of the public education system, do not function as a school choice option.[1] As such, residential choice is the only way to select schools in Korea.

Korea's current outcomes of education are far from alarming. Comparing Korea's school current outcomes with previous performance is not yet possible since the first nation-wide school achievement test was only commissioned in 2008. Therefore, results on the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), an international test administrated by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), is used to illustrate how school performances compare by country (Table 2).

Table 2. Overview of the PISA Report (2009, 2003)

	Math (Average score/Rank) (2009)	Science (Average score/Rank) (2009)	Reading (Average score/Rank) (2009)	Problem Solving (Average score/Rank) (2003)
Korea	546/3~6	538/4~7	539/2~4	550/1
U.S.	487/26~36	502/19~29	500/11~25	477/24
Canada	527/9~12	529/7~10	524/5~7	529/6
China -Shanghai -Hong Kong	 600/1 555/3~4	 575/1 549/2~3	 556/1 533/3~4	 n/a
New Zealand	519/12~14	532/6~9	521/6~9	533/4

(Mean =500, SD=100)

The 2009 PISA Report[2] (2010) "Science Competencies for Tomorrow's World" shows Korean students performing very successfully, ranking 2~4 in Reading, 3~6 in

[1] Only at the elementary school level, private schools operate independently from governmental intervention, do not admit students by government assignment, and develop their own curriculum. Only 1% of students (47,383 among 4,022,801 students) are enrolled in private elementary schools (KEDI, 2005).

[2] The PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) is a survey on knowledge and skills in mathematics, science, reading, and problem solving. It is administered every three years to 15 year olds in principal industrial countries (OECD 2007). All 30 OECD member countries and 11 partner countries participated in the PISA 2003, with over a quarter million students assessed.

Math, and 4~7 in Science. Previous reports from 2000, 2003, and 2006 revealed similar results – sixth, second, and first in Reading, respectively; second, second, and third in Math; and first, fourth, and tenth in Science, respectively. Ironically, schools in foreign countries that Korean parents and students are choosing do not demonstrate better academic achievement than those of Korean schools.

Few rigorous studies have addressed Korean young students' education in foreign countries and the phenomenon of educational exodus. Kang (2002) studied factors that influence parents to choose schools overseas for their children's secondary education and found that socio-economic status and cultural capital played a part in their decision. Son (2005) examined the public's opinion on educating young children in foreign countries. Data from the "2003 Survey of Seoulites' Life and Opinion" suggested that high SES residents in Seoul have a positive opinion toward leaving Korea for education in foreign countries. Using Korean Education and Employment Panel (KEEP) data, Kim and Yoon (2005) investigated the character of families with a high likelihood of educating their children in foreign countries, revealing expected highest educational level of their children, father's educational level, and household income as the most influential factors to educate children in foreign countries. Ihm, Seo, Lee, Chung, and Chung (2009) conducted public opinion research on how people are made aware of and recognize how to send their young children to foreign schools. They found that negative public opinion about public education, the ebb of dominance of prestigious domestic colleges in Korea, and parental interest in English education at an early age contribute to leaving for schools in foreign countries.

Yet, existing research related to the focus of this study has limitations. Son (2005) and Ihm et al. (2009) examined the public opinion of seven large metropolitan cities towards educational exodus. Kim and Yoon (2005) investigated parents who intended to educate their children in foreign countries rather than parents who actually sent their children to schools in foreign countries. Kang (2002) had access to parents with children in schools overseas but the sample size was only 29. Furthermore, rather than applying a model or a framework, previous research has descriptively analyzed the current phenomenon of educational exodus and focused on parents who have made the decision to leave rather than why they made such a decision.

Thus, this study examines Korean parents who are sending their children to schools overseas and why they choose these schools by using Hirschman's (1970) concepts of "exit" and "voice." Hirschman's model suggests that exit may increase when opportunities for voice are limited. The study tests this by exploring whether, by exiting the Korean education system, parents are trying to use their voice to change school policies or practice. In particular, were they active in participating in school visits and did they meet with personnel (teachers, principals, assistant principals, government officials, NGOs, media) in efforts to influence their children's education? This study considers whether schools and educational authorities' unresponsiveness to parents' "voice," particularly that of higher SES families, contributes to their decision to take the "exit" option. Higher SES parents' extensive participation in their children's education is observed to be an estimate of how they envision education from the perspective of citizens or consumers. Contextual factors such as the competitive college entrance exam, which is known as an exam hell, the burdensome and excessive amount of expenditure on

private tutoring, and parental preference for American education will be explored to determine Korean parents' school choice overseas.

A sample of exiting parents was selected from parents of children who currently attend foreign schools and cram schools for SAT preparation during vacation, as the U.S. is the most preferred country among exiting parents. The sample of staying parents was selected from parents of children who currently attend one of two private schools in the most prestigious school district in Seoul, Korea.

The collected survey data allowed for a quantitative analysis of the following research questions: Do some parents simply prefer the "exit" option rather than try collective action to attain satisfactory education for their children? To what extent do parents who stay present more loyalty to the school and community they belong to than parents who exit? What others factors aside from SES and political attitudes affect parents' decision to educate their children in foreign countries?

This study considers whether limiting the options of choosing schools and assigning students to local schools regardless of parental preference results in leaving for foreign schools even though domestic schools offer education of good quality. As a possible response of Korean schools reducing the tide of exiting domestic schools and increasing satisfaction with these schools, expansion of opportunities to choose various types and multiple numbers of schools in the nation will be discussed.

By applying Hirschman's idea to parents in other countries in East Asia and beyond, future research can explore who is educating their children in Western-developed countries and good schools around the world. This will make it possible to expand the horizon of school choice research to the international level.

Chapter II: Literature Review

1. Organizational, Political, and Educational Mechanism in Korea

In 1998, the OECD reported "two very clear general impressions about Koreans." The first is that Koreans place tremendous importance on education and parents will do everything in their power to ensure that their children get the best education they can obtain. The second is that Koreans are extremely competitive. These two factors acting together constitute a powerful and, seemingly, "very stable Korean cultural value" (OECD, 1998, p. 189). These Korean characteristics are reflected in their craving for better domestic higher education institutions, known as prestigious colleges, and spending in private tutoring.

Since private and public high schools are directly controlled by the government under the High School Equalization Policy (HSEP), parents' and students' diverse demands have difficulty being met in a monolithic school system. In the past, families' eagerness for alternatives was bounded domestically and directed towards supplementary education outside of the school system, such as cram schooling and tutoring. Today, along with the economic prosperity and the flow of information, some parents and students are inquiring globally and choosing schools overseas. Furthermore, the law related to study abroad has been revised many times in response to society's changes and its demands, enabling parental school choice to take place outside of the national border.

This chapter introduces the educational surroundings in Korea that drives K-12 students to enroll in schools in foreign countries in relation to 1) their limited freedom to choose schools under the governmental education policy, 2) their educational zeal and

personal and societal motivation for private tutoring, and 3) the law which defines and regulates students' study abroad depending on private funding sources.

High School Equalization Policy (HSEP)

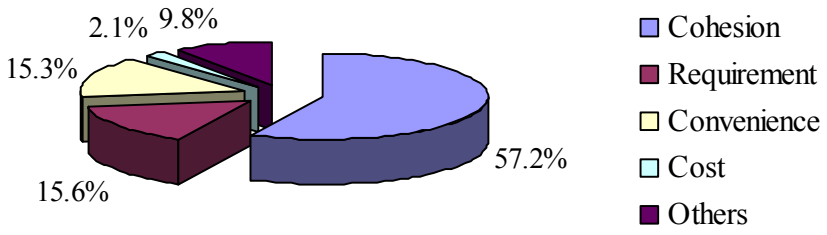
In response to the growing demand for secondary education in the 1960s, the South Korean government adopted the High School Equalization Policy (HSEP) for secondary schools in 1974 (Park, 2001). Spanning from Seoul and Busan, the two largest cities in Korea, to 23 surrounding cities and regions, this policy is the backbone to sustaining education at the middle school (grades 7-9) and high school (grades 10-12) levels. In the past, the admission criteria into high school were based on a student's high school entrance exam score and one's middle school grades. In contrast, the HSEP targets high school entrance examination reform by means of selecting a certain number of high school applicants up to the seating capacity of the local schools in the school district and assigning them to each high school, without regard to whether it is a public or private high school, aiming for equalizing the educational conditions of all high schools.

The HSEP focuses on five agenda items: 1) normalizing middle school education (i.e., changing the requirements of the high school entrance examination); 2) encouraging science and vocational education in high school; 3) balancing the development of education among regions, including urban and rural areas; 4) reducing educational expenditures, mainly costs for cram schooling and private tutoring; and 5) deconcentrating the population in mega cities (Park, 2001, p. i). For more than 30 years, the HSEP has positively contributed to affordable and quality education, but not without many expected and unexpected side effects. Despite controversy since the inception of

the HSEP, 63% of Korean parents continue to support the policy (ibid, p. 23) even though its challenges are very wide and deep (Yoon et al, 2002). In fact, the HSEP is considered by some to be implicated as the source of nearly every problem related to Korean education.[3]

Figure 1 (Park, 2001) illustrates various reasons in support of the HSEP, with over half of Koreans (57.2%) supporting it because it contributes to social cohesion (Cohesion). Similar to Americans, Koreans envision K-12 education as a social equalizer. On the other hand, practical reasons such as assignment to a convenient neighborhood school (Convenience), decreased burden of high school admission for students (Requirement), and reduction in private tutoring costs (Cost) are not significant arguments in defense of the policy.

Figure 1. Reasons given for support of the HSEP

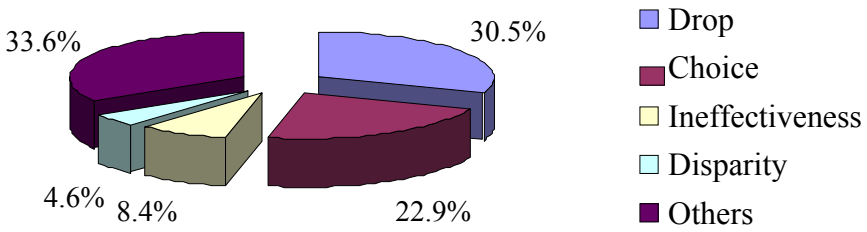


Park, 2001

[3] College professors recognize that currently enrolled students' academic performance, especially in math and English, is lower compared to previous matriculated students. This is attributed to many different reasons, such as change in the high school curriculum, weaker college admissions requirements, and fewer hours spent studying. However, reasons are also being strongly attributed to the HSEP. Such opinions have been cited in newspaper articles (i.e., Jeonhyuk Cho, mindless HSEP brings lower performance in school. Donga Ilbo, January 9, 2008), discussed by professors and presidents (i.e. President Woonchan Chung of the Seoul National University, rethinking the HSEP, July 19, 2005 at the Korean Chamber of Commerce. From Joongang Daily), and disseminated through Op-Ed and interviews of major newspapers (i.e. President Byungdoo Sohn of Sogang University, Revamping the HSEP for improving competitiveness of education, Chosun Ilbo March 7, 2007) without basing it on empirical research.

Figure 2 depicts the least constructive effects of the HSEP, with most arguing that it limits parents' and students' school choice (Choice). Other arguments against the policy include lowering student academic performance nationwide (Drop), ineffective classroom teaching and learning due to a heterogeneous student body (Ineffectiveness), and disparity among schools in different school districts (Disparity). In sum, what really matters to parents and students is the freedom of choice.

Figure 2. Reasons in opposition to the HSEP



Park, 2001

Park et al. (2001) conducted a nation-wide survey and outlined three challenges of the HSEP: 1) parents are becoming more dissatisfied with the quality of the current high school education, 2) restriction on parental school choice is facing even jurisdictional debates on its legitimacy, and 3) neo-liberalists insist on adopting market competition to education. In other words, agreement or disagreement with the HSEP reflects parents' individual interests rather than their socioeconomic status. Parents with children in middle school who are facing the high school admission process support the HSEP mostly because they prefer to avoid the exam and find that assignment by lottery is a

simple and economical process. In contrast, the strongest opponents to the policy are parents whose children have already completed high school. In particular, those with an educational level higher than a graduate degree and residents of the Honam (southwest) area are the strongest opponents of the HSEP.

Business leaders and economists present a different opinion about the HSEP. Their arguments are based on neo-liberalism and supported by the basic rights of the Constitution. Opponents who argue to amend or even abolish the policy point to strengthening school competitiveness, bolstering diverse parental school choice, and the self-sufficiency of private schools (Lee, J., 2002; Lee, S., 2002).

Critics argue that the HSEP does not meet the target objective of expanding equality, revamping college admission requirements, and reducing household expenditures on private tutoring (Lee, J, 2002). Instead, revising the HSEP encourages efficiency and equality together and, ultimately, resolves college entrance problems and reduces private tutoring costs. Dissatisfaction with education in Korea originates from sustaining the status quo (Lee et al., 2006), where abnormal growth of cram school markets and private tutoring costs, the achievement disparity among class and region, students' dissatisfaction towards school despite high performance, and choosing schools overseas are attributed to the HSEP. K-12 students' migration to schools in foreign countries is viewed as a warning signal of total failure of the current Korean school system.

Proponents of the HSEP offer different explanations to justify and legitimize its existence. Some believe that the HSEP elevates students' academic performance and does not directly relate to the nation's lower test scores (Kang & Sung, 2001) and that the

policy is conducive to equity and social cohesion, claiming suggestions to abolish the HSEP and expand independent private schools are schemes of elitists to win the status competition (Kim, 2002). Others have found no significant relationship between the HSEP and academic performance of high school students, arguing that students under the HSEP show higher academic performance than students not under the HSEP (Sung, 2002). These debates among scholars have initiated a politicization of issues and ignited ideological disparity between political parties. Thus, arguing between liberals and conservatives in support or in opposition to the HSEP, respectively, is a hot topic in academia and the political arena. For instance, political conservatives who attribute decreased academic performance to the HSEP threaten to dismantle the current public education system and expand school choice.

Educational Zeal and Private Tutoring (kwaoe) including Cram Schooling (hagwon)

A salient characteristic of Korean parents' educational zeal[4] stimulates parents and students to aggressively vie for various types of educational opportunities. The OECD states, "The strong zeal for education among Korean cannot be matched anywhere else in the world" (1998, p.27). Strong respect and belief in education have both positive and negative effects not only in education but also in society as a whole. Many educational achievements such as being top-ranked in the PISA report and having the highest high school graduation rate and higher education enrollment are seen, but there is also low school satisfaction and a negative attitude toward schools. Such attitudes are mostly attributed to strong credentialism in the current Korean society, where diplomas

[4] OECD's report (1998) uses the word 'zeal' to explain major characteristics in the development of Korean education. Michael J. Seth's "Education Fever" (2002) explores the current history of Korea after liberation from Japan. He uses the words 'zeal' and 'fever' in his work.

are regarded as the most decisive criteria for employment, marriage, and informal interpersonal relationships (OECD, 1998, p. 27).

Chung (1999) investigated the origin of educational zeal before the Republic of Korea was established, during the Chosun Dynasty (1392-1910) and Japanese Colony (1910-1945), and defined it as the product of Korea's modernization rather than as a traditional characteristic of Koreans. Chung attributes the absence of zeal in the Chosun Dynasty to the stable life style of an agricultural society, the separation between classes in a feudal society, and the influence of humility encouraged by Confucian teaching. Educational zeal developed as a result of 1) the adoption of Darwinism, 2) the establishment of the national education system which was initiated by the state, and 3) the dismantling of the medieval status system. Social Darwinism fosters enlightenment in thinkers' heroism and nationalism and envisions Western imperial countries as the goal of evolution of the country (Kim, 1988). It brings about a capitalistic perspective to education which promotes survival of the fittest rather than coordination and harmony among people (Chung, 1999). Because the national education system emphasizes capability enhancement, one's acquired status rather than inherited status, and education as a tool for social promotion and national development, educational zeal was awakened with the modernization of Korea (Han, 1991).

Today, our obsessive attitude towards education has brought about the "world's costliest educational system"[5] (Seth, 2002). Table 3 portrays the proportion of household educational expenditures per month, where education is one of the highest priorities. In

[5] Korea's comprehensive national educational system was built with only a modest expenditure (McGinn, Noel F., Donald Snodgrass, Yung Bong Kim, Shin-bok Kim, and Quee-young Kim. Education and Development in Korea. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1980.), but Seth (2002) argues that this is misleading because the hidden costs of informal fees, tutoring, gifts to teachers, and supplementary classes and texts are not included.

2008, the three greatest burdens to Korean families were food expenses, transportation and communication, and education (KNSO, 2009). On average, Korean households spend around 10% of their whole household expense on education. Furthermore, spending on private tutoring has grown consistently.

Table 3. Monthly household expenditure on education

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Educational Cost / Whole Household Expenditure	8.2%	8.5%	8.4%	8.7%	9.3%
Private Tutoring Cost/ Whole Educational Cost	59.6%	61.5%	61.6%	61.9%	63.3%

Korea National Statistics Office, 2009

Despite relatively inexpensive school tuition, undue spending on private tutoring, private schools, and tertiary education results in a hefty household economic load for education. USA Today reports that "South Korean families spend three times as much as Americans on education – except for college, where Americans spend fractionally more. What distinguishes South Korea is the $20 billion parents spend on private educational institutes" (November 19, 2008).

Regardless of the costly nature of schooling, the public's drive for educational attainment enables the state to shift the expense of education onto the household (Seth, 2002, p. 172). The proportion of private expenditures (per student) to public expenditures (per student) increased from 48.6% in 1977 to 108.4% in 1990 (OECD, 1998). Expenditures for private education increased with the growth of income but the same was

not true for public education. Parents' willingness and capacity to pay for their children's education exceed and precede governmental actions and responses.

Educational zeal impacted private tutoring expenditures after the implementation of the HSEP. One goal of private tutoring is to provide supplementary education to students, but its impact has been partly negative. Aside from its immense burden on household expenditure, private tutoring undermines egalitarian access to education and drains resources that can be used for capital investment and savings at the national level. To control this rising problem, the Chun administration (1980 to 1988) banned all private tutoring in 1980 (Seth, 2002). In 1989, college students were allowed to tutor K-12 students and by 1991, all types of tutoring including cram schools, were resumed (Kim, 1998).

One reason for the demand in private tutoring is the unresponsiveness of public education (Kim, 1998). When public education no longer meets people's longing for better schools, parents choose tutoring as an alternative supplement. The relationship between public education and tutoring is analogous to tap water and mineral water (Kim, 1998). The city provides good quality tap water to its citizens but also allows the selling of mineral water from private vendors and the installation of purifiers at home. Similarly, government and educational officials approach private tutoring as a natural gesture in seeking better services and goods. According to the Korean Consumer Agency (1997), most parents agree to the efficacy of tutoring (private and group tutoring as well as cram schooling) and confirm that tutoring contributes to increased academic achievement.

Another reason for participating in private tutoring is to seek better preparation for the college entrance exam. Students with higher school grades, from higher SES

families, and from schools with higher student-teacher ratios are more likely to participate in private tutoring in Korea (Kim, 2007a), such that those in the 2nd quintile from the top have a higher probability of participating in private tutoring than those in the 5th quintile. An additional one year in parents' education increases the likelihood of participating in private tutoring by 3% and high student-teacher ratios are regarded equivalent to lower quality of education. Kim (2007a) found that students are participating in private tutoring to get an edge on exam scores rather than for supplementary purposes. Students who are high achievers in school and from higher SES families are more likely to participate in private tutoring in order to achieve a higher SAT score to increase their possibility of getting admitted into more prestigious colleges.

Kim (2007b) adopted game theory models to parents' decision-making on the consumption of private tutoring and found that, similar to the Prisoner's Dilemma Game, parents who decide to invest in private tutoring showed a suboptimal Nash Equilibrium when the benefits from private tutoring considerably exceeded the costs of private tutoring among parents of symmetric characters (income, child's ability, and preference for spending in education). In games between asymmetrical parents, the Nash Equilibrium discovered that more competitively advantageous parents spent more of their income on private tutoring while relatively disadvantaged parents did not. Parents invested in private tutoring because they were afraid that their children would be left behind.

Table 4. Overview of private tutoring of Korea in 2008

	Total (Trillion Won)	Monthly Per Capita (Thousand Won)	Participation Rate (%)	Weekly Participation Hour
All	20.09	310	75.1	7.6
Primary	10.43	276	87.9	8.9
Middle	5.81	332	72.5	8.4
High	4.66	411	60.5	5.1

Korea National Statistical Office, 2009

Table 4 provides an overview of the total expenditure on private tutoring of Korea. 20 trillion won (around 20 billion U.S. dollars at exchange of 1000 won to 1 dollar) is spent on private tutoring per year. For high school students, 60.5% participate in private tutoring and for 5.1 hours per week. On average, they spend 411 thousand won per month (around 400 dollars) for private tutoring. Participation rate decreases as students are promoted to a higher school year, but the total amount of tutoring fees increase. This is because high school students participate in academically related courses while elementary school kids enroll in arts and sports classes.

Private tutoring is considered a double-edged sword (Lee, 2007). On the one hand, it serves a compensational function by providing supplementary education for those with limited schooling opportunities and for individuals in need of academic remediation. On the other hand, tutoring enables high-achieving students to enhance their academic interests and prepare for college. As such, private tutoring can balance the educational attainment between high-profile and low-profile students by meeting their educational needs that are left untouched by the school system. However, it also triggers an equity issue, where spending on tutoring increases with income (Table 5).

Table 5. Expenditure on private tutoring by income bracket (11th grade, 2006)

	Total (N=966)	Lower Income (N=125)	Middle Income (N=667)	High Income (N=174)
Monthly Income (Thousand Won)	3,856	1,280	3,332	7,718
Monthly Expenditure (Thousand Won)	2,140	1,035	2,031	3,353
Private Tutoring Cost (Thousand Won)	473	84	409	999
Private Tutoring / Whole Expenditure	213	105	210	300

Lee (2009, p. 20). Data from the Korea Education and Employment Panel (KEEP)[6]

Table 5 shows the polarized spending on private tutoring by household income. As household income increases, the amount and portion of private tutoring increase, as well. A low income family spends 84,000 won per month on private tutoring while a high income family spends 999,000 won per month; high income families spend 12 times more on private tutoring than low income families.

[6] KEEP data surveys 2,000 middle and high school students, their parents, teachers and school administrators nation widely. The panel data contains information concerning private tutoring, academic achievement, household income and etc. Thus, KEEP provides proper information to analyze families' expenditure on private tutoring.

Table 6. Proportion of private tutoring by income bracket (11th grade, 2006)

Private Tutoring/Monthly Household Expenditure	Total (N=966)	Low Income (N=125)	Middle Income (N=667)	High Income (N=174)
0 %	24.9 %	64.0 %	21.3 %	10.9 %
1 - <10 %	10.1 %	6.4 %	11.5 %	7.5 %
10 - <20 %	20.3 %	9.6 %	23.1 %	17.2 %
20 - <30 %	18.4 %	8.8 %	18.6 %	24.7 %
30 - <40 %	7.8 %	2.4 %	7.6 %	12.1 %
40+ %	18.5 %	8.8 %	17.8 %	27.6 %

Lee (2009, p. 21)

Table 6 shows that 64% of low income families do not participate in private tutoring. In comparison, almost 90% of high income families participate in private tutoring with 27.6 % of high income families spending more than 40% of their monthly household expenditure on private tutoring. The total amount of expenditure on private tutoring and its portion of the whole household expenditure is the interaction between private tutoring participation and the scale of spending on private tutoring (Lee, ibid, p. 12).

The demand for private tutoring is not expected to decrease (OECD, 1998, p. 189), yet one of the highest policy priorities of the Ministry of Education is to reduce private tutoring costs and its demand. Since the 1970s, however, no administration has made any

substantial progress. Stakeholders such as the central and local governments, teacher unions, parental groups, and media are all in pursuit of changes to the school system to emphasize private tutoring less, but the OECD advises to "accept that it is a de facto feature of Korean education and take further steps to control its effects" (1998, p. 190). The OECD also recommends the school council (Board of Education) to consider subsidizing private tutoring costs in low socioeconomic communities to ensure equity and social cohesion (1998, p. 204).

However, OECD's recommendation appears to have been insufficient as parent spending on education is growing with strengthened purchasing power of families and inequalities still reign. Governmental regulation and other restrictions cannot effectively restrain parents' zeal. Seeking schools overseas appears to be an alternative strategy in consuming parents' educational zeal across the border. Globalization, economic development, and limited opportunity to choose domestic schools ignite the inflammable zeal outside of the country.

Change in the Law

The law regarding the "regulation of study overseas" (haewoeyuhake gwanhan kyujong)' (Presidential Decree No. 9625) was enacted in 1979 and renamed in 1983 as the "regulation of study in foreign countries" (kukwoeyuhake gwanhan kyujong) (Presidential Decree No. 20897). The law has been revamped 28 times with three amendments and 25 partial revisions. Changes to this law reflect the expanding scope of who qualifies for privately funded study abroad by providing opportunities to more people, including those who are less talented as well as younger individuals.

This law is based on the basic educational law (kyoyukkibonbub) article 29 clause3[7] and defines the 1) necessary articles related to study in foreign countries, 2) study in foreign countries, 2) application span, 3) private funding study abroad, and 4) government funding study abroad. While government-funded study abroad is limited to students who are college graduates or older (No. 20897, 2008), K-12 students study abroad comes under private funding. Currently, the law permits an individual to study abroad to be at least a middle school graduate and requires the school district superintendent's permission if the student is currently enrolled in middle school and has yet to graduate. Table 7 summarizes major changes to the law.

Table 7. Major changes to the regulation of study in foreign countries by date

Date (Decree Number)	Description
9/21/1979 (9625)	• Enactment of the Law • College graduate or two or more years' enrollment as a science/technology major required • Korean history, Ethics, and Foreign language tests required
12/31/1980 (10128)	• Open to non-science/technology majors • Minimum of two years' enrollment
8/5/1981 (10438)	• Enrolled in college or high school graduate in the top 20% • Available to high school and middle school students with special talent in science, technology, music, arts, and sports. • Language test abolished • Minister of Education arranges job for those who return after study abroad
7/2/1984 (11462)	• Available to Olympic games medalists
12/31/1985 (11826)	• At least one year enrollment at a college • High school graduates with grades in the top 10% • Foreign language test resumed
4/1/1987	• At least 1 semester enrollment at a college

[7] Article 29 (International Education) clause 3: The state has to establish a policy of study abroad for enhancement of academic research and has to support educational and research activities related to understanding the nation and its culture in foreign countries.

(12118)	• Available to special education students
4/29/1988 (12437)	• College enrollment requirement abolished • Grade cut-off abolished for high school graduates
7/23/1994 (14338)	• Foreign language test not required
12/31//1997 (15598)	• Grade cut-off standard abolished middle school graduates in the arts and sports
11/17/2000 (17002)	• Qualification was lowered to middle school graduates without any condition

In the beginning, study abroad was a privilege, but today it has become a family's school choice option. The qualification has changed to allow more students the opportunity. The original decree allowed only science/technology majors or college graduates in science/technology fields or higher to apply for privately funded study abroad programs (1979, No. 9625). An amendment in 1981 (No. 10438) expanded the opportunity to middle and high school students with specific conditions, such as to high school graduates with grades at least in the 80th percentile, to high school students with special talent in science and technology who are certified by the Minister of Education, and to middle school students with special talent in the arts and sports who are certified by the Minister of Education.

The 1984 revision (No. 11462) decreed that Olympic medalists could apply for study abroad, reflecting an era in which the government encouraged people in sports to divert their attention away from national issues such as democratization. The 1985 amendment (No. 11826) allowed individuals who medaled at the Asian Games as possible applicants, reconfirming the implementation of this law in bolstering the administration's political priority rather than propelling it for its academic purpose. In 1987, the revision (No. 12118) offered students enrolled in non-regular schools and special education and minority students, including orphans and those of mixed races, the

opportunity to apply. The college enrollment requirement was removed in 1988 (No. 12437), which allowed high school graduates to choose colleges in foreign countries if they are certified to be proficient in the foreign language. In 1988, 157,694 students were able to enroll in four year colleges among 415,713 applicants in Korea (Education Statistics Year Book, 1989), which translates into two out of three applicants not able to enroll in a four-year college. As a result, the 1988 revision made it possible for students to attend colleges in foreign countries as an alternative to enrolling in domestic colleges that required competitive selection. The 2000 revision (No. 17002) was decisive in allowing middle school graduates to study abroad without any conditions. Those currently attending middle school can study abroad if they are recognized with awards and with the principal's recommendation.

Currently, the law limits primary and middle school students' migration to schools in foreign countries; but individuals younger than 9th grade are attending schools abroad. The law does not include a punishment clause or penalizations for not abiding to the study abroad private funding law. As such, in reality, the definition of enrollment year does not matter.

2. **Exit, Voice and Choice**

Citizens versus Consumers

Hirschman (1970) argues that people have two possible reactions when they perceive that an organization is demonstrating a decrease in quality or benefit: they can exit (withdraw from the relationship) or they can voice (repair the relationship through communication). The mechanism of exit is an individual and economic response to

problems while voice is a collective and political remediation to troubles. Hirschman argues that these two contrasting mechanisms work as alternative options to each other. Voice is a more informative than exit because it offers reasons for the decline, while availability of exit makes voice more influential. According to Hirschman (1970), an interaction between these two options is best for society.

In public education, exit occurs when parents enroll their children in a school other than the school assigned by the authority (Wilder 2008). The mechanism of the operation of exit is as follows: "Some customers stop buying the firm's products or some members leave the organization: this is the exit option. As a result, revenues drop, membership declines, and management is impelled to search for ways and means to correct whatever faults have led to exit" (Hirschman, 1970, p. 4). In public education, Hirschman's argument can be directly applied to the phenomenon where some students leave a school and enroll in other schools of their own choice. As a result, the school loses finances, student enrollment decreases, and school administration is compelled to search for ways to improve school quality, increase parent and student satisfaction, and, eventually, have students remain at the school.

Exit is impersonal and does not require any face-to-face confrontation between the customer and the firm, and the way of addressing the problem is clearly predicted (Hirschman, 1970, pp. 15-16). If a parent or student is not satisfied with the assigned neighbor school, he/she can express dissatisfaction by leaving the current attending school and choosing other schools; it is a straightforward and clear action. A voucher program is a longstanding and representative exit mechanism in public education which enables an impersonal and non-involving way to resolve problems. Suggested by Milton

Friedman, a Nobel Laureate in economics, a voucher system intends to establish educational services supplied by a private enterprise with competition (Hirschman, 1970, p. 16). Friedman (1962) argued that "parents could express their views about schools directly by withdrawing their children from one school and sending them to another." Rather than engaging in the interwoven problems in schools and counting on a cumbersome political channel, Friedman suggests direct school choice by parents as an alternative solution to the hassles of public schools.

The exit option is supported by proponents of school choice because they argue that exit will improve both chosen and left behind schools (Green, 1998; Wilder, 2008). Exit is "widely held to be uniquely powerful by inflicting revenue losses on delinquent management" (Hirschman, 1970, p. 21). A public school's finances are tied to its enrollment and losing students directly causes a loss in funding. As a result, efforts to keep current students and regain lost children will bring quality improvement to both failing and successful schools. Hirschman ironically equates this recuperation mechanism as a "wonderful concentration of the mind akin to the one Samuel Johnson attributed to the prospect of being hanged" (1970, p. 21).

The firm's customers or the organization's members may express their dissatisfaction directly to management or to some other authority to which management is subordinate or through a general protest addressed to anyone who cares to listen: this is the voice option. As a result, management once again engages in a search for the causes and possible cures of customers' and members' dissatisfaction (Hirschman, 1970, p. 4). Accordingly, voice is a far more "messy" process because it includes anything "from

faint grumbling to violent protest" (Hirschman, 1970, p. 16), but customers or members will stay and make straightforward political action.

Through voice, customers (members) attempt to change the practices, policies, and outputs of the organization. Ways of exercising voice include individual or collective petition, appeal to a higher authority, and various types of actions and protests, including those that are meant to mobilize public opinion.

The relation between exit and voice is interdependent. If customers are sufficiently convinced that voice will be effective, then they may postpone exit (Hirschman, 1970, p. 37); if customers (members) have exited, they have lost the opportunity to use voice, but not vice versa. Therefore, exit is a last alternative reaction after voice has failed. Voice can substitute for exit as well as complement it.

In the following, Hirschman uses the case of public schools as an example of how exit and voice options interact when exercising each option.

> "Suppose at some point, for whatever reason, the public schools deteriorate. Thereupon, increasing numbers of quality-education-conscious parents will send their children to private schools. This "exit" may occasion some impulse toward an improvement of the public schools; but here again this impulse is far less significant than the loss to the public schools of those member-customers who would be most motivated and determined to put up a fight against the deterioration if they did not have the alternative of the private schools" (Hirschman, 1970, p. 45, 46).

Overhauling the public-private school case, the character of agents who exercise the exit-voice option is found. Customers who care most about the quality of the product and are the most "active," "reliable," and "creative" agents of voice are apparently likely to exit first in case of deterioration for those same reasons (Hirschman, 1970, p. 47).

When people have problems in their neighborhood and are treated by the government poorly, they expect the government to be more active and responsive in the

future. Rather than participating actively, some citizens tend to isolate themselves from political actions. When the option of voice is an unreasonably costly strategy compared to exercising the choice of exit, consumers are less likely to use their voice. However, if the consumer is convinced about the effectiveness of voice, they may postpone exercising the option of exiting. If school officials listen to parents' voice of complaints, then parents will not choose schools in other school districts and, instead, keep their children at their local school.

Orbell and Uno (1972) argued that the possibility of choosing the option of voice varies among people by neighborhood, education, and income. Caucasians of higher status are more prone to voice while those of lower status are more likely to exit. However, regardless of economic status, Caucasian urbanites prefer "non-political action" rather than "political action." In other words, exit is more favorable than voice. Orbell and Uno also confirmed Hirschman's argument that high status residents who are prone to voice are prone to exit as well, where, in urban areas, high status residents exhibit voice and exit simultaneously rather than voice alone.

The rationale of exit versus voice drives the current study on how these two alternatives play out in parental behaviors and attitudes in choosing their children's schooling. In addition, the relationship between parental socioeconomic status and parents' actual behaviors of exit and voice will be examined.

Choosing schools in foreign countries is exercising the option to exit the current Korean education system. This decision is executed mostly by privileged families who might normally have an influence and effect on society. Rather than transforming and

crafting educational systems to reflect their values and expectations, some resourceful parents divert their children to schools overseas.

Such parents who demonstrate a new pattern of behavior respond to the issue of public education rather than follow the conventional way of addressing the issue. Lazarsfeld et al.'s (1944) "two-step flow" model provides one of the earliest explanations of political communication and emphasizes the importance of informal social communication in politics. This model argues that most citizens depend on socially mediated information that is crafted and distributed by knowledgeable voters rather than obtaining political information directly from original sources. Granovetter's (1973) notion of "strength of weak ties" sheds light on creating a political community by bridging the gap between separate groups and networks. Weimann (1982) examines the two-step flow from a "weak ties" lens where the intransitivity of weak ties boosts their effectiveness of dissemination and where the influence of an opinion leader may result in a weak relationship. For instance, Huckfeldt and Sprague (1991) confirmed that non-relative discussion partners are likely to affect voting behavior if they are correctly perceived.

The notion of a marginal consumer (Schneider et al., 2000) shares a similarity with the two-step model in terms of the asymmetric distribution of information among groups and individuals, but the difference is in the actual transaction of information. Rather than obtaining information about a school from publicly accessible information and official sources, parents are prone to gather them based on informed parents' behavior of choosing a school, where more knowledgeable and active parents are known as marginal consumers. Two-step models argue that knowledgeable voters talk to, inform,

and influence other less informed citizens, while marginal consumers do not talk about their decisions (Schneider et al., 2000). Acting on their own interests, marginal consumers help create an efficient market by bringing pecuniary externality which operates through prices rather than through real resource effects (Schwartz et al., 1979; Teske et al., 1993). Not only does the marginal consumer's active behavior of searching for information and competitive pressure help, it also keeps prices lower for "less-informed" and "non-searching" consumers (Rhoads, 1985).

Not until autonomy was delegated from central government to the local authorities did Koreans participate in education as an active citizen or a consumer. Also, when education was planned and controlled by Korea's national government before the enactment of the Local Education Autonomy Act, city and provincial educational offices were faithful to the function of putting the central government's plan into action at the local level. The Act of Local Education Autonomy was enacted in 1988 following the democratization movement in 1987, which resulted in the amendment of the Constitution. With the decentralization of governmental functions and power toward democratization, K-12 education was delegated to the local government and each school. This transition of power transformed the parental role in education from that of an end-user of public service to one of a political constituent of schooling. However, without proper preparation in holding this new identity, participating in public education as a citizen is difficult.

Furthermore, Korean parents are used to embracing their identity as consumers in education, buying educational services available in the market, such as cram schools (schools that offer test preparation and educational consulting services) and private

tutoring. Since traditional school choice is limited, consuming educational goods outside of school defines parents' identity as consumers. The rationale of citizen versus consumer sheds light on how parents juggle the contrasting values of civility and consumerism and illustrates how difficult it is to plant the seed of civility in the soil of consumerism.

There are many reasons and ways to measure preferences by which students and parents choose schools to satisfy their own interests. For instance, at least one study finds that high-income parents prefer progressive-type school curricula while low-income parents are oriented to more traditional academic programs (Schneider et al., 2000). Henig (1996) found that families in a magnet program requested to be transferred because they sought ethnic and economic similarities. In the U.S., 59% of schoolchildren are in choice schools (Henig & Sugarman, 1999). Most (36%) students attend the public schools of their families' residential choice and 10% each attend private schools and participate in intra-district public school choice programs. Outside the U.S., attention to school choice is escalating.

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 1994), there is increased pressure to allow parents more choice in schools and, in most countries, governments are improving choice and competition in education. While school choice policies are sweeping the globe, the practice is not yet universal (Plank et al., 2003). In countries like Belgium and the Netherlands, school choice has been encouraged for students and parents for a century and the governments fund them to attend schools of their choice, including religious schools. In France and Germany, the government and educational professionals strongly intervene about choice-related schools

even though these countries have a similar or higher economic status compared to Belgium and the Netherlands (Ibid, p. vii).

Transnational Student Mobility

Studies on reasons for leaving Korea for a better education focus mostly on socioeconomic factors that drive parents to exit their children. Kang (2002) examined aspects related to socioeconomic status and cultural capital and found household income to be the most influential factor in determining the likelihood that children will study abroad for K-12 education (Kang, 2002). In addition, mother's academic background and father's occupation are significant socio-economic factors. Related to cultural capital are children's living and traveling experiences to foreign countries and parents' information searching capacity about foreign schools and education. Moreover, parents' various networks, encouragement, and active involvement in their children's lives also influence going abroad. Kang (2002) identified the privilege of providing a foreign educational opportunity to one's children as an endeavor in class reproduction.

The most influential factors that increase the likelihood of migration for children's education are parents' educational expectations, fathers' educational attainment level, and household income (Kim & Yoon, 2005). Students are more likely to exit the Korean school system when they care more about their academic activities and grades, envision a brighter future, and savor cultural capital. Also, parents' dissatisfaction with their children's school and the mother's foreign language skills increase the choice to exit (Kim & Yoon, 2005). Moreover, children whose parents expect them to hold a graduate school degree or higher are 4.4 times more likely to exit than those whose

parents expect just a college degree. However, children's academic performance does not significantly affect exiting.

Cho (2004) found that in kirogi families, the mother's knowledge of English and father's wealth contribute to educational migration. Cho argued that separate family conditions emerge under a specific environment of family character, where Korean families are children-centered rather than spouse-centered and are based on instrumental familism, which replaces affection and familiarity.

A report by the Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI, 2005) found that parents' educational attainment is strongly correlated with choosing schools overseas. Among parents who send their children to foreign countries for schooling, 97% of fathers and 90% of mothers have a four-year college degree or higher and just over half (51%) of fathers and 25% of mothers hold at least a Master's degree. Most fathers of children abroad are managers of large companies (34%), professionals (e.g., doctors, lawyers, engineers, CPAs) (19%), professors and research specialists (16%), executives (11%), or high ranking government officials (9%). Ironically, the majority of mothers (70%) are full-time housewives even though they hold college degrees or higher. The majority of households (64%) earn at least $5,000 per month.

Previous research by Han et al. (2002) characterized sending one's children overseas to pursue better school systems and educational environments as a school choice activity. Since limiting or prohibiting any activity related to choosing schools overseas is infringing upon one's educational right,[8] Han et al. (2002) insisted that the government and society be supportive of parental school choice overseas.

[8] Educational opportunity is a guaranteed fundamental right in the constitution of the Republic of Korea.

Koreans' leaving the school system is seen more by younger generation students (K-12) from higher socio-economic status families, where children who enjoy the most prestigious goods and services in Korea are leaving for schooling in foreign countries. Korean parents exhibit strong beliefs about schooling in foreign countries (Oh, 2008, p. 125):

1. Schools in developed countries are better than those in Korea.
2. Beginning schooling earlier can bring more successful results when attending school in a foreign country.
3. The earlier a child leaves for school, the more fluent he/she can be in get foreign language skills.
4. Any level of education experience is a premium for one's career in Korea.
5. Attending primary or secondary school in a foreign country facilitates admission into world-class, prestigious colleges.
6. A child can complete schooling, whatever it costs, in a foreign country.
7. A child can master at least one foreign language.
8. My child can accomplish what any other student can.
9. Returning to a Korean school is always possible.
10. Celebrities are sending their children to foreign countries for schooling early on.

Part of Oh's argument is confirmed by Lim et al.'s (2008) public opinion research, which found English proficiency (44.5%), getting ahead in the job obtaining (16.5%), competitive college entrance exam (16%), and economic burden of private tutoring cost (11.3%) as the major reasons for studying abroad.

Studying abroad itself is not a specific phenomenon to Korean parents. It is a pandemic occurrence around the world, especially in Asia. The highly dense population and continuous economic growth enable Asian students to flow into the U.S. (Cummings, 1989). For instance, Chee (2003) found that upper-middle class Taiwanese mothers migrate to the United States to provide opportunities for their children's future socioeconomic position, which would be difficult to achieve if they stayed in Taiwan.

These mothers switched from being full-time professionals to full-time mothers in the U.S. while their husbands remained in Taiwan to provided financial support. In fact, overseas study has become an extension as much as an alternative to domestic study in Asia with its institutionalization during the postwar period (Cummings, 1989). Furthermore, even with the expansion of domestic education systems, the volume of going overseas has increased in most cases.

Eleven identified factors facilitate Asian students' migration to the U.S., including basic human resource capacity, domestic scarcity of science and technology, linguistic isolation financial capacity, economic volatility, domestic opportunities for higher education, economic interdependence, facilitating institutions, ethnic disadvantages, political uncertainty, and cultural community (Cummings, 1989, p. 13). Cummings (1989) also predicted that the expansion of Asian student flow is unlikely to change based on large populations (holding 60% of the world's population), stable economic growth (the most promising prospect) and the progress of political stability (conflict-free compared with other regions).

In the first part of this chapter, educational context of Korea was reviewed. Organizational, political, and educational mechanisms that initiate exiting Korean schools were discussed. The High School Equalization Policy (HSEP) enables equitable education to high school students despite their various socioeconomic backgrounds while restrains the freedom of choice of students and parents. Private tutoring becomes an emotional and economic burden to families; high-achievers from higher SES families are more likely to participate in private tutoring to get an edge on exam scores and spend one-third of the whole household expenditure on private tutoring. Since its inception, the

law regarding study abroad has been revamped 28 times to lower the bar for regulating study in foreign countries. These environments stimulate Korean parents' educational zeal, which was bounded domestically, to cross the national border to educate their children at schools in foreign countries.

The second part of Chapter II examined the theoretical background of this study. Hirschman's concept of exit and voice, which are the behavior patterns of consumers and citizens, respectively, was introduced as the framework of analysis. This framework was applied to identify the character of exiting and staying parents. Transnational students' mobility was discussed among other Asian countries. Pursuing better education and preparing opportunities for higher socioeconomic position for their children, Asian parents educate their children in Western-developed countries, especially in the U.S.

Hirschman's idea will be tested as to whether it can be applied to address parents in Korea and if it fits school choice issues far beyond the school district border where some parents are choosing schools for their children in foreign countries.

Chapter III: Research Questions and Methodology

1. Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to explore the driving factors associated with parental decision making in choosing schools overseas by investigating the experiences, attitudes, and opinions of parents whose children stayed in Korea for schooling and those parents whose children are studying abroad. My main research questions and hypotheses are as follows:

1. *Do some parents simply prefer the "exit" option rather than attempting collective action to attain satisfactory education for their children? If they try, to what extent do parents "voice" their concern with Korean schools before they choose overseas schools for their children? Does a lack of responsiveness on the part of Korean schools encourage their decision to send their children to a foreign country?*

Hypothesis 1: I expect that some high SES parents prefer to exit rather than to use their voice to influence. Rather than even attempting to exercise their potentially strong voice to influence their child's school and the school system as a whole, they choose to leave the school system. Since the threat of exercising the exit option is the main bargaining power of high-SES parents, they are expected to exercise the "voice" option as a trade-off (Hirschman, 1960). However, the political action of voice is a remote and less efficient strategy for parents to obtain good schooling for their children. As a result, for some high SES parents, choosing good schools overseas is

considered the most rational and optimal decision rather than waiting for improved performance of their local neighborhood schools. As homo civicus (Dahl, 1961), parents use their own resources to achieve their goals rather than pursue a political strategy.

Rival Hypothesis 1: I predict some parents who choose the exit option are exercising a louder voice in the schools than staying parents in the schools to meet their expectations prior to actually exiting. As they experience or believe their voices are being turned down by teachers, school officials, or staff members in terms of intensity and frequency, they attempt different strategies to provide good schooling for their children. I hypothesize that exiting parents were previously vocal but left their school as their voices were ignored or disrespected.

2. *To what extent do parents who stay present more loyalty to the school and community they belong to than parents who exit? Are they respecting civic value more so than exiting parents? Or, are they staying because they are satisfied with the current school system?*

Hypothesis 2: Parents who stay may be more satisfied with their children's schooling or have lower expectations regarding their children and schools. According to Hirschman's notion of the interplay between loyalty and voice, I posit that parents who stay are more committed and attached to their local schools and communities and actively implement political actions and participate in communal affairs more often and more vigorously.

Rival Hypothesis 2: Parents who stay may be more satisfied with the quality of the current education offered by the schools where their children attend and have a more positive attitude toward high school education in Korea. I also expect that staying parents are more supportive of the current educational policy, including the HSEP.

3. *What factors other than parent SES and political attitudes may contribute to parents' decision to educate their children in foreign countries?*

Hypothesis 3: I expect parents educate their children in foreign countries because they want to get their children into good U.S. colleges without the pressure of tutoring and to avoid exam hell in Korea. In a globalized economic era where information and knowledge are exchanged quickly, admission into prestigious U.S. colleges is considered a signal of global competency in the job market. To gain entrance to U.S. colleges easily and to seek asylum from the high pressure of the college entrance exam and the excessive burden of tutoring, parents may choose to educate their children in the U.S.

Rival Hypothesis 3: I expect exiting parents are searching schools in the U.S. extensively and enthusiastically to find the best fit school for their children. Without any public support or information, they actively seek information by exploring the internet and consulting with experts and other experienced parents, discussing possibilities, collecting information, visiting schools, interviewing, and finally choosing a school. These are very costly and time consuming activities compared to educating their children at local schools in Korea.

2. Data

Data for this study were collected from parents of children who attend two high schools and one cram school in Seoul, Korea. A survey questionnaire was administered to two groups of parents – parents whose children attend school domestically (staying parents) and parents whose children attend school abroad (exiting parents). Random sampling is recommended for survey research, where each individual in the population has an equal probability to be selected (Creswell, 2003). Since this study deals with an extremely small and deviant population, probability samples are not permitted (Babbie, 2006).

Four ways of non-probability sampling methods include reliance on available subjects, purposive or judgmental sampling, snowball sampling, and quota sampling. Of the non-probability sampling methods, purposive (or judgmental) sampling is used when "it is appropriate to select a sample on the basis of knowledge or a population, its elements, and the purpose of the study… or enumeration of population would be nearly impossible…or studying deviant cases" (Babbie, 2006, p. 184). Therefore, purposive sampling, a non-probability sampling method, was applied. The percentage of students who leave Korea to study abroad each year is less than 1% of the total enrollment of students in grades 1 through 12. While around 70% of the parent participants in this study send their children to four major countries – the U.S, Canada, China, or New Zealand – their children attend schools scattered around the world (KEDI, 2005). Therefore, purposive sampling was adopted in this study after consulting with statistics and education experts.

The survey includes a focus and comparison group. The focus consists of a set of parents who send their children to schools abroad. The comparison group comprises parents who are sufficiently affluent to have afforded to take such a step but who chose not to send their children abroad. The targeted sample size for each group was 600 parents, out of the 2,000 questionnaires distributed to exiting parents and 1200 to staying parents. A total of 535 (26.8%) questionnaires were returned by the exiting parents and 631 (52.6%) by the staying parents.

Instrument

A 60-item survey questionnaire was developed for this study. The questionnaire is composed of seven parts. Six sections of the questionnaires were common to both exiting parents and staying parents and one section was customized for each group. The six common sections address: 1) *voice* (type of voice, frequency of voice, preferred voice type, difficulty of voice, utility of voice), 2) *quality of Korean education* (evaluation of Korean schools, evaluation of local schools where children attend, strengths and weaknesses of Korean schools), 3) *school transfer and school choice* (experience of school transfer, utility of school transfer, experience of untraditional family, effectiveness of school choice, criteria of school choice), 4) *public trust* (trust toward authorities including central and local agency of education, trust toward school administration and teachers, frequency of participating in elections, frequency of participating in town hall meetings, attitude towards the education policy), 5) *information and social networks* (source of discussing children's education, the most trusted source in discussing education, number of families or relatives in the U.S, number of children's friends with

foreign school experience, number of parents' friends who send their children to schools to foreign countries), and 6) *personal information* (parent occupation, SES, highest earned degree, foreign experience, type of residence, monthly income, child's school grade in Korea, child's experience as a class leader, experience in PTA leadership). Specific questions to exiting parents included asking about: the most contributing person they spoke to about sending their children abroad, what helpful source they used to select foreign schools, reasons for leaving the Korean school system, their attraction to U.S. schools, types of private tutoring they have used, satisfaction with their children's current school in the U.S., their child's gender, and the expected highest degree of their child. Questions exclusively for staying parents asked whether respondents considered sending their child to schools in foreign countries, reasons for staying in Korean schools, their attitude toward sending their children to schools abroad, types of private tutoring they have used, their satisfaction level of staying Korean schools, the proper timeline to send their children to foreign schools, and the highest degree expectation for their children.

Based on a literature review, particularly referencing Orbell and Uno (1972), Abernathy (2005), and Wilder (2008), items related to voice, exit, and loyalty were designed. Based on Schneider et al. (2000), items related to school choice and parental attitudes were developed. In addition, the annual PDK/Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes toward the Public Schools suggested including items on school quality and parental satisfaction. Parents, schools teachers, school administrators, agencies, cram school teachers and administrators in Korea gave feedback to the questionnaire content and validity and reliability were tested by Korean test experts.

The majority of the items are five-point Likert scale items. Demographic information (SES, student information) and open-ended questions that required written comments were also asked. Instructions included a description of the study and how the information would be processed anonymously according to IRB guidelines. Total time to complete the questionnaire was 20 minutes.

Surveys for both the exiting and staying parents are included in the Appendix.

Sample

Exiting Parents

Parents who have chosen to educate their children in schools abroad (exiting parents) were selected among those whose children attend high schools in the U.S. and attend cram schools in Korea during summer vacation. Since the U.S. is the most preferred country among exiting parents and exiting students are known to attend cram schools during vacation (KEDI, 2005), parents with children in SAT preparation cram schools were selected as the research cohort.

This sample group can create an under-coverage bias because the parents of the students who do not return to Korea to prepare for the SAT during vacation have no chance of being included in the sample. Under-coverage bias is the average difference between the survey estimate and the population parameter being estimated that results from some members of the inference population being excluded from the sampling frame (Hagedorn, Montaquila, Vaden-Kiernan, Kim & Chapman, 2004). Under-cover bias occurs when a specific cohort of the population is left out and not included in the sample. For Korean students, over 50% attend cram school or private tutoring while they are

attending schools in foreign countries (KEDI, 2005). Through discussion with parents who educate their children in the U.S., cram school teachers, educational agency personnel, and Korean high school students in the U.S., it is believed that there was only a very slight chance of under-coverage bias when study participants were selected from SAT preparation cram schools.

Since the majority of Korean students who attend high schools in the U.S. needs SAT preparation, SAT preparation cram schools target students who intend to matriculate to colleges in the U.S. For these reasons, parents who have children attending SAT preparation cram schools were selected for purposive sampling. Not only do cram schools offer test preparation in foreign countries, but also educational consulting services to parents who are considering educating their children in foreign countries. No other public agencies in Korea provide such information about K-12 schooling in foreign countries. As a result, cram schools and educational consulting firms thrive in the business of searching and selecting schools overseas.

The survey questionnaire was distributed to parents during an SAT preparation information session to visit with cram school counselors. Parents were asked to complete the survey in the waiting area or classroom and to return it on-site.

Staying Parents

Exiting parents are known to have a higher SES compared to staying parents since educating children in foreign countries necessitates high tuition and living expenses. Since “comparisons don’t have any meaning unless the groups are comparable” (Babbie, 2006), a comparable group of parents who stay in Korea has to have a similarly high SES. Thus, this study focuses on “Gangnam,” the most prestigious school district in Seoul, in

selecting the control group (staying parents). Staying parents were selected from two private schools (one male-only school and one female-only school) in the Borough of Gangnam of Seoul, which is known as the most privileged school district in Korea.

In 2007, the metropolitan area of Seoul comprised of 220 high schools, of which 141 are private and 79 public. Of these, 68 are male-only schools, 61 are female-only schools, and 91 are co-ed. Under the High School Equalization Policy, every private and public school is under the control of the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (SMOE), and students are assigned to a neighborhood school (regardless of whether it is public or private) by lottery. It is assumed that students are randomly assigned to a school.

In the Borough of Gangnam, there are six public schools (one male-only, one female-only, and four co-ed) and 11 private schools (five male-only, three female-only, and three co-ed). Since private and single-sex schools are prevalent in this school district (SMOE, 2008), the targeted population was sampled from a private male-only school and a private female-only school. The principals of the two private schools approved the research study to be conducted at their sites and promised their full cooperation. Seeing the tide of students migrating to foreign schools, administrators and teachers alike were curious about the issue and indicated their support, perceiving that findings from this study will contribute practically to their school operations and classroom teaching. Survey questionnaires were distributed to parents of 11th grade students (staying parents), who were asked that completed surveys be returned to their teachers within a week.

Overview of Sample

For staying parents, survey distribution and collection took place between May 4, 2009 to May 15, 2009 at the male private school and the female private school in Gangnam, Seoul, Korea. At the same time, surveys were distributed to the group of exiting parents at a SAT prep cram school in Seoul, Korea.

Of the 600 surveys distributed at the male high school, 349 were collected (58.2% response rate). At the female high school, 282 of the 600 survey distributed were collected (47% response rate). The total response rate for the group of staying parents was 52.6%. A comparatively low response rate from exiting parents was expected, so 2,000 surveys were distributed at the SAT preparation cram school. A total of 535 were collected (26.8% response rate).

Table 8. Descriptive statistics of exiting and staying parents

Description	Exiting Parents	Staying Parents	Population
Total Number	535	631	
Income (mean) (1,000 Won)	1,717	730	346.8
Income (median) (1,000 Won)	1,000	550	N/A
Father's education	Master's or higher: 57% 4 year college: 40%	Master's or higher: 31% 4 year college: 53%	Master's or higher: 6.5% 4 year college: 16.6%
Mother's education	Master's or higher: 27% 4 year college: 64%	Master's or higher:10% 4 year college: 62%	Master's or higher: 1.8% 4 year college: 10.9%
Father's foreign experience	Yes: 51%	Yes:25%	N/A
Mother's foreign experience	Yes: 41%	Yes: 19%	N/A
Monthly Schooling Expenditure	W2.8 million ($2,800)	W340,000 ($340)	-
Monthly Tutoring	W2.5 million	W1.4 million ($1,400)	W0.269 million

Expenditure	($2,500)		($269, 2010)
Father's Occupation	Business or Self-employed: 26% Executive: 24% Education: 14% Medical: 13%	Executive: 39% Business or Self-employed: 21% Government Officer: 9% Education:6% Medical: 6%	Executive: 0.1% Business or Self-employed, Government Officer: 0.9% Education: 3.0% Medical: 0.9%
Mother's Occupation	Housewife: 48% Education: 14% Office Worker: 9%	Housewife:63% Education:9% Business or Self-employed: 6%	Housewife: N/A Education: 5.0% Business or Self-employed: 0.1%
Residential Area	Gangnam: 30%	Gangnam: 91%	Gangnam: 2.0%
Residential Type	Low and Midrise Condominium: 66.7% Highrise Condominium: 13.9%	Low and Midrise Condominium: 78.8% Highrise Condominium:4.53%	Condominium: 41.8% (Highrise Condominium: N/A)

Population Census in 2005 (KNSO, 2005) & Survey of Private Tutoring (KNSO, 2010)

The SES of both groups of parents is very high. The Korean National Statistical Office (KNSO, 2009) reports that the 10th decile (top 10%) monthly household income was W8,748,112 (about $8,700) in 2008 and the 9th decile (top 11-20%) was W5,402,355 ($5,400). Median monthly income of the exiting families is W10 million while the staying families earn W5.5 million. Both groups belong to the highest monthly earning families in Korea.

Considering parents' educational level, 97% of exiting fathers and 83% of exiting mothers hold at least four-year college degree or higher. Research by KEDI (2005) shows similar demographic characteristics, with 97% of exiting fathers and 90% of exiting mothers with at least four-year college degree or higher. According to the 2005 Korean National Census (KNSO, 2007) shows that 18.7% of males and 13.1% of females hold a

four-year college or higher in Korea. Compared to the national average in Korea, all parents included in this study show a very high educational level despite their children's school location.

More than half of exiting fathers have foreign experiences (living or studying excluding travelling) compared to a quarter of staying fathers. Exiting parents spend $2,500 on private tutoring per month compared to $1,400 by staying parents. Exiting parents' private tutoring cost soars because their children attend SAT preparation cram schools in the 11th grade while 12th grade is a test taking year for staying students in Korea. This illustrates that although their children attend schools in the U.S., exiting parents still choose private tutoring for them. Lee (2009) finds that high income families (earning more than 150% of the median income of whole families in Korea) spend an average of W999 thousand (around $1,000) per month on private tutoring, which is a similar amount to what both groups of parents in this study spend.

Exiting fathers' occupations include business or self-employment (26%), an executive (24%), education (professor, researcher, or teacher) (14%), and medicine (doctor, dentist, pharmacist, or acupuncturist) (13%), while 48% of mothers' occupation is as a full-time housewife. Research by KEDI (2005) found that 34.2 % of exiting fathers work as executives, 18.6% are professionals (doctors, lawyers, CPAs), and 16.0% are education while 70% of mothers are full-time housewives.

The KNSO (2008) reported that 50.2 % of the female population participate in economic activities on average while 64.4% of college graduates or higher do. With higher education, exiting mothers can naturally participate in economic activities. Rather

than participating in economic activities, however, exiting mothers with higher earnings are in charge of household activities, including children's education.

3. Variables

Dependent Variables

Exit or Stay

A dichotomous dependent variable was used for the logistic regression analysis. If parents have children attending schools in foreign countries (exiting parents), then these parents are coded as '1.' If children of the surveyed parents attends schools in Korea (staying parents), then they are coded as '0.'

Explanatory variables

Voice

Three explanatory variables used to estimate the intensity of voice in this study. 'School visit', the frequency of parents' visits to schools in Korea per semester (the last registered semester at school in Korea) concerning their children's education, was included. To discuss children's educational issues, parents visit their children's schools and see principals, teachers, and staffs. So, how many time parents come to see them can be regarded as essential way of exercising parental voice in schools. The frequency of participating voting in the last three times of presidential, congressional and gubernatorial elections was coded as 'voting'. Casting a ballot is basic way of expressing one's voice via political way in democratic society. The frequency of participating three most significant elections in nation identified how active parents showed their will politically. Community neighborhood meeting is held monthly and it is used as a communication gateway among neighbors and between people and public authorities. In this reason,

frequency of participating meetings, ‘neighbor_meet’, for the most recent year was analyzed.

Loyalty

Loyalty to a community, nation, or society can be measured whether one support or oppose key policy of them. High School Equalization Policy (HSEP) is a backbone policy of primary and secondary education in Korea and has been operated for thirty years. So whether support or oppose HSEP can be considered how loyal and confident parents are to Korean educational system, at least. As a measure for the proxy of loyalty, parents’ level of (dis)agreement with the HSEP, ‘hsep’ was used. It was measured on 5-point Likert scale (1: Strongly disagree, 2: Disagree, 3: Neutral, 4: Agree, 5: Strongly agree) and coded as a continuous variable.

Control Variables

Students’ Background

Gender (gender2) was dummy-coded as ‘1=male’ and ‘0=female.’ The amount of household monthly income, ‘income’, was measured with a unit of ten thousand won which is about 10 dollars and transformed by natural logarithm to reduce heteroscedasticity and prevent violating the normality assumption of independent variable. Educational level of father and mother (f_edu and m_edu) were coded as ‘14= 2 year college and lower,’ ‘16= 4 year college,’ ‘18=graduate school (Master’s),’ and ‘21= doctorate’ and treated as a continuous variable. Additionally, number of children (n_child) was included.

Educational Expectation and Foreign Experience of Parents

Parents' expectation of their children's highest degree of school (expectation) was coded similarly to the educational level of father and mother and used as a continuous variable. Father's and mother's foreign experiences including both living and studying, (f_f_exp and m_f_exp) were coded '0=No' and '1=Yes.'

Educational Experience in Korea

Children's Achievement Level

Children's school grade (last semester for staying students and the last semester in Korea for exiting students) (s_grade) was coded following the standard scale in Korea as '1= 97-100% ,' '2= 90-96%,' '3=78-89%,' '4=61-77%,' '5=41-60%,' '6=24-40%,' '7=12-23%,' '8=5-11%,' '9=1-4%.'

Residential choice

Residential migration is a conventional way of exiting one's unsatisfactory neighborhood. Under the circumstances that residential choice is substantially the sole way of choosing a better school in Korea where private schools are tied with governmental control, the frequency of residential transfer due to one's children's schools (res_move) quantifies the tendency of parental exit-voice behavior and how serious parents care for their children's school and education.

Expenditure on PT

Monthly expenditure on private tutoring (private_exp) was measured with the unit of ten thousand won which is about 10 dollars and transformed by natural logarithm similar to the amount of household monthly income.

Satisfaction (Grading quality of Korean secondary schools)

Parents' evaluation of secondary schools of Korea (k_school) and local secondary schools in Korea where their children attend(ed) (l_school) were coded as '1=F,' '2=D,' '3=C-,' '4=C,' '5=C+,' '6=B-,' '7=B,' '8=B+,' '9=A-,' '10=A,' and '11=A+.'

Contextual Variables of Exit

Number of Significant Others Exiting Their Children

Number of children of relatives who attend(ed) schools in foreign countries (n_rel), number of children's friends who attend(ed) schools in foreign countries (n_friend), and number of neighbor's children who attend(ed) schools in foreign countries (n_neighbor) were also coded.

4. Model

The survey contains items with 5-point Likert scales (ordinal) and other nominal dependent variables that are discrete. In such cases, linear regression cannot be used. Logistic regression was applied in the following five models to determine the magnitude of each variable and which factors significantly contribute to its variability.

Model 1 (Base Model)

$$log(p_i/(1- p_i)) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * school\_visit_i + \beta_2 * voting_i + \beta_3 * neighbor\_meet_i + \beta_4 * hsep_i$$

In Model 1, voice and loyalty, the key variables of this study, were applied to determine whether these variables influence exit. Parents' direct voice about education was estimated with questions about the frequency of visiting Korean schools where their child attend(ed) related to their child's education. Participation in voting, a typical way of expressing one's voice in a democratic society, was used to measure how parents positively represent their opinion through a political institution. Parents' (dis)agreement

with the HSEP served as an estimate of their support/opposition to the backbone of the Korean educational policy.

In Models 2 through 5, the effects of voice and loyalty on the exiting decision were tested after controlling various variables. Control variables were divided into four groups according to their characteristics and were added to the base model.

Model 2

$$log(p_i/(1- p_i)) = \beta_0 + \beta_1*school\_visit_i + \beta_2*voting_i + \beta_3*neighbor\_meet_i + \beta_4*hsep_i + \beta_5*gender2_i + \beta_6*income_i + \beta_7*f\_edu_i + \beta_8*m\_edu_i + \beta_9*n\_child_i$$

In Model 2, students' background, particularly socio-economic status variables, were controlled. Since the exiting decision consumes additional expenditure on children's education, parental socioeconomic characteristics were investigated in search of any systemic differences between exiting and staying groups. Due to limited household income, each family has to make a discriminative investment on their children, which brings disparity in gender. Also, the increase in the number of children makes the decision to exit harder when educating more than two children or more in foreign countries due to the excessive amount of tuition and fees. For this reason, this study investigates whether gender was considered when making the decision of exit. Therefore, gender, monthly household income, educational attainment level of parents, and number of siblings may be correlated with the decision to exit. Model 2 tested the explanatory variable's effect on the exiting decision when students' backgrounds are similar.

Model 3

$$log(p_i/(1- p_i)) = \beta_0 + \beta_1*school\_visit_i + \beta_2*voting_i + \beta_3*neighbor\_meet_i + \beta_4*hsep_i + \beta_5*expectiation_i + \beta_6*f\_f\_exp_i + \beta_7*m\_f\_exp_i$$

In Model 3, parents' expected educational level of their children and parents' foreign experiences were added. Parents' expectation of the highest degree for their children means the willingness of the parents' physical and mental support. Parents' foreign experiences were added to test whether the parents' previous experiences influenced their children to live and study in foreign countries.

Model 4

$$log(p_i/(1- p_i)) = \beta_0 + \beta_1*school\_visit_i + \beta_2*voting_i + \beta_3*neighbor\_meet_i + \beta_4*hsep_i + \beta_5*s\_grade_i + \beta_6*res\_move_i + \beta_7*private\_exp_i + \beta_8*k\_school_i + \beta_9*l\_school_i$$

In Model 4, the following variables were added to test which factors resulted in exiting Korean schools – students' achievement level, frequency of residential choice for children's education, monthly expenditure of private tutoring, parents' evaluation of Korean schools in general, and parents' evaluation of Korean local schools their children attend(ed).

Children's school grade is discussed because it incorporates an issue of 'cream skimming.' Attending private schools and choosing public schools are controversial in funneling elite students out of public schools in the U.S. Choosing schools in foreign countries is considered as a strategy to escape exam hell for low-performing Korean students. Thus, students' school grade was added to test whether low-performing or high-performing students leave Korean schools.

Residential choice is considered the sole way of choosing better schools in Korea where students are assigned to public and private schools in their neighborhood school district. Therefore, the frequency of moving shows how serious parents regard their children's education and how extensively they pursue it.

Parents attribute the reason for leaving Korean schools to the excessive cost of private tutoring. By comparing the monthly cost of private tutoring between exiting and staying parents, how strongly exiting parents depend on private tutoring even though they educate their children in foreign schools will be revealed.

Parent's evaluation of Korean schools in general and the specific local school where their child attend(ed) was estimated. The discrepancy within and between groups will show how parents evaluate schools in reality and in their perception. Additional spending aside from school tuition is burdensome to a family and is considered a reason for leaving schools in Korea. Exploring the amount of monthly expenditure on private tutoring is seen as an estimate as to whether it influences exit in real life or if it is an institutionalized way of consuming educational goods.

Model 5

$$log(p_i/(1- p_i)) = \beta_0 + \beta_1*school\_visit_i + \beta_2*voting_i + \beta_3*neighbor\_meet_i + \beta_4*hsep_i + \beta_5*n\_rel_i + \beta_6*n\_friend_i + \beta_7*n\_neighbor_i$$

In Model 5, to test the peer effect and contextual effect, the number of significant others also exiting were added to Model 1. The educational decision is affected by the decision of significant others. Thus, after controlling the contextual effect of exiting, whether voice and loyalty had an effect on the exiting decision was tested. The number of relative's children, number of friends of one's children, and number of neighbor's children were used as contextual variables.

Model 6 (adjusted model)

$$log(p_i/(1- p_i)) = \beta_0 + \beta_1*school\_visit_i + \beta_2*voting_i + \beta_3*neighbor\_meet_i + \beta_4*hsep_i + \beta_5*gender2_i + \beta_6*income_i + \beta_7*f\_edu_i + \beta_8*m\_edu_i + \beta_9*n\_child_i +$$

$$\beta_{10}*expectiation_i + \beta_{11}*f\_f\_exp_i + \beta_{12}*m\_f\_exp_i + \beta_{13}*s\_grade_i + \beta_{14}*res\_move_i + \beta_{15}*private\_exp_i + \beta_{16}*k\_school_i + \beta_{17}*l\_school_i + \beta_{18}*n\_rel_i + \beta_{19}*n\_friend_i + \beta_{20}*n\_neighbor_i$$

In Model 6, all variables used in Models 2 through 5 were controlled to test the adjusted effects of those variables as to whether they had an effect on deciding to exit. Models 1 through 6 are summarized in Table 9.

Table 9. Analysis model

Group	Variable	Model1	Model2	Model3	Model4	Model5	Model6
	school_visit	X	X	X	X	X	X
	voting	X	X	X	X	X	X
	neighbor_meet	X	X	X	X	X	X
	hsep	X	X	X	X	X	X
	gender2		X				X
	income		X				X
	f_edu		X				X
	m_edu		X				X
	n_child		X				X
	expectation			X			X
	f_f_exp			X			X
	m_f_exp			X			X
	s_grade				X		X
	res_move				X		X
	private_exp				X		X
	k_school				X		X
	l_school				X		X
	n_rel					X	X
	n_friend					X	X
	n_neighbor					X	X

Chapter IV: Results

1. Descriptive Statistics

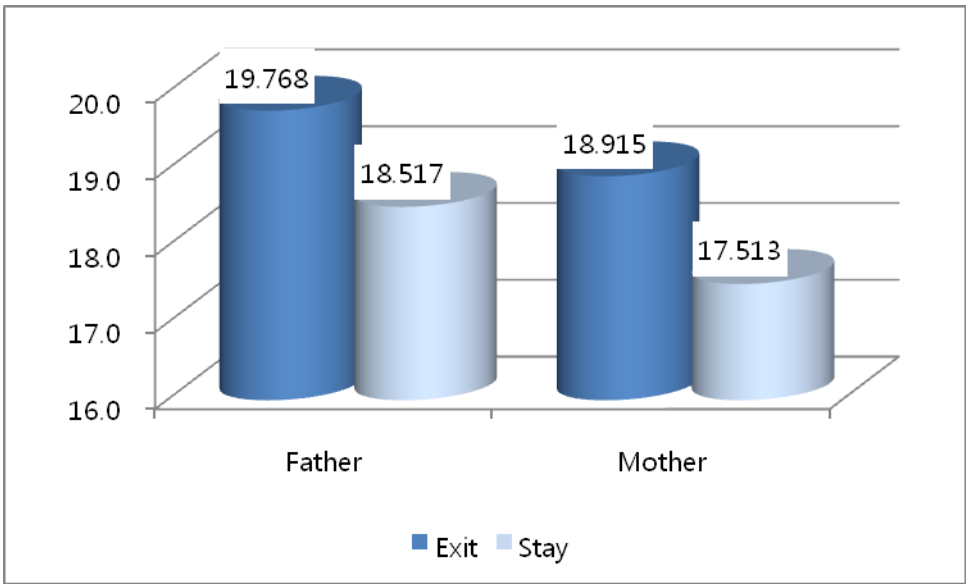
Descriptive statistics of each independent variable in the five logistic regression models are presented in Table 10. Among the 20 parameters in Model 5, four variables (k_school, gender2, n_friend, n_neighbor) were not statistically different.

Table 10. Descriptive statistics of independent variables

	Exit		Stay		T	p-value
	M	SD	M	SD		
school_visit	2.324	1.487	1.239	0.932	7.812	.000
voting	2.141	1.008	2.457	0.844	-3.133	.002
neighbor_meet	3.380	3.547	3.910	4.462	-1.273	.204
hsep	2.232	0.950	2.534	0.994	-2.902	.004
gender2	0.472	0.501	0.449	0.498	.435	.664
income	7.203	0.823	6.413	0.552	10.141	.000
f_edu	19.768	1.547	18.517	2.011	6.355	.000
m_edu	18.915	1.504	17.513	1.867	7.581	.000
n_child	1.810	0.714	2.060	0.512	-3.642	.000
expectation	18.662	2.045	18.179	2.060	2.208	.028
f_f_exp	0.507	0.502	0.218	0.414	5.777	.000
m_f_exp	0.430	0.497	0.154	0.362	5.754	.000
s_grade	7.504	1.612	5.335	2.272	10.576	.000
res_move	0.880	0.903	1.564	0.514	-8.250	.000
private_exp	5.087	0.978	4.650	1.015	4.101	.000
k_school	5.120	2.226	5.192	2.237	-.306	.760
l_school	6.486	2.537	7.526	2.084	-4.113	.000
n_rel	1.901	1.962	1.265	1.438	3.615	.000
n_friend	3.246	2.939	3.513	2.997	-.842	.401
n_neighbor	4.046	3.293	4.376	3.346	-.933	.351

Considering the background variables, exiting parents hold more than two times the income than staying parents,17.17 million won (about 15 thousand dollars) and 7.30 million won (about 6.3 thousand dollars) per month, respectively. Exiting parents also have higher educational degrees. The highest average degree for exiting fathers is between a Master's and a doctorate (19.768) while most staying fathers have earned a Master's (18.517). The average educational level of exiting mothers is slightly higher with having attained a graduate school degree while staying mothers hold between a Master's and Bachelor's degree (18.915 vs. 17.513). Figure 3 displays the educational attainment level of both exit and stay parental groups.

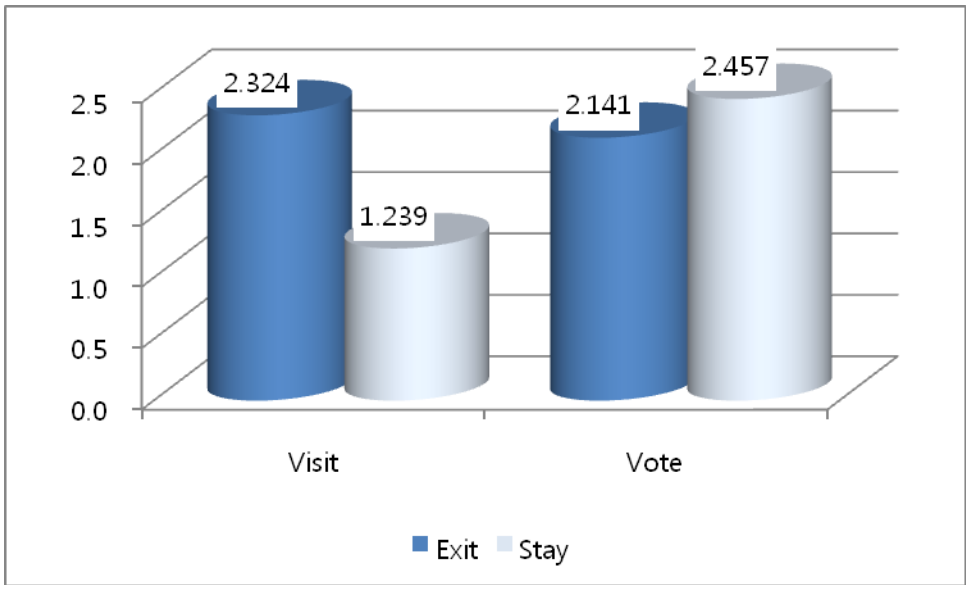
Figure 3. Educational level of parents



Both parental groups also showed differences in the way they express their voice and school and residential choice. Staying parents were more likely to move their residence than exiting parents when considering their children's schools. In seeking better schools, staying parents moved their residence 1.777 times (=1.564/0.880) while exiting

parents moved less than once on average. Exiting parents visited their children's local school 1.876 times (=2.324/1.239) more than staying parents, evidence that they are used to seeing the teachers and principals at their schools and are likely to directly express their opinions about their children's schooling and get tangible results and solution. However, staying parents participated more actively in national and city level elections and neighborhood meetings than exiting parents. Staying parents demonstrated their voice through indirect political action more significantly compared to visiting schools to see teachers, principals, and administrators. Figure 4 illustrates the frequency of school visits and elections of both parental groups.

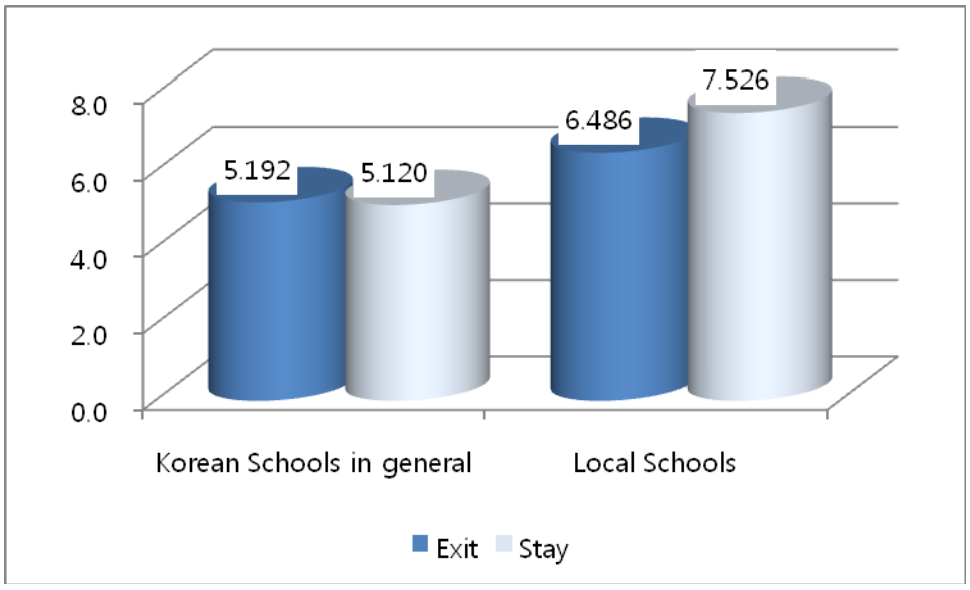
Figure 4. Frequency of school visits and elections



A negative attitude towards the High School Equalization Policy (HSEP) is one characteristic of exiting parents. They scored lower (2.232) on the 5-point scale on the HSEP than staying parents (2.534), illustrating that exiting parents have less loyalty

towards the backbone of Korean secondary schools' educational policy. Interestingly, exiting parents did not score Korean education in general lower than staying parents (5.120 vs. 5.192) on the 11-point scale (t=.306, p=.760). Although they are less satisfied with the domestic educational policy, exiting parents have more confidence toward Korean education per se, but this result is not statistically significant. Regarding the education of local schools their children attend, staying parents (7.526) were more positive, scoring higher than exiting parents (6.486) on the 11-point scale. Figure 5 summarizes these results.

Figure 5. Satisfaction toward schools



2. Logistic Regression and Odds Ratios

Tables 11 through 16 illustrate the logistic regression results, the coefficients (B), their standard errors (S.E.), plausible values (p-value), and the odds ratios (O.R.) of the variables related to six proposed models. To investigate the model fit across the models, the estimates of -2 log likelihood (-2LL) and the degrees of explanation (R^2) are presented under each results table.

Table 11 shows the result of the basic model. In the basic model, only explanatory variables were inserted into the model. Among the explanatory variables, number of neighbor meeting (neighbor_meet) did not make a difference in their exit decision. Number of school visits, number of voting, and estimation on the HSEP were correlated with the exit decision.

Table 11. Estimates of 'voice and loyalty' effect (Model 1)

	B	S.E,	p-value	O.R.
school_visit	0.820	0.121	0.000	2.270
Voting	-0.403	0.134	0.003	0.668
Neighbor_meet	-0.020	0.030	0.517	0.981
Hsep	-0.298	0.125	0.017	0.742
Constant	-0.157	0.464	0.734	0.854

*-2LL=414.229, R^2=.273

Table 12 is the result of the first control model (Model 2). In this model, control variables related to students' background were additionally inserted into the basic model. Among the control variables, household income (income), educational level of mother (m_edu), and number of siblings (n_child) had an effect on the exit decision. After

controlling students' background, the correlations of the explanatory variables with the exit decision did not change.

Table 12. Estimates of students' background effect (Model 2)

	B	S.E,	p-value	O.R.
school_visit	0.801	0.148	0.000	2.227
voting	-0.377	0.160	0.018	0.686
neighbor_meet	-0.010	0.037	0.796	0.991
Hsep	-0.307	0.152	0.044	0.736
gender2	-0.060	0.294	0.837	0.941
income	1.504	0.253	0.000	4.499
f_edu	0.152	0.098	0.122	1.164
m_edu	0.371	0.110	0.001	1.450
n_child	-0.825	0.254	0.001	0.438
Constant	-18.463	2.781	0.000	0.000

*-2LL=303.915, R^2=.550

The results of the second control model (Model 3) are represented in Table 13. Only fathers' foreign experiences correlated with exit decisions. Additionally, the effects of the variables inserted in the basic model did not change in this model.

Table 13. Estimates of parents' expectation and foreign experience effect (Model 3)

	B	S.E,	p-value	O.R.
school_visit	0.822	0.127	0.000	2.275
voting	-0.279	0.141	0.048	0.756
neighbor_meet	-0.027	0.032	0.400	0.974
hsep	-0.304	0.132	0.021	0.738
expectation	-0.068	0.064	0.287	0.934
f_f_exp	0.978	0.325	0.003	2.658
m_f_exp	0.574	0.348	0.099	1.776
Constant	0.338	1.254	0.787	1.403

*-2LL=386.594, R^2=.351

Model 4 revealed two new results. First, the achievement level of students (s_grade), number of residential move (res_move), and thoughts on the general Korean schools (k_school) and local schools (l_school) correlated with the exit decision. Second, among the explanatory variables, the effect coefficient on the exit decision on one's attitude toward the HSEP (hsep) lost statistical plausibility after controlling some variables. This may be due to the fact that the effect of attitude toward the HSEP (hsep) was correlated with achievement level of students (s_grade), number of residential move (res_move), and thoughts on general Korean schools (k_school) and local schools (l_school). Parents of highly achieving students showed a negative attitude toward the HSEP in rationalizing their decision to leave Korean local schools. If exiting parents had an option to choose better schools in Korea that they were satisfied with, they might have chosen those schools rather than allow their children to attend local schools where they left in the end. Exiting parents' scores on Korean education in general were higher than staying parents confirm this interpretation. Their disapproving attitudes toward the HSEP illustrate their negative experiences and feelings about the local schools their children attended per se rather than their disappointment in Korean education in general. However, this finding does not show that exiting parents' attitude toward Korean education in general was anticipated or learned through experience.

Table 14. Estimates of Korean schooling experiences effect (Model 4)

	B	S.E,	p-value	O.R.
school_visit	.915	.171	.000	2.497
Voting	-.462	.183	.012	.630
Neighbor_meet	.019	.042	.642	1.020
Hsep	-.289	.171	.090	.749
s_grade	.538	.091	.000	1.713
res_move	-1.525	.230	.000	.218
private_exp	.248	.201	.218	1.281
k_school	.314	.096	.001	1.369
l_school	-.360	.097	.000	.697
Constant	-2.227	1.351	.099	.108

*-2LL=254.767, R^2=.632

In Model 5, the peer effect of the exit decision was tested. Children of relatives, friends, and neighbors who were going abroad change the possibility of making an exit decision. The analysis showed that the number of relatives' and neighbors' children going abroad positively correlated to the exit decision. The peer effect affected the explanatory variables.

Table 15. Estimates of peer effect (Model 5)

	B	S.E,	p-value	O.R.
school_visit	0.853	0.125	0.000	2.346
Voting	-0.411	0.138	0.003	0.663
Neighbor_meet	-0.013	0.032	0.691	0.987
Hsep	-0.299	0.129	0.021	0.742
n_rel	0.323	0.085	0.000	1.381
n_friend	0.000	0.052	0.997	1.000
n_neighbor	-0.137	0.050	0.006	0.872
Constant	-0.152	0.512	0.767	0.859

*-2LL=394.819, R^2=.328

Tables 11 through 15 show the association between the variables and the exit decision, but these separate results are the unadjusted associations with exit the decision, not controlled by other variables. All variables were entered together in the final model to evaluate the adjusted associations of each variable with the exit decision. According to Table 16, the adjusted correlations are similar to the unadjusted correlations.

Table 16. Estimates of adjusted model (Model 6)

	B	S.E,	p-value	O.R.
school_visit	1.091	.216	.000	2.978
voting	-.409	.233	.079	.664
neighbor_meet	.052	.055	.346	1.053
hsep	-.449	.214	.036	.638
gender2	.260	.412	.528	1.297
income	1.321	.411	.001	3.746
f_edu	.015	.140	.915	1.015
m_edu	.598	.169	.000	1.818
n_child	-.801	.359	.026	.449
expectation	-.176	.106	.096	.838
f_f_exp	.346	.565	.541	1.413
m_f_exp	.435	.615	.480	1.545
s_grade	.530	.107	.000	1.698
res_move	-1.729	.297	.000	.177
private_exp	-.148	.284	.602	.862
k_school	.341	.120	.004	1.406
l_school	-.350	.124	.005	.705
n_rel	.253	.134	.060	1.288
n_friend	.025	.081	.757	1.025
n_neighbor	-.105	.082	.201	.901
Constant	-16.129	4.142	.000	.000

*-2LL=178.732, R^2=.779

School Visit and Voting: Direct Voice and Indirect Voice

The more often parents visit schools, the more likely they are to educate their children in schools abroad with an odds ratio of 2.88. Exiting parents visit schools where their children attend more often and express their opinion about their children's education more extensively.

Hirschman (1970) argued that high SES families use exit as a threat to make their voices heard louder. Since they can exit the neighborhood whenever they want, higher SES families have an immense influence on their communities. This study investigated whether high SES families really made their voice heard before they chose exit, and confirmed Hirschman's argument.

The results of the t-test showed a statistical difference between exiting parents and staying parents (see Table 9). Exiting parents visited schools in Korea significantly more often (2.71 visits per semester) than staying parents (1.40 visits per semester) (t value = -8.87, p =0.000).

Rather than abruptly leaving the local schools where their children attended, exiting parents made efforts to improve the quality of their children's schooling by visiting the schools and seeking out the homeroom teacher, teachers, principals, and other school staff. Exiting parents are likely those "who care most about the quality of the product" (Hirschman, 1970, p. 47).

According to Hirschman (1970), parents who are "the most active, reliable, and creative agents of voice are, for that very reason, also those who are apparently likely to exit first in case of deterioration" (p. 47). After vocalizing their voice in school, parents eventually choose the "exit" option to send their children to foreign schools because they

do not expect to witness improvements in their local schools. Hirschman's argument was confirmed and supported by the behavior of the Korean parents' school choice for their children's schools overseas.

Exiting parents are also less likely to participate in voting. At three recent elections (presidential, mayoral and gubernatorial, and congressional elections), exiting parents showed a smaller voting rate with an odds ratio of 0.664. Staying parents voted significantly more (2.457 times) than exiting parents (2.141 times) (t value = 3.133, p =0.002). Exiting parents were more likely to make a direct voice at the school level and less likely to make an indirect voice through political institutions.

Income - money talks

High monthly income earning parents favor educating their children abroad with the odds of 3.746. If monthly household income increases one million won ($1,000), then the likelihood of parents sending their children to schools abroad is 3.746 greater. Educating one's children in foreign countries is very costly from an economic perspective. Kim (2005) found that educating a child abroad costs an average of $24,000 per year, roughly 40% of the average annual household income. Therefore, to make this pricey school choice available, a certain family income level is necessary.

Household income has a positive influence on and higher likelihood of sending children to schools abroad (Kang, 2002; Kim & Yoon, 2005). Cho (2004) argued that a rich father is the fundamental component of allowing one's children to attend K-12 schools in foreign countries. This current study confirmed these previous results on the contribution of family income on educating children abroad.

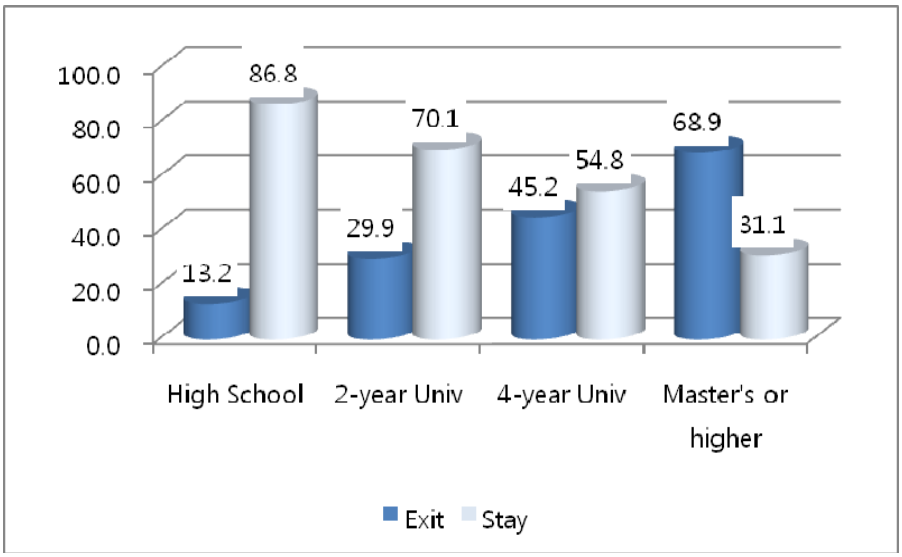
The odds ratio of the current study (3.746) is larger than what was found in the study of Kim and Yoon (2005) (1.857). This study originally intended to discover other reasons besides socioeconomic status and social capital as factors in selecting schools overseas. Data were collected from a control group of parents (staying parents) from the most prestigious school district in Korea. Therefore, income plays a smaller role compared to previous research, which included wider ranges of income distribution.

Mother's education level – always works

As mother's education level increases, more parents are sending their children to schools abroad, with an odds ratio of 1.818. This is consistent with Kang (2002). Kim & Yoon (2005) discovered that mothers with children attending schools abroad had very high educational levels, where none had just a middle school or lower diploma and only 6% held a high school diploma. In contrast, over 90% of mothers in Kim's study (2001) experienced higher education, with 4% holding a two-year college diploma, 65% with a bachelor's degree, 17% with a Master's, and 8% with a doctorate degree.

Results of a chi-square analysis of mother's educational level for both parental groups are presented in Figure 6. Educational level statistically differed between the two groups of mothers, which is consistent with Kim & Yoon (2005). Over one-fourth of exiting mothers (27.5%) hold a Master's or doctorate degree compared to 10% of staying mothers. In sum, with more subject knowledge, schooling strategies, and English proficiency, highly educated mothers are prone to send their children to schools overseas rather than educating them at local schools.

Figure 6. Mother's educational level



Many scholars have investigated the relationship between mother's educational level and their children's performance in school (e.g., Blau & Duncan 1967; Hauser 1971; Alexander & Eckalnd 1973; Teachman, 1987). According to Baker and Stevenson (1986), mothers' education affects the number and types of implementation strategies for their children's schooling. They argued that the longer mothers spend in educational institutions, the more knowledge and tactics they hold about how to be successful in school. This wisdom is transmitted to their children through rearing strategies and brings about successful academic achievement. Such strategies are utilized in choosing schools in foreign countries for their children's education.

Coleman (1988) presented an example of the accumulation of social capital in Asian immigrant families where families in one public school district purchased extra copies of textbooks for the mothers to study in order to help their child do well in school. Assuming English proficiency as a proxy for higher education level, this case represents how active highly educated Asian mothers are involved in their children's schooling, which can translate into choosing schools overseas.

Residential choice – small exit, large exit

Residential choice is the most salient way of choosing schools both in the U.S. and in Korea. Henig and Sugarman (1999) found that 60% of all elementary and secondary schoolchildren attend schools of choices and 36% choose schools through choice or residence. Only 10% attend tuition-paid private schools. However, residential choice has a peculiar feature in Korea compared to the U.S. In Korea, private schools are funded by the government and operated by private foundations under the High School Equalization Policy. They are similar to American charter schools but function like public schools. Students are assigned to neighborhood schools in their local school district regardless of whether the school is private or public, meaning that attending private schools is not a school choice option in Korea.

In the U.S., seeking a good public school means moving to a high quality school district and paying high local property taxes. Since American public schools are basically locally funded and depend on local property taxes, the quality of each school is impacted by the inputs of local economic resources. In Korea, school funding relies on a national education tax and is distributed to each school regardless of taxpayers' contributions. As a result, each school has the same amount of funding per capita, where input of resources in schools is legitimately analogous despite location and neighborhood. In addition, in Korean public schools, teachers are hired by the metropolitan/provincial education office (similar to the state level in the U.S.), assigned to a school, and rotate into a different school every five years.

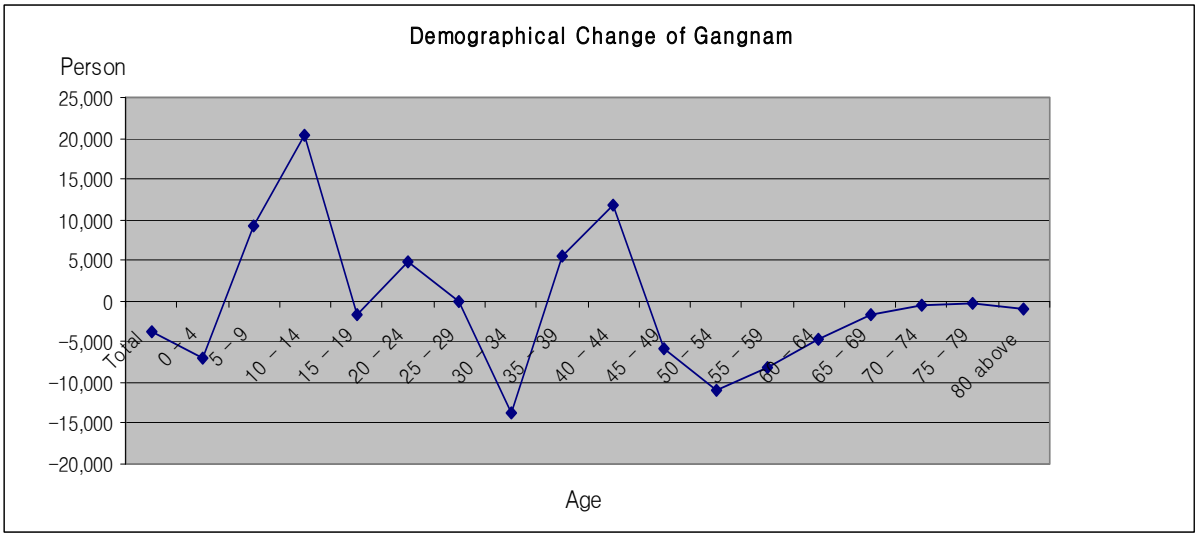
For these reasons, controlling for the input of schools, a good school is known for its college entrance performance. This is a proxy of good schools because no

standardized test exists that evaluates schools and students nation- or province-wide. SES is one of the strongest factors for high standardized test and college exam performances and is highly correlated with parental status of students. Given that residential choice is the sole way to choose good schools in Korea, parents seek out school districts with higher SES families for their children's schooling. For example, the town of Gangnam in the southern part of Seoul grew after economic development in the 1970s and has since been a destination and a symbol of residential choice for better schooling in Korea.

Results of the current study have several significant implications. If parents move once more for their children's schooling, they are 0.177 times less likely to send their children to schools in foreign countries. Specifically, as parents make residential choice once more for their children's education, they are 5.650 times less likely to choose schools abroad for them. Leaving a neighborhood is a very basic way to exercise "exit" (Hirschman, 1960), and residential choice of finding good schools in a new neighborhood for one's children is an evident way to face problems at their local schools. This result is a mixed message because staying parents show a higher "exit" tendency to local schools than exiting parents. Staying parents exited their previous neighborhood and moved to Gangnam while exiting parents made their children exit schools in Korea.

Figure 7 shows the change in demographics in Gangnam from 2001 to 2007.

Figure 7. Demographic change in Gangnam



Data retrieved from KNSO, 2009

The age groups of 15-19 and 10-14 depict the largest influx into Gangnam, representing the elementary, middle, and high school eras. The peaks at the 25-29 and 40-44 age groups indicate entry of the students' parents.

DongA Daily (June 4th, 2009) reported that the ages of 11 (5th grade) and 14 (8th grade) are the two largest cohorts to flood this area, representing the goal of getting assigned to good schools in this school district. The newspaper also reported that another influx of the population is at the age of 18 (college entrance age). The age of 46 is another year of outflow of the population, signifying parents leaving Gangnam after raising their children who have since entered college.

The average housing price in Gangnam is 9.73 million won (around $9,730) per square meter[9] while 5.15 million won for Seoul and 2.5 million won nationwide. Choosing residence in Gangnam means parents are paying 1.89 times higher compared to living in different areas in Seoul. Staying parents pay a higher housing price, at least for

[9] 1 square meter is 10.76 square feet. The average housing price for Gangnam is $904.28 per square feet.

their children's schools. This is the price staying parents pay for their children's education in Gangnam.

In this study, the majority of staying parents moved once or twice for their children's education (43.2 % moved once, 56.0% moved twice). Less than 1% stated that they have never moved. For exiting parents, 40.1% reported they have never moved for their children's education while 38.7% have moved once and 14.1% have moved twice. Exiting parents choose schools by way of sending their children to schools in foreign countries rather than choosing a new residential area for better schools. In contrast, staying parents make a residential choice as a way of school choice. Both groups of parents exercise "exit" options to their current problems, but the degree of their expression differs. While staying parents make a small exit to execute domestic choice, exiting parents exercise a large exit across the border of their nation.

School grade: Aiming high and wide

If a student's school grade increases by one unit, then their parents are 1.698 times more likely to send them to schools in foreign countries. Exiting parents reported that 27.3% of their children ranked first in school grade (1-4%) and 36.0% were ranked second (5-11%) while staying parents reported 9.0% and 11.8%, respectively.

This result confirms Kim and Yoon's (2005) finding that more high performing students are choosing schools in foreign countries. They discovered that half of the students with experience attending schools abroad were ranked higher than the 90th percentile and 80% were higher than the 75th percentile.

One perspective of exiting students is that they are leaving the Korean school system because they are not competent to pass the college entrance exam. Many Koreans view Korean students' attending schools abroad negatively, believing that low performing students bypass college entrance exam hell and buy an easy ticket to college by attending middle and high schools in foreign countries. They term this "run-away" study abroad. This may be partially true. In the 1990's, the enrollment rate of higher education was less than 50%, and more than half did not have the opportunity for higher education despite their desire. Since the 1990's, the higher education system has expanded enormously while the population has decreased, resulting in the higher education enrollment rate reaching 70.5% in 2008 (KEDI, 2009). While some low achieving students from high SES families in the 1990's attended high schools in foreign countries as an alternative to admission into a higher education institution, this story does not make sense today as colleges in Korea are vying for students to fill empty seats.

This study found that parents still maintain a negative image toward early exiting. A majority of staying parents (60%) perceived that exiting parents are sending their children to schools in foreign countries to avoid the competitive college entrance exam. Close to one-quarter (22.8%) attributed choosing schools abroad to respecting their children's willingness and intention to study abroad and 5.6% attributed it to excessive tutoring costs.

Exiting parents had different reasons for their choice. One-third (33.7%) responded that they exited the Korean school system because of dissatisfaction and 22.8% said that it was what their children wanted. Only 19.4% left the Korean school system due to the excessive competition of getting into college. This result affirms that

high-achieving students are prone to choose schools in foreign countries even though they are qualified to gain admission into domestic colleges. In this globalized era, some parents persuade their children, high achievers in this case, to aim for world class universities, such as Ivy League schools, rather than limit themselves to domestic colleges.

In the past, colleges in the U.S. were perceived as a safety net for low-achieving Korean students from high SES families in the past, where high performing students break through. Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University, the three most prestigious colleges in Korea, also known as SKY, are considered the final destination of college-bound students. For high SES parents, SKY is losing its domestic exclusiveness and, therefore, these parents are not limiting their children to local higher education institutions.

Evaluation of Korean schools

From a scale of A+ to F, both exiting and staying parents evaluated Korean high school education poorly, with an average grade of C+ (5.120 for exiting parents and 5.192 for staying parents) (t-.306, p=.760). Both groups of parents graded the local schools their children attended, or are currently attending, higher. Exiting parents graded their children's former school in Korea between a B and B- (6.486) and staying parents graded a little higher, between B and B+ (7.526) (t=4.113, p=.000). Both sets of parents marked a higher grade for their local schools on having direct information in their neighborhood compared to Korean high schools in general. This attitude of Korean parents is similar to that of American parents, as demonstrated by the Annual Phi Delta

Kappa (PDK) and Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools. In 2009, 74% of Americans graded the local schools their children attended with an A or B while 19% gave the same grade to public schools nationwide (Phi Delta Kappa, 2009).

Findings from the logistic regression analysis present mixed results. For instance, exiting parents graded Korean schools higher with an odds ratio of 1.406 while holding a negative attitude toward the local school their children attended in Korea with an odds ratio of 0.705.

Exiting parents made the decision to leave Korean schools to provide a better education for their children. Before experiencing schools in foreign countries, they may have held similar negative attitudes toward schooling in Korea as staying parents do. Once faced with the realities of their chosen school in a foreign country, exiting parents perceive their choice a "not a utopia" and schools in Korea as "not a hell." While their expectations of schools in foreign countries become a reality, the difference between schools in Korea and schools in foreign countries narrows. Ravenstein's "push and pull process" (1885) allows some hints to explain this phenomenon. His migration theory argues that unfavorable conditions in one place "push" people out while favorable conditions in an external location "pull" them out. Therefore, exiting parents made decisions to leave Korean schools because they thought schools overseas would educate their children better (pull factor) rather than because they were not satisfied with the education of Korea (push factor).

Exiting parents gave a lower grade to the local schools where their children attended in Korea before they left than staying parents who currently have children in local schools. This difference in grade is due to evaluating the local schools rather than

Korean schools as a whole. Evaluation of the local school is the result of staying parents' school choice by residential movement and the cause for exiting parents to make school choice in foreign countries. Expecting both parents to rationalize and defend their decisions, evaluation of the local school is natural.

Number of children: Concentrated investment

Traditionally, Korean parents exhibit favoritism towards the first-born son among their children. This study found that children's gender did not affect whether parents choose schools overseas. Instead, exiting parents tended to have fewer children with an odds ratio of 0.449 (p=.026). The fewer children parents have, the more likely they are to send them to schools overseas.

The average number of children in the Korean household is 1.83 (KNSO, 2009). The number of children per household has been dropping because of the low birthrate. Along with rapid economic growth, birthrate has plummeted to 1.15, the lowest in the world, while the average birthrate of OECD countries is 1.64 (UNFPA, 2008). More and more Korean families are raising a smaller number of children compared to prior generations and, instead, are paying more attention to their children's quality of life. Parents are concentrating their expenditures on their "one and only" child, or, at most, their two children.

Economists have explored the trade-off between the quality and quantity of children. Becker and Tomes (1976) found that a larger increase in expenditures would reduce the demand for children. They argued that an increase in parental income would lead to a large increase in parental expenditures on children, and this would increase their

quality of life. Hanushek (1992) also examined the correlation between the quantity and the quality of a child in a family. He argued that trade-offs exist between the number of children and their scholastic performance, where a child from a smaller family shows better achievement in class. As the number of children decreases, the expenditure per child for schooling increases.

Schooling overseas is a very costly decision compared to educating one's children domestically. For Korean parents who have fewer children than their expectation or compared to their reference group, they can concentrate their expenditures on a fewer number of their children and increase the expenditure per child on education. Thus, parents with a fewer number of children are more likely to send their children to schools overseas as a concentrated expenditure.

Parents' foreign experience – Open mind to the world

If a father has experience living or studying in a foreign country (residential experience rather than travelling), then parents are 1.413 times more likely to choose schools for their children in foreign countries. More than half of fathers (58.5%) in the exiting parent group had foreign experience compared to 27.7% in the staying group. Fathers with foreign experience understand the merit of schooling in foreign countries through their own experiences and have a more positive attitude toward sending their children abroad. Attributing fathers' career success, economic prosperity, and higher social status to their experiences in higher education and work, parents are more likely to choose American high schools for their children.

Table 17 shows that both exiting fathers and mothers have more foreign experiences than staying fathers and mothers. Parental foreign experiences transmit to their children's location of schooling.

Table 17. Father's and mother's foreign experience

	Father χ^2=35.554(df=1, p=.000)		Mother χ^2=35.098(df=1, p=.000)	
	Exit	Stay	Exit	Stay
With	58.5%	27.7%	62.9%	29.0%
Without	41.5%	72.3%	37.1%	71.0%

3. Findings and Discussions

Before choosing schools in foreign countries, exiting parents expressed their voice more actively than staying parents at school level in Korea. Exiting parents more frequently visited local schools and met teachers, principals, and administrators concerning the education of their children. The choice of sending their children to schools overseas is a reaction toward the unresponsive public product; before they searched and chose private and public schools in foreign countries, exiting parents tried to find the answer to their children's education in the local schools where their children attended rather than abruptly leaving. Choosing schools overseas was the result of recognizing the ineffectiveness of parental involvement rather than simple parental preferences. This finding also confirms Hirschman's (1970) argument that predicts those who express voices are most likely to choose an exit option as a way of finding solutions to ongoing problems.

Staying parents expressed their voice differently. While exiting parents were prone to speak directly to the teachers, principals, and school staff at school level, staying parents were more likely to vocalize their voice through city and national level elections; they more actively showed political action by casting ballots. Also, staying parents were more likely to choose their children's school by residential choice. Rather than choosing foreign schools and suffering family separation, staying parents chose local schools for their children by moving their residence more times to seek better schools in prominent school districts. As the number of preferred schools is limited, including foreign language high schools, science and technology high schools, international high schools, and independent private schools (which can be identified as private schools in the U.S.) which can be chosen by students and parents regardless of their current address, parents seek better schools by residential choice.

Exiting and staying parents showed a discrepancy towards the evaluation of Korean schools. Scoring Korean schools in general higher, exiting parents gave lower marks to the local schools where their children attended. Since they had a chance to compare the secondary schools of the U.S. and Korea after they educated their children in schools in the U.S., exiting parents may have formed a new perspective toward Korean education in general. In sending their children to schools in foreign countries because they were unsatisfied at the education in their local domestic schools, exiting parents came to realize that schools overseas are not a utopia or paradise where they and their children dreamed of before leaving Korea. The local schools where their children attended still remained as a place to be exited.

This study was conducted after exiting parents had already made decision to educate their children at schools in foreign countries. Although controlling covariates of the focus and comparison group, these two groups were selected from different populations. To enable to compare both focus and comparison groups from same population, it is mandatory to collect longitudinal data and arrange it into a data set. As stated at Chapter I, the exiting students account for less than 1% of the total enrollment of primary and secondary schools in Korea. Targeting the exiting population, an excessive number is needed to structure proper dataset for statistical analysis. For this reason, purposive sampling was reluctantly used to targeting a deviant and small sample like this exiting population.

The target group of this study was parents whose children attended schools in the U.S. while other preferred countries such as Canada and China were not covered in this study. Exiting parents to those countries have different reasons for choosing those nations and their school systems, such as economic advantages, geographical accessibility, and varying educational, economic, cultural, and historical reasons. For these reasons, such parental groups must be considered in further studies. Furthermore, qualitative methods are applicable to an exceptional group such as exiting parents. They will allow deeper accessibility to the esoteric world of exiting parents.

Chapter V: Conclusions

This study began with the question of who leaves and who stays in Korean secondary schools. The question was motivated by the sudden rise in the number of students who have left Korean schools since the beginning of 21st century. Despite educational achievement that contributed to economic development, democratization, and maturity of a civil society, Korean schools are recognized as the source of the dissatisfaction in educational services. Conventionally, most Korean families choose cram schools and private tutoring to supplement the insufficiency of public schooling and quite a few attempted to find alternatives non-domestically. With economic prosperity, willingness to invest in the next generation's education, and the influence of globalization, more Korean parents are choosing schools overseas rather than finding domestic solutions.

Most previous research attributes the reason for exiting Korean schools to the socio-economic backgrounds of the families whose students are leaving. Choosing foreign schools to educate children overseas is an expensive expenditure for families, and the availability of executing such an option is limited to very few families with high socio-economic status. As a result, comparing these exiting families with staying families selected randomly from a population has high likelihood of attributing reasons for leaving to family socio-economic status. In order to discover reasons other than socio-economic status, the control group in this study was parents of children in private schools in the most prestigious Korean school districts.

This research confirmed the significance of socio-economic status for educating children in foreign schools found in previous research. Exiting parents showed higher

income and higher educational attainment. Exiting parents held more than two times the income per month than staying parents, 17.2 million won (about 17 thousand dollars) and 7.3 million won (about 7 thousand dollars) per month, respectively. Exiting parents also had higher educational degrees. The average highest degree for exiting fathers was between a Master's and a doctorate while most staying fathers earned a Master's. The average educational level of exiting mothers was slightly higher than attainment of a graduate school degree while staying mothers held between a Master's and Bachelor's degree.

Other than SES factors, socio-cultural capital did matter. Both exiting fathers and mothers had more foreign experiences than staying parents. For academic achievement at Korean local schools, children of the exiting group exceeded those in the staying group. Both parental groups also showed differences in the way they express their voice and school and residential choice. Staying parents were more likely to move their residence than exiting parents when considering their children's schools. In seeking better schools, staying parents preferred residential choice to a greater extent than exiting parents. Exiting parents visited their children's local school more than staying parents and were likely to directly express their opinions about their children's schooling and get tangible results and solutions. However, staying parents participated more actively in national and city level elections and neighborhood meetings than exiting parents. Staying parents demonstrated their voice through indirect political action more significantly rather than visited schools to see teachers, principals, and administrators

Exiting parents showed less loyalty towards the High School Equalization Policy (HSEP), which is a backbone of Korean secondary schools' educational policy.

Interestingly, exiting parents scored Korean education in general higher than staying parents. Although they were less satisfied with the domestic educational policy, exiting parents had more confidence toward Korean education per se. In contrast, regarding the education of local schools their children attend(ed), staying parents were more positive than exiting parents.

One limitation of this study is the targeted group. Unlike most studies conducted in the field of education, this study investigated the most prosperous parental groups, both in the experimental and control groups, of a nation. In contrast, much research on parents and parental groups concern socially and economically challenged adults who have been exercising less of their rights and have less accessibility to education. Based on the findings, most educational research aims to expand opportunities to allow for more resources to underprivileged parental groups. Equity is the cornerstone of policy research on parents in the field of education and it is about increasing the opportunities of the less affluent and decreasing the chasm between the "haves" and the "have-nots."

The target group of this study is the extreme group of parents who are highly educated (97 % of fathers and 91% of mothers with a four-year college degree or higher), highly ranked (26% CEOs, 24% executives, 13% doctors), and who hold the highest rank of earnings (about $15,000 per month) in Korea. Unlike other parental groups mentioned above, these parents seek excellence rather than equity. As the option for choosing satisfactory domestic schools for their children is very limited, these parents have been searching for proper schools for their children and will send them to schools across the border despite the sacrifices, including family separation.

Although this research deals with the school choice of a few higher SES students and families toward schools in foreign countries who make up less than 1% of whole population, the dearth of this number cannot be underestimated. As this small portion of parents is considered marginal consumers who are savvy, influential, and active at educating their children, their decision can allude to how other parents' behaviors will look like.

This research tells us much about the school choice behavior of parents, but it explains a very limited group's (high SES parents) choice in schools in a particular country (the U.S.). While domestic school choice is a costly and bothersome process for parents and students, difficulties in choosing schools abroad, despite its fruitful results (mostly observed and discussed in the U.S.), are incomparable in depth and breadth. In choosing schools abroad, parents spend considerable financial resources (searching best-fit schools, learning the language, tuition and fees, and traveling), time, and effort, so the number of parents who venture into this highly-priced choice is limited.

Like established groups who get used to old boy networks and are prone to play back room deals in politics (Taylor, 2000), exiting parents prefer to hide their stories about choosing foreign schools for their children. These high socio-economic status parental groups rarely reveal their personal stories of their children's schooling. As exiting parents surely know that high SES families' choice for school abroad is a hot topic in Korea, they do not want to elaborate on their experiences and share their information with the unknown masses. Their obstructive attitude has limited access from outsiders, resulting in a lack of data. As a result, there is little research on Korean

parental school choice in foreign countries and an emphasis on the socio-economic background as an exiting reason.

Korean parents' zeal for education soars higher and higher as parental eagerness is expressed domestically and internationally. Expenditure on private tutoring and cram schooling has been increased and the number of students going abroad at an early age is escalating. Also, the media and public sentiment blame Korean schools as a scapegoat and attribute the reason for exiting Korean schools system to the inefficiency and unproductiveness of domestic schooling. Despite their contributions to the modernization and development of the nation, the status of Korean schools has been falling from one of national pride to a source of dissatisfaction.

The rebuttal toward this criticism is addressed in the following anecdote:

There was a noodle shop specialized in making ramen. The noodle shop became popular for its tasty ramen and many customers in town liked the food and the shop. Customers had opportunities to have various noodles in and out of the town. With direct and indirect experiences and information, the customers asked the shop to serve various kinds of noodles like pasta (Italian noodle), udon (Japanese noodle), phat tai (Thai noodle), and pho (Vietnamese noodle). The shop stubbornly adhered to serving only ramen to its customers and turned down their requests. Most customers, who rarely went to other food vendors for meals, continued to have their ramen there even though they were dissatisfied. Some customers did not buy the ramen from the shop anymore and went to other shops that served different kinds of noodles. Even though the customers did not like the ramen at the shop as they always had, it did not mean that the shop did not serve tasty ramen anymore; the problem was not the quality of the food but the

dissatisfaction of the customers, the simplicity of menu, and the unresponsiveness of the noodle shop. The cause of the customers' leaving can be thought of as an expression of their boredom after consuming a single menu over time. Therefore, one has to avoid condemning the shop and attribute the reason for the driftage to low quality and bad tasting food.

Similarly, limiting the options of choosing schools and assigning students to local schools regardless of their preference brought dissatisfaction even though these schools offer a good quality education. One solution to reduce the tide of exiting domestic school systems and increase satisfaction of these schools is to expand opportunities to choose various types and multiple numbers of schools in the nation.

The Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education initiated a high school choice policy in 2010 (SOME, 2009). After years of parental arguing and grumbling about the rigorous high school assignment process and the High School Equalization Policy, the educational authority of Korea's capital launched a new program to allow school attendance despite students' location of residence in Seoul. Before being assigned by the Office of Education, each student can choose four schools inside and outside of one's school district. This new high school choice program intends to increase parental satisfaction by encouraging freedom of choice and enhancing equity by providing better school education to lower SES students (Levin, 2002). This policy maybe a "ecuperation mechanism" that is a reaction to the interplay of both "exit" and "voice" options of parents (Hirschman, 1970). Hirschman's idea of "exit" and "voice," which originated from a Nigerian railroad, is confirmed by Korean parents' school choice overseas.

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Appendix. Survey Questionnaire

Exit Parents

Voice (1-10)

1. If you had problems or concerns about education, which method did you prefer to let officials know about your issues?
   a. Meeting with teachers
   b. Meeting with the principal and/or assistant principal
   c. Talking to government officials (Department of Education, Board of Education)
   d. Talking to NGOs
   e. Giving information to the media
   f. Other: _____

2. How many times did you exercise each above mentioned method?
   a. Meeting with teachers: ___ time(s) per semester
   b. Meeting with the principal and/or assistant principal: ___ time(s) per semester
   c. Talking to government officials: ___ time(s) per semester
   d. Talking to NGOs: ___ time(s) per semester
   e. Giving information to the media: ___ time(s) per semester
   f. Other: ___ time(s) per semester

3. Which methods did you think were most effective?
   a. Meeting with teachers
   b. Meeting with principal and/or assistant principal
   c. Talking to government officials (Department of Education, Board of Education)
   d. Talking to NGOs
   e. Giving information to the media
   f. Other: _____

4. How difficult was it to speak out and express your concerns?

Very difficult	Difficult	Neutral	Only a little difficult	Not difficult at all

5. Please indicate your agreement to this statement: “My voice influenced the school’s policy and practices.”

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

6. Who is the most influential person related to decisions about your children's education?
   a. Your children
   b. Spouse
   c. Other family or relatives
   d. Peer parents
   e. Children's teacher
   f. Cram school teacher
   g. Other: _____

7. What do you think is the most influential organization/institution that affects your children's education?
   a. Department of Education
   b. Board of Education
   c. Teachers Union
   d. Parental Organization
   e. Media
   f. Other: _____

8. Have you met anyone from the above-mentioned organizations/institutions to inform them about your concerns about education?
   a. Yes
   b. No

8a. If Yes, what was your issue?
   a. College entrance system
   b. Curriculum
   c. Guidance
   d. School grade system
   e. Other: _____

8b. If No, why?
   a. Don't know how to contact the organization/institution
   b. Distrust with meeting related persons
   c. Fear of hurting children
   d. I prefer someone else to meet them instead of me
   e. Distrust with the effect
   f. I am generally satisfied with how things are going
   g. Other: _____

9. On average, how many times did you visit your children's school per semester?
   ____ Times

10. What do you think is the best way to communicate with teachers?
    a. Meeting them personally
    b. Indirect communication through the person who is closest to them
    c. Telephone
    d. E-mail
    e. Web Board
    f. Other: _____

Quality of education of Korea (11-14)

11. If you were to evaluate Korean high schools, what grade would you give them?

A+	A	B+	B	C+	C	D+	D	F

12. If you were to evaluate the high school your child attended, what grade would you give it?

A+	A	B+	B	C+	C	D+	D	F

13. Which of the following do you think is the best aspect of Korean high school education?
    a. High academic performance
    b. Qualification of teachers
    c. Lower cost of schooling
    d. Other: _____
    e. Nothing

14. What one weakness do you think Korean schools need to improve upon?
    a. Excessive amount of school work
    b. Too many changes to the college entrance policy
    c. Lack of respect of school culture
    d. Excessive expenditures on tutoring
    e. Unsatisfactory school administration
    f. Other: _____

School Transfer

15. Has your children ever transferred schools for a better education?
    a. Yes
    b. No

15a. If Yes, how many times?
    ____ Times

16. Please indicate your agreement to this statement: If my voice is not respected and properly responded to by the school my children attend(s), I intend to transfer to a different school.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

17. Which option do you think is most helpful to your children's schooling?
    a. School transfer
    b. Voice
    c. Don't know
    d. Other: _____

18. Please indicate your agreement to this statement: If students transfer to a different school because it is a low performing school, the school will attempt to increase its quality.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Public Trust

19. The central government and local government hear my concerns about education.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

20. The Department of Education and/or local Office of Education can solve the educational problem I am concerned with.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

21. The efforts of school leaders including principals, associate principals, and teachers can assemble high quality schools which are comparable to those in developed countries.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

22. I believe that my political voice can be realized through an election.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

23. In the past five years, how many times did you participate in an election?
_____ Times among 3

24. In the past year, how many times did you participate in a neighbor meeting?
_____ Times among 12

25. What do you think about "High School Equalization Policy"?

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

School Choice

26. Have you ever moved your residence for your children's education?
Times

27. Have you ever experienced untraditional family (including wild geese family) for your kids' education?
    a. Yes; please explain the circumstances:

    b. No; Please explain the circumstances:

27a. If Yes, how long was your family separated?
____Years ____ Months

28. Please indicate your agreement to this statement: Educational problems will, to some extent, decrease as a result of the expansion of school choice.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

29. Please indicate your agreement to this statement: The number of students going abroad for K-12 education will decrease as a result of the expansion of school choice.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

30. What are the most important criteria in choosing a school? (Select all that apply)
    a. Students' academic performance
    b. Quality of teachers
    c. Homogenous student background
    d. Physical and emotional safety in school
    e. Other: _____

Information and Social Network

31. Who is the person you talk to most about your children's education?
    1. Spouse
    2. School teacher
    3. Cram school teacher (including agency)
    4. Friend
    5. Family or relative
    6. Other parents
    7. Other: _____

32. Who do you trust most with the education or your children?
    a. School teacher
    b. Cram school teacher
    c. Friends
    d. Family or relatives
    e. Other parents
    f. Other: _____

33. Which institution/organization is the main source of information regarding the education of your children?
    a. School
    b. Cram school (including agency)
    c. Media
    d. Internet
    e. Other: _____

34. How many of your family members and relatives are in the foreign countries where your children attend school?

    ____

35. How many of your children's friends go to schools in foreign countries?

____

36. How many of your friends have sent their children to schools in foreign countries?

____

Study Abroad

37. Who is the most influential person on the decision to send your children abroad?
    a. Your child
    b. Spouse
    c. Myself
    d. Cram school teacher (including agency)
    e. Other: _____

38. Which was the most helpful source to you in selecting schools in a foreign country?
    a. Internet
    b. Agency
    c. Word of mouth from friends and relatives
    d. School visit
    e. Other: _____

39. What is the most salient reason to take your children out of school in Korea?
    a. Excessive college entrance competiveness
    b. Excessive private tutoring expense
    c. Distrust on school education
    d. Children's intention
    e. Other: _____

40. What is the most attractive reason of choosing schools in the U.S.?
    a. My children will, at least, learn to use English fluently
    b. Going to college might be easier than staying in Korea
    c. The expectation of a better education in a school in the U.S.
    d. The expectation for better recognition to go to a college in the U.S.
    e. Other: _____

41. If your children are take private tutoring aside from schooling, what kind of tutoring is?
    a. Private tutoring during the school year
    b. Enrollment in cram school during school year

c. Telecommunication provider including internet
d. Participation in Korean private tutoring during break
e. Other: _____

42. How satisfied are you with the schools your children attend(s)?

Very Dissatisfied	Slightly Dissatisfied	Neither Dissatisfied nor Satisfied	Slightly Satisfied	Very Satisfied

43. What factors are most satisfactory about the school your children attend(s)?
    a. Students' academic performance
    b. Quality of teachers
    c. Homogenous student background
    d. Physical and emotional safety in schools
    e. Other: _____

44. What type of school do your children attend?
    a. Public
    b. Private (day)
    c. Private (boarding)
    d. Other: _____

45. What gender is your children who attend(s) school in a foreign country?
    a. Boy
    b. Girl
    c. Both

46. What is the highest degree you expect from your children?
    a. 2 year college
    b. 4 year college
    c. Graduate school (Master's)
    d. Doctorate
    e. Other: _____

47. How many of your children currently attend school in Korea and in other countries?

	# Male Children	# Female Children	Total # Children
Domestic			
International			

48. What is the order of birth of your child who attends school in foreign country?
____ th among ____ children

Personal Information

49. What is your occupation?

Father: _____

Mother: _____

50. How would you describe your social economic status?

51. What is your highest educational degree?

Father: _____

Mother: _____

52. Has either you or your spouse had the experience of living abroad?

	Living Abroad		Studying Abroad		
Father	Yes	No	Yes	No	No Experience
Mother	Yes	No	Yes	No	No Experience

53. What is your residential address?

54. What is the type of residence you reside in?
    a. Low and Medium Rise Condominium
    b. High Rise Condominium
    c. Townhouse
    d. House
    e. Other

55. How much is your household income per month?

56. What was your child's school grade before leaving Korea?

1-4%	5-11%	12-23%	24-40%	41-60%	61-77%	78-89%	90-96%	97-100%

57. What are your monthly expenses for education?
    Public education: $ _____
    Private education: $ _____
    Total: $

58. Was your child a class leader in Korea?
    a. Yes
    b. No

59. Have you ever participated in PTA leadership in Korea?
    a. Yes
    b. No

60. What is the location of the school your child attends?
    City: _____
    State: _____

Survey Questionnaire

Stay Parents

Voice (1-10)

1. If you had problems or concerns about education, which method did you prefer to let officials know about your issues?
   a. Meeting with teachers
   b. Meeting with the principal and/or assistant principal
   c. Talking to government officials (Department of Education, Board of Education)
   d. Talking to NGOs
   e. Giving information to the media
   f. Other: _____

2. How many times did you exercise each above mentioned method?
   a. Meeting with teachers: ___ time(s) per semester
   b. Meeting with the principal and/or assistant principal: ___ time(s) per semester
   c. Talking to government officials: ___ time(s) per semester
   d. Talking to NGOs: ___ time(s) per semester
   e. Giving information to the media: ___ time(s) per semester
   f. Other: ___ time(s) per semester

3. Which methods did you think were most effective?
   a. Meeting with teachers
   b. Meeting with principal and/or assistant principal
   c. Talking to government officials (Department of Education, Board of Education)
   d. Talking to NGOs
   e. Giving information to the media
   f. Other: _____

4. How difficult was it to speak out and express your concerns?

Very difficult	Difficult	Neutral	Only a little difficult	Not difficult at all

5. Please indicate your agreement to this statement: "My voice influenced the school's policy and practices."

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

6. Who is the most influential person related to decisions about your children's education?
    a. Your children
    b. Spouse
    c. Other family or relatives
    d. Peer parents
    e. Children's teacher
    f. Cram school teacher
    g. Other: _____

7. What do you think is the most influential organization/institution that affects your children's education?
    a. Department of Education
    b. Board of Education
    c. Teachers Union
    d. Parental Organization
    e. Media
    f. Other: _____

8. Have you met anyone from the above-mentioned organizations/institutions to inform them about your concerns about education?
    a. Yes
    b. No

8a. If Yes, what was your issue?
    a. College entrance system
    b. Curriculum
    c. Guidance
    d. School grade system
    e. Other: _____

8b. If No, why?
    a. Don't know how to contact the organization/institution
    b. Distrust with meeting related persons
    c. Fear of hurting children
    d. I prefer someone else to meet them instead of me
    e. Distrust with the effect
    f. I am generally satisfied with how things are going
    g. Other: _____

9. On average, how many times did you visit your children's school per semester?
   ____ Times

10. What do you think is the best way to communicate with teachers?
    a. Meeting them personally
    b. Indirect communication through the person who is closest to them
    c. Telephone
    d. E-mail
    e. Web Board
    f. Other: _____

Quality of education of Korea (11-14)

11. If you were to evaluate Korean high schools, what grade would you give them?

A+	A	B+	B	C+	C	D+	D	F

12. If you were to evaluate the high school your child attended, what grade would you give it?

A+	A	B+	B	C+	C	D+	D	F

13. Which of the following do you think is the best aspect of Korean high school education?
    a. High academic performance
    b. Qualification of teachers
    c. Lower cost of schooling
    d. Other: _____
    e. Nothing

14. What one weakness do you think Korean schools need to improve upon?
    a. Excessive amount of school work
    b. Too many changes to the college entrance policy
    c. Lack of respect of school culture
    d. Excessive expenditures on tutoring
    e. Unsatisfactory school administration
    f. Other: _____

School Transfer

15. Has your children ever transferred schools for a better education?
    a. Yes
    b. No

15a. If Yes, how many times?
    ____ Times

16. Please indicate your agreement to this statement: If my voice is not respected and properly responded to by the school my children attend(s), I intend to transfer to a different school.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

17. Which option do you think is most helpful to your children's schooling?
    a. School transfer
    b. Voice
    c. Don't know
    d. Other: _____

18. Please indicate your agreement to this statement: If students transfer to a different school because it is a low performing school, the school will attempt to increase its quality.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Public Trust

19. The central government and local government hear my concerns about education.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

20. The Department of Education and/or local Office of Education can solve the educational problem I am concerned with.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

21. The efforts of school leaders including principals, associate principals, and teachers can assemble high quality schools which are comparable to those in developed countries.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

22. I believe that my political voice can be realized through an election.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

23. In the past five years, how many times did you participate in an election?
_____ Times among 3

24. In the past year, how many times did you participate in a neighbor meeting?
_____ Times among 12

25. What do you think about "High School Equalization Policy"?

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

School Choice

26. Have you ever moved your residence for your children's education?
Times

27. Have you ever experienced untraditional family (including wild geese family) for your kids' education?
    a. Yes; please explain the circumstances:

    b. No; Please explain the circumstances:

27a. If Yes, how long was your family separated?
____Years ____ Months

28. Please indicate your agreement to this statement: Educational problems will, to some extent, decrease as a result of the expansion of school choice.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

29. Please indicate your agreement to this statement: The number of students going abroad for K-12 education will decrease as a result of the expansion of school choice.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

30. What are the most important criteria in choosing a school? (Select all that apply)
    a. Students' academic performance
    b. Quality of teachers
    c. Homogenous student background
    d. Physical and emotional safety in school
    e. Other: _____

Information and Social Network

31. Who is the person you talk to most about your children's education?
    1. Spouse
    2. School teacher
    3. Cram school teacher (including agency)
    4. Friend
    5. Family or relative
    6. Other parents
    7. Other: _____

32. Who do you trust most with the education or your children?
    a. School teacher
    b. Cram school teacher
    c. Friends
    d. Family or relatives
    e. Other parents
    f. Other: _____

33. Which institution/organization is the main source of information regarding the education of your children?
    a. School
    b. Cram school (including agency)
    c. Media
    d. Internet
    e. Other: _____

34. How many of your family members and relatives do you have who attend/ did attend schools in foreign countries?

-____

35. How many of your children's friends go to schools in foreign countries?

____

36. How many of your friends have sent their children to schools in foreign countries?

____

Study Abroad

37. Have you thought of sending your children to schools in foreign countries?

a. Yes b. No

38. What is the most salient reason to not to send your children to schools in foreign countries?

a. Excellence of Korean schools which is known by international comparison
b. Fear of family separation
c. Costs is too expensive
d. Entering good colleges, both domestic and international, is possible in Korea
e. Other: _____

39. What do you think the most salient reason for other parents to take their children out of school in Korea?

a. Excessive college entrance competiveness
b. Excessive private tutoring expense
c. Distrust on school education
d. Children's intention
e. Other: _____

40. What do you think the most attractive reason of choosing schools in the U.S.?

f. My children will, at least, learn to use English fluently
g. Going to college might be easier than staying in Korea
h. The expectation of a better education in a school in the U.S.
i. The expectation for better recognition to go to a college in the U.S.
j. Other: _____

41. If your children are take private tutoring aside from schooling, what kind of tutoring is?

a. Private tutoring during the school year
b. Group tutoring during the school year
c. Enrollment in cram school during school year
d. Telecommunication provider including internet
e. Other: _____

42. Are you satisfied with your decision not to send your children to schools in foreign countries and to stay in schools in Korea?

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

43. If you would like to send your children for schooling in foreign countries, when do you expect the proper timeline?
a. High school before enrolling college
b. beginning of college
c. Transfer to college
d. Graduate school (master)
e. Graduate school (doctoral)
f. Other: _____

44. What type of school do your children attend?
a. Public
b. Private

45. What gender is your child who attends this school?
a. Boy
b. Girl
c. Both

46. What is the highest degree you expect from your children?
a. 2 year college
b. 4 year college
c. Graduate school (Master's)
d. Doctorate
e. Other: _____

47. How many of your children currently attend school in Korea and in other countries?

	# Male Children	# Female Children	Total # Children
Domestic			
International			

48. What is the order of birth of your child who attends school in foreign country?
____ th among ____ children

Personal Information

49. What is your occupation?

Father: _____

Mother: _____

50. How would you describe your social economic status?

51. What is your highest educational degree?

Father: _____

Mother: _____

52. Has either you or your spouse had the experience of living abroad?

	Living Abroad	Studying Abroad	
Father	Yes No	Yes No	No Experience
Mother	Yes No	Yes No	No Experience

53. What is your residential address?

54. What is the type of residence you reside in?
    a. Low and Medium Rise Condominium
    b. High Rise Condominium
    c. Townhouse
    d. House
    e. Other

55. How much is your household income per month?

56. What was your child's school grade at school?

1-4%	5-11%	12-23%	24-40%	41-60%	61-77%	78-89%	90-96%	97-100%

57. What are your monthly expenses for education?
    Public education: $ _____
    Private education: $ _____
    Total: $

58. Was your child a class leader in Korea?
    a. Yes
    b. No

59. Have you ever participated in PTA leadership in Korea?
    A. Yes
    B. No

60. What is the location of the school your child attends?
    City: _____
    State: _____