

The Effect of Social Capital as ‘Trust’ on the Attitude Determination for the Welfare State : Compared before and after the COVID-19 Pandemic

Doyoung Gim
Sahmyook University

‘신뢰’라는 사회적 자본이 복지국가 태도 결정에 미치는 영향 : 코로나 팬데믹 전과 이후 비교

김도영
삼육대학교

Abstract This study analyzed the impact of social capital, i.e., trust before and after the COVID-19 pandemic, on the attitude decisions of the welfare state using Korea Welfare Panel data. Data from the 13th-14th year of the Korea Welfare Panel and the 16th-17th year were analyzed. The proportion of trust in others decreased through COVID-19, and there was a significant difference in the attitude decisions in the welfare state depending on the demographic background and Socioeconomic status. In addition, before COVID-19, trust in others was a variable with a significant impact on the decision of the welfare state, but its influence disappeared after COVID-19. Based on these research results, the mutual influence relationship between the socioeconomic disaster situation of the COVID-19 pandemic, social capital, and the attitude decision of the welfare state was confirmed, and policy tasks were proposed through these research results.

요약 본 연구는 한국복지패널 자료를 사용하여 코로나 팬데믹 이전과 이후의 신뢰라는 사회적 자본이 복지국가 태도 결정에 미치는 영향을 분석하는데 그 목적이 있다. 분석을 위해 한국복지패널 13-14차년도 자료와 16-17차년도 데이터를 활용하였다. 분석결과, 코로나 팬데믹을 거치며 타인에 대한 신뢰의 비율이 감소되었고, 인구학적 배경과 사회경제적 지위에 따라 복지국가에 태도결정에 유의미한 차이가 존재함을 알 수 있었다. 또한 코로나 이전 타인에 대한 신뢰는 복지국가 태도 결정에 유의미한 영향을 주는 변수였으나 코로나 이후 그 영향력이 사라졌음을 확인할 수 있었다. 이러한 연구결과를 바탕으로 코로나 팬데믹이라는 사회경제적 재난상황과 사회적 자본 그리고 복지국가 태도결정의 상호적 영향관계를 확인하고 이러한 연구결과를 통해 정책적 과제를 제언하였다.

Keywords : Trust, Social Capital, Welfare State, COVID-19 Pandemic, Korea Welfare Panel

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*Corresponding Author : Doyoung Gim(Sahmyook University)

email: gimdoy@gmail.com

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1. Introduction

This study aims to analyze how social capital in determining and implementing realistic welfare policies such as resolving polarization caused by the COVID-19 pandemic and expanding welfare in an aging population is related to the decision of attitude toward the welfare state. Specifically, various elements of social capital include trust, network, and communication, and the purpose is to analyze the relationship between the social capital of trust and the attitude of members of the society toward the welfare state, focusing on 'Trust', which is the most important element, and to compare whether there is a difference between the survey data from 2018-2019 before the COVID-19 pandemic and the survey data from 2021-2022 at the time of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Korea's population is rapidly aging, and the biggest problem we can face in Korea, which is aging at the fastest pace in the world, is that we have less time to prepare for retirement than in different countries. The traditional family-centered elderly care system has rapidly collapsed and the elderly who have not yet been prepared need someone's help because they are not capable of maintaining their own lives, but the social system to take care of such elderly people is still insufficient. The most fatal risk when entering old age without such preparation is an economic risk, and Korea has rarely escaped the stigma of being the No. 1 elderly poverty rate among OECD countries. As such, as a problem facing us, the question of how far the responsibility of the state and society in solving the problem of elderly poverty in a super-aged society has become an inevitable reality.

Social democratic welfare states, a representative type of Western welfare states, have a high-burden-high welfare system in which the state solves social security based on large tax revenues and high social solidarity. To maintain

fiscal soundness while providing sustainable universal welfare services to all citizens, a certain level of economic growth rate must be premised. At this time, the fact that countries with higher 'social capital' such as trust have higher economic growth rates has been proven by empirical research results. The World Bank published a study showing that trust increases economic growth, and presented a specific figure that a 10% increase in social trust would increase the economic growth rate by 0.8%[1]. In addition, cooperation based on the trust of each member of society can be expected to benefit the community as a whole and allow individuals to gain many benefits through exchanges with neighbors, cooperation, and a sense of social solidarity.

In Korea, more than 50% of the elderly population has faced an unprepared retirement due to the atmosphere that has valued individual responsibility in preparing for retirement and the family-centered elderly care system in solving the elderly problem. The welfare budget deficit will continue to accumulate and worsen as life extension and aging increase the support cost of the elderly population along with the limitations of the current public national pension, and the fundamental solution for sustainable welfare policies has become a task that cannot be delayed any longer.

In addition, research that analyzed how disconnection and social isolation from neighbors due to the COVID-19 pandemic, over the past few years affect trust in others and attitudes toward the welfare state in our society must be dealt with when discussing national welfare expansion and financial burden. In this reality, it is an essential study to closely examine the attitude of the welfare state of our people, which is an important beneficiaries of the welfare state and the subject of financial burden, and to discuss whether the "trust" factor of unknown people has a positive effect on the consent of policies to strengthen the welfare

state. This is because sustainable welfare policies that go beyond the financial burden require the attributes and characteristics of pro-social capital, which is "a spirit of reciprocity to serve others and the community with the expectation that they will someday be rewarded when they need it." Discussions on inequality to protect the people's most basic human rights, which our society cannot give up under any circumstances, and strengthening the role of the welfare state in an aging society can be expected to provide important clues to social integration and policy change.

2. Background

2.1 Social Capital as 'Trust'

Various studies have been conducted at home and abroad regarding the meaning and role of social capital. Among them, Fukuyama[2] who emphasized 'Trust' in social capital research said that social capital is a set of informal values or norms that enable cooperation among members in a group and is a member's ability to work together for the common goals of the organization. Furthermore, Fukuyama[2] stated that since trust is an essential factor in determining economic performance, a country's welfare or economic ability is determined by the level of trust inherent in society. Coleman[3] defines trust relationships and reciprocity norms, and Putnam[4] defines networks, norms, and social trust as components of social capital. The OECD[5] defines social capital as a network, norms, values, and understanding that promote cooperation within or between groups.

As such, the concept of social capital has some common specifications, and some are summarized as follows. First, social capital is accumulated through human activities. Second, it affects all official and informal activities and values of individuals and society, forms norms,

trust, and networks of society, fourthly affects the development and regression of society, and fifthly, it can be changed and accumulated as society changes[6]. In addition, an important feature of social capital is that social capital can increase economic-political efficiency by enabling coordination and cooperation for the mutual benefit of social members[7]. However, the specific components and definitions of social capital, including these characteristics, are presented in various ways for each scholar, because various sub-factors make up social capital, and the method of measuring social capital accordingly is inevitable[6]. As mentioned above, scholars may have various opinions on the components of social capital, but many scholars commonly identify it as a component of social capital as a characteristic of social organizations such as trust, networks, and norms, this study also aims to construct social capital, including focusing on "trust," the most common factor recognized by most scholars.

2.2 Attitudes toward the Welfare State

The categories of welfare attitudes covered by previous domestic and foreign studies on welfare attitudes are very diverse, ranging from micro areas such as support for individual welfare services to macro areas such as national responsibility for resolving inequality such as income gaps and burden on welfare finances[8]. Among the representative domestic precedent studies on welfare attitudes, Lee & Lee[9], considering the basic value orientation of social welfare, focused on growth and distribution, attitudes toward the state's responsibility for narrowing the income gap, and tax increases to expand welfare and Selectivism & Universalism were set as categories constituting welfare attitude. However, Korea's welfare policy and welfare system have been unilaterally determined by the state rather than developed through public perception and political action[8]. As can

be seen from the historical context of social security, the growth of Korea's welfare system was also triggered by a change in people's perception of the need for welfare and welfare systems due to deepening social poverty and polarization after the severe foreign exchange crisis of IMF bailout. Even after the foreign exchange crisis, discussions on welfare between conservatives and progressives have continued, and policies related to welfare have emerged as a key pledge of the political world in all elections so far. In addition, throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, the importance of government roles and the expansion of welfare policies have been emphasized in most countries around the world.

Due to the complexity of the welfare state, there may be diversity in welfare attitudes, but existing research tends to focus on three main dimensions, the first dimension is an individual's perception of the government's social welfare responsibility, which can be said to be the content of the government's role and responsibility related to redistribution. The second dimension is the individual's attitude toward the specific establishment of the welfare state. Even if they agree to the government's responsibility for social welfare, it is related to the burden of costs for the maintenance and expansion of the welfare state and the selection of welfare benefits. Finally, individual society can be said that it is an individual's attitude toward policy[10]. In addition, as determinants of welfare attitude, an individual's demographic and socioeconomic characteristics in a society are considered to be the main factors that determine an individual's welfare attitude[10]. Referring to the preceding studies as described above, this study aims to set measurement variables for attitude decisions for the welfare state and analyze the relationship between social capital and socioeconomic characteristics and attitude decisions for the welfare state.

2.3 Relationship between Social Capital and Attitudes toward the Welfare State

Looking at the database estimate of the proportion of social welfare expenditures to GDP in OECD member countries as of 2022, Korea ranks 34th among 38 OECD member countries with 14.8% of social welfare expenditures to GDP, less than the OECD average of 21.1%[11]. Japan, a neighboring country that entered a super-aged society earlier than Korea, ranked 24.9% and 9th, indicating that Korea has a very low proportion of social welfare expenditure to GDP compared to other aging countries. In addition, Korea has one of the lowest total tax burden rates, including social security taxes, among OECD member countries, and Korea's total tax burden rate is around 25%, which is lower than the average of 34% in OECD member countries. In reality, to expand our welfare, the tax burden rate should be increased, but it can be seen that it is politically difficult to increase tax revenue due to high tax resistance among the general public[12]. In many ways, the need for welfare expansion and tax increases is raised in Korea, but In fact, it was found that the general public who pay taxes has a somewhat negative attitude toward increasing welfare due to the discrepancy between taxpayers and welfare recipients[13]. However, a study by Lee[14] found that the level of social trust had a positive effect on the willingness to bear additional taxes to expand welfare policies, and emphasized that the level of social trust should be increased to increase taxes, A study by Kwak[15] argues that the welfare state and social capital are in a positive-sum strategy relationship and that the welfare state increases social capital, that is social trust, and social trust affects the formation of a welfare state. In addition, it was found that the higher the interpersonal trust or government trust, the more positive the tax increase for welfare[16]. As such, it can be seen that trust

among the general public and the expansion of a country's welfare form a very important causal relationship.

In particular, individuals' evaluation and trust in tax fairness and welfare policy efficiency for welfare expansion are important decisions for individual welfare expansion and attitudes toward tax increases. Even low-income people who have no resistance to welfare expansion and tax increases and citizens with progressive ideologies tax opacity and inefficient welfare policies of the government are bound to negatively affect welfare expansion and tax increases[16]. Since the government is the main agent of welfare policy, high public trust in the government and a positive evaluation of government policies will also affect attitudes toward tax increases for welfare[16]. In this sense, trust in the government of members of a society and mutual trust among members of society are basic prerequisites for maintaining such a welfare state. In particular, social capital today is an important resource that can induce cooperation, compromise, and coordination in each sector of society, and as a prerequisite for national integration, it acts as a factor that can improve various trusts and increase the effectiveness of the government. It can be seen that trust in the government or perception of government capabilities are also likely to affect attitudes toward tax increases[17]. Therefore, the decline in social capital causes people to distrust the government and government policies, and distrust can appear as non-compliance with policies[18].

However, looking at our welfare system, it can be seen that Korea's welfare system, which started with residual welfare, has a relatively good welfare system in terms of appearance, but is still far behind compared to Western welfare states in terms of its content. Specifically, various causes of backwardness can be found in terms of the inclusiveness, universality, and generosity of the welfare system, of which Korea's nepotism

can be cited as a representative cause. European welfare states with advanced welfare systems tend to value rational relationships rather than relationships based on ties as traditional common social and social relations weaken as they become industrial societies[11]. On the other hand, in Korea, various connections such as school ties, regional ties, and blood ties still have a great influence on determining people's thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors, and as a result, strong nepotism is a factor that makes it difficult for the state to expand welfare. Since strong connectedness is only interested in improving welfare among people with ties, the development of various informal welfare systems is pursued in organizations with ties, and the interest and need for welfare improvement of the general public by the state are inevitably small.

3. Research Method

3.1 Research Question

This study examines whether there have been changes in other people's trust, and Attitude toward the welfare state before and after the COVID-19 pandemic, and the relationship between social capital and attitude toward the welfare state. It is also intended to analyze whether social capital and socioeconomic status affect the decision of attitude toward the welfare state. For this research purpose, the following research questions were set up.

[Research Question 1] Is there a difference in social capital formation before and after the COVID-19 pandemic(trust in others)?

[Research Question 2] Is there a difference in social capital formation(trust in others) depending on socioeconomic status?

[Research Question 3] Does the social capital of 'Trust' affect the decision of attitude toward the welfare state?

3.2 Research Data

The data to be used for analysis in this study is the "Korea Welfare Panel Survey" jointly organized by the Korea Institute of Health and Social Affairs and the Seoul National University Social Welfare Research Institute. The first survey of the Korea Welfare Panel Survey began in 2006, and, the size of the household panel survey is large, with a total of 7,865 households at the time of the completion of the 17th survey. In addition, it is a panel survey data that collects related information on these households and household members through an annual follow-up survey of samples nationwide to understand the living conditions of Korean social members. The Korea Welfare Panel Survey data is not only nationwide data, but also contains characteristic information of the household and household members related to welfare attitudes, so it is evaluated as one of the most useful data in analyzing the welfare attitudes of Koreans and is widely used in the welfare state and welfare attitude studies.

The independent variable required for the analysis of this study is the result of a survey measuring the social capital of 'Trust' in the Korea Welfare Panel Survey. The Korea Welfare Panel Survey investigates household members every three years corresponding to question '1 of "Awareness of the Social Environment'. 'In general, do you consider most people trustworthy?' is a variable. The attitude variable for the welfare state, which is a dependent variable, is additional survey data on welfare awareness, which is also survey data every three years. Therefore, in this study, the 13th household member data(2018), 14th Household Member Data and Welfare Awareness Additional Data(2019) and 16th Household Member Data(2021), and 17th Household Member Data and Welfare Awareness Additional Data(2022) was used as the analysis data. In addition, to conduct this study, the longitudinal survey data of the 13th and 14th surveys were

merged, and the 16th and 17th surveys were merged. 1,830 people who responded to the 13th and 14th surveys and 2,748 people who responded to the 16th and 17th surveys measured in this study were put into the analysis.

3.3 Research Tools

3.3.1 Attitude toward the Welfare State

Three questions related to attitudes toward the welfare state were selected among the questions in the welfare awareness additional survey surveyed by the welfare panel, a dependent variable set in this study. The data was re-coded as follows for binary logistic regression analysis.

No. 1, is the attitude toward selectiveism and universalism in welfare provision, 'Welfare needs to be limitedly provided to the poor, not the whole people', and No. 2, is the attitude toward Responsibility for Caring for Parents 'Parental support is the sole responsibility of the descendant'. and No. 3, The attitude towards the tax increase for social welfare expansion is the question 'more taxes must be collected to expand social welfare', is the opinion on each question About ① 'strongly agree' ~ ⑤ 'strongly disagree' in this analysis. But to increase the explanatory power of the regression analysis, all answers other than 'agree' were grouped into 'disagree', classified as [agree = 0, disagree = 1], and each was treated as a dummy and analyzed. In addition, the responses to question 3 were reverse-coded and put into the analysis.

3.3.2 'Trust' as Social Capital Variable

The independent variable set in this study is a variable for social capital called trust, which can be defined as social capital between the general public in the Korean Welfare Panel used in this study. Raw data were used in the comparison of the response results before and after COVID-19, and the data was re-coded as follows for comparison

and regression analysis between groups.

As the first variable, the question of the analysis data that can be measured by "Trust in others" in the Korea Welfare Panel is "1 = Most people are reliable, 2 = You have to be very careful, 3 = I'm not sure".

In addition, for regression analysis, trust in others was classified as trusting others only when the answer as 'Most people are reliable', and classified as '0=Not trust, 1=Trust', and analyzed as a dummy. variable.

3.3.3 Demographic Background and Socioeconomic Status Variables

For demographic background gender and age were selected as measurement variables for socioeconomic status, income class, education level, and employment status variables. Gender was composed of dummy variables in which women became the reference group by assigning a value of 0 to women and a value of 1 to men, respectively. Age was reorganized by generation to give values of 20s = 1, 30s = 2, 40s = 3, 50s = 4, 60s = 5, and over 70s = 5, and the actual age was used as a variable in regression analysis. Next, for the income class, a value of 0 was given to low-income households with less than 60% of the median equalized income surveyed by the welfare panel, and a value of 1 to ordinary households with more than 60% of the median equalized.

In addition, the income class was composed of dummy variables in which low-income households became the reference group by assigning a value of 0 to low-income households. The education level consisted of 1 value for the high school graduates group, 2 value for the University graduate group, and 3 values for the Graduate school master's degree or higher group, education level was composed of dummy variables in which middle school or lower group became the reference group by assigning a value of 0 to middle school or lower group. The

employment status was analyzed by coding 1 value for temporary and daily wage workers, 2 for employers and self-employed workers, and 3 for regular wage workers. Employment status was composed of dummy variables which became the reference group by assigning a value of 0 to the Uneconomical activity Unemployment, etc., the unemployed, self-support, and public work groups. As described above, the main variables used in this study are summarized and summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Dependent Variables and Independent Variable

Variable	Definition	Measured value
[Dependent variable] Attitude toward the welfare state	1. Opinion that welfare should be provided to the poor on a limited basis: Selection of welfare targets	0= Agree 1= Disagree
	2. Opinion on whether the responsibility of supporting parents is entirely on the descendant : Responsibility for Caring for Parents	0= Agree 1= Disagree
	3. Position on tax increase for social welfare expansion: Welfare expansion tax increase *reverse coding	0= Agree 1= Disagree
[Independent variable] Social Capital	1. Opinion on whether most people can be trusted: Trust in others *reverse coding	0= Not trust 1= Trust

3.3.4 Analysis Method

The following analysis methods were used to analyze the research problems set in this study. Initially, a cross-analysis (χ^2) was conducted to analyze the differences between groups in social capital formation according to demographic background and socioeconomic status. In addition, a binary logistic regression analysis was conducted to analyze the impact of social capital such as socioeconomic status and trust on attitude decisions toward the welfare state, and the SPSS program was used for this analysis.

4. Research Results

4.1 General Characteristics of Study Subjects

Table 2 is a table summarizing descriptive statistics on the general characteristics of the study subjects.

Among the general characteristics of the study, low-income households accounted for 17.6% of the 13th-14th survey before the COVID-19 pandemic, but 25.5% of the 16th-17th survey showed an increase in the proportion of low-income households after COVID-19. In addition, in terms of employment status, non-economic activities increased from 35.7% before COVID-19 to 42.6% after COVID-19, while the number of stable regular wage workers decreased from 30.3% to 22.7%, which could be expected to face economic difficulties in our society after COVID-19.

Table 2. General Characteristics of Study Subjects

Variable		Before the COVID-19 Pandemic	After the COVID-19 Pandemic
Gender	Female	1,037(56.7%)	1,625(59.1%)
	Male	793(43.3)	1,123(40.9%)
Age	20-29	114(6.2%)	199(7.2%)
	30-39	286(15.6)	220(8.0%)
	40-49	457(25.0%)	543(19.8%)
	50-59	459(25.1%)	571(20.8%)
	60-69	323(17.7%)	594(21.6%)
	70 +	191(10.4%)	621(22.6%)
Income class	Low-income Households	322(17.6%)	700(25.5%)
	General Households	1,508(82.4%)	2,048(74.5%)
Education Level	Middle school graduates or lower	458(25.0)	944(34.4%)
	High school graduates	944(51.3)	1,265(46.0%)
	University graduates	371(20.3%)	471(17.1%)
	Graduate school master's degree or higher	57(3.1%)	68(2.5%)
Employment status	Uneconomical activity, Unemployment, etc.	654(35.7%)	1,171(42.6%)
	Temporary employment	376(20.5%)	572(20.8%)
	Employer self-employed	246(13.4%)	380(13.8%)
	Regular employment	554(30.3%)	625(22.7%)

4.2 Comparison of 'Trust' before and after the COVID-19 Pandemic

Table 3 is a table comparing whether there is a difference in the results of measuring 'Trust' before and after the COVID-19 pandemic.

Before COVID-19, 54.3% said most people were reliable, 39.2% said they should be very careful, 51.6% said most people were reliable after COVID-19, and 44.1% said they should be very careful.

Table 3. Comparison of 'Trust' before and after the COVID-19 Pandemic

Variable		Before the COVID-19 Pandemic	After the COVID-19 Pandemic
Trust	Most people are reliable	994(54.3%)	1,418(51.6%)
	You have to be very careful	718(39.2%)	1,212(44.1%)
	I'm not sure	118(6.4%)	118(4.3%)

After COVID-19 it can be seen that the rate of trust in others decreased and the rate of distrust increased. It can be seen that the lack of communication with networks cut off during the COVID-19 pandemic affected the formation of solidarity in our society. In other words, it was confirmed that the formation of basic trust in others I am not familiar with requires the cooperation and reciprocity of members.

4.3 Analysis of differences between groups on Social Capital as 'Trust'

Differences between groups on social capital as 'Trust' according to demographic background and socioeconomic status were analyzed. As a result of the analysis, there were differences between groups in trust in others, and the results of the analysis of differences between groups in trust in others are shown in Table 4.

Looking at the results of cross-analysis (χ^2) to analyze differences between groups in trust in others, the 13th-14th data in 2018-2019 showed

differences between groups only in income class and education level variables, and the 16th-17th data in 2021-2022 showed differences between groups except for gender.

First of all, in the 2022 data, 58.5% of people in their 50s believed in others, while 45.3% in their 20s and 45.0% in their 30s were the lowest. The results of this analysis in their 20s and 30s can be predicted by various social problems such as job shortages experienced by young people these days and overheated competition. The analysis of age shows that the rate of trust in others decreased in all ages compared to before the COVID-19 pandemic, but especially in their 60s, it is more likely that networks and exchanges with others were cut off due to COVID-19 compared to other ages continuing school and economic activities.

There was a significant difference in trust in others according to income class, and both

before and after COVID-19, low-income households showed a higher rate of not trusting others, indicating that after COVID-19, the rate of not trusting increased further. General households had a higher rate of trust in others both before and after COVID-19, but the rate of trust decreased after COVID-19.

There was also a significant difference in education level, and before the COVID-19 pandemic, it was found that the higher the education level, the higher the trust rate in others, which was 73.7% for graduate school master's degree or higher. But, it was analyzed that after COVID-19, the pattern of change was clearly shown in graduate school master's degree or higher, which decreased to 57.4%.

In terms of employment status, there was a significant difference only in 2021-2022 data, indicating that regular wage workers with the most stable income after COVID-19 had the

Table 4. Analysis of differences in Trust in others between groups

Variable		Before the COVID-19 Pandemic			After the COVID-19 Pandemic		
		Not trust	Trust	χ^2	Not trust	Trust	χ^2
Gender	Female	467(45.0%)	570(55.0%)	.407	802(49.4%)	823(50.6%)	1.452
	Male	369(46.5%)	424(53.5%)		528(47.0%)	595(53.0%)	
Age	20-29	60(52.6%)	54(47.4%)	10.857	109(54.8%)	90(45.2%)	20.712**
	30-39	147(51.4%)	139(48.6%)		121(55.0%)	99(45.0%)	
	40-49	201(44.0%)	256(56.0%)		255(47.0%)	288(53.0%)	
	50-59	188(41.0%)	271(59.0%)		237(41.5%)	334(58.5%)	
	60-69	151(46.7%)	172(53.3%)		306(51.5%)	288(48.5%)	
	70 +	89(46.6%)	102(53.4%)		302(48.6%)	319(51.4%)	
Income class	Low-income Households	174(54.0%)	148(46.0%)	10.991**	394(56.3%)	306(43.7%)	23.394***
	General Households	662(43.9%)	846(56.1%)		936(45.7%)	1,112(54.3%)	
Education Level	Middle school graduates or lower	230(50.2%)	228(49.8%)	14.788**	500(53.0%)	444(47.0%)	21.040***
	High school graduates	436(46.2%)	508(53.8%)		611(48.3%)	654(51.7%)	
	University graduates	155(41.8%)	216(58.2%)		190(40.3%)	281(59.7%)	
	Graduate school master's degree or higher	15(26.3%)	42(73.7%)		29(42.6%)	39(57.4%)	
Employment status	Uneconomical activity. Unemployment, etc.	315(48.2%)	339(51.8%)	4.587	613(52.3%)	558(47.7%)	18.466***
	Temporary employment	178(47.3%)	198(52.7%)		268(46.9%)	304(53.1%)	
	Employer · self-employed	105(42.7%)	141(57.3%)		187(49.2%)	193(50.8%)	
	Regular employment	238(43.0%)	316(57.0%)		262(41.9%)	363(58.1%)	

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

highest rate of trust in others, and the rate of trust increased compared to before COVID-19. However, in the case of the self-employed, who had relatively great difficulties during the COVID-19 period, the rate of trusting others was 57.3% before the COVID-19, but it decreased significantly to 50.8% after experiencing COVID-19.

The above analysis shows that socioeconomic status is a factor that affects trust in others, and it can be seen that economic stability and social status have a positive effect on trust in others.

Summarizing the above analysis results, it can be seen that the formation of social capital as 'Trust' that trusts others in our society differs depending on individual socioeconomic factors.

4.4 Analysis of the Impact of Social Capital as 'Trust' on the Attitude Decision of the Welfare State

Table 5 shows the results of the binary logistic analysis conducted to examine the determinants of attitudes toward the welfare state.

According to the analysis results using data from 2018- 2019, social capital as "trust" was a variable that affected the selection of welfare targets and the Responsibility for Caring for Parents, but it did not affect tax increases to expand welfare. On the other hand, in 2021-2022, the variable "trust" did not affect the welfare state's attitude decision, confirming the difference between before and after the COVID-19 pandemic.

First of all, in the 2018-2019 data, variables that statistically significantly affect the "Selection of welfare targets" were "trust" and age, high school graduates, and university graduates.

The trust of others and the attitude toward selecting welfare targets show a positive (+) relationship, that is, the more trust others the more universalism in selecting welfare targets, and the more universalism in high school and university graduates than in middle school or lower groups. On the other hand, age has a

negative (-) relationship with the attitude toward the selection of welfare targets, and the older the age the more selectivism. These results can be interpreted as reflecting the fact that if the welfare target is expanded due to the implementation of universal welfare, high school graduates and university graduates, not the main recipients of existing welfare benefits, are likely to be beneficiaries. Considering that the main beneficiaries of universal welfare are the middle class, the higher the education level and household income, the higher the likelihood of supporting universal welfare, is the result of a reasonable choice[10]. Trust, gender, age, and high school graduates and university graduates were analyzed as influencing factors in the "attitude toward the Responsibility for caring for Parents" among the attitude determinants of the welfare state.

The trust of others and the attitude toward the responsibility of Responsibility for Caring for Parents show a positive (+) relationship, and the more you trust others, the less you think the responsibility for parental support lies with the child. On the other hand, men are more strongly aware of their child's responsibility for parental support than women, the influence of our family culture based on conservative Confucian culture and paternalistic affects men more than women. so it can be judged that men are more strongly aware of the responsibility that children have to support their parents. In addition, as the age increases, it can be seen that the high school graduate group and the university graduates group think that the responsibility for parental support is not entirely on the child than the middle school or lower group. Among the variables that determine the attitude of the welfare state, gender, high school graduates, university graduates, and graduate school master's degree or higher groups were found to have a significant impact on "Attitude toward tax increases to expand welfare". Men are more in favor of tax increases for welfare expansion than

women, which can be seen as consistent with studies showing that women are generally more conservative in tax increases for welfare expansion than men[10].

At the educational level, compared to the middle school graduation group, high school graduates, university graduates, and graduate school master's or higher groups approve of the tax increase to expand welfare, in particular, the group with graduate school master's or higher was found to be 3.212 times more likely to approve of the increase in taxes to expand welfare than the group with a junior high school or lower.

Analysis results using data from 2021-2022 showed that the social capital variable "trust" did not affect attitude decisions toward the welfare state, indicating changes in influencing factors compared to before the COVID-19 pandemic.

Age had a negative (-) relationship with attitude toward the selection of welfare targets,

just like before the COVID-19 pandemic, and the older the age, the more selectivism the tendency was. Income class variables, which did not statistically affect before the COVID-19 pandemic, became a new influencing factor, and it was found that general households wanted universalism in the selection of welfare targets rather than low-income households. As the results of 2018-2019 show, if the welfare benefit class expands due to the universalism of welfare targets, the possibility of welfare benefits for general households increases, for the same reason, low-income households are more likely to prefer intensive support for low-income households which are existing welfare recipients than expanding welfare targets. In terms of education level, there was a significant effect in all groups. The universalism tendency was stronger in the group with a high school graduate, university graduate, and graduate

Table 5. Analysis of Determinants of Attitudes toward the Welfare State

Variable	Before the COVID-19 Pandemic (2018-2019)						After the COVID-19 Pandemic (2021-2022)					
	Selection of welfare targets		Responsibility for Caring for Parents		Welfare expansion tax increase		Selection of welfare targets		Responsibility for Caring for Parents		Welfare expansion tax increase	
	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Trust in others(Not=0)	.251	1.285*	.202	1.224*	-.029	.972	.065	1.067	-.014	.986	.135	1.145
Gender(Female=0)	.003	1.003	-.508	.602***	.252	1.287*	-.095	.910	-.496	.609***	.302	1.352**
Age	-.011	.989*	.013	1.013**	.004	1.004	-.011	.989**	.008	1.008*	.005	1.005
Income class(Low-income=0)	-.157	.855	-.006	.994	-.037	.963	.236	1.266*	-.059	.943	-.145	.865
Education Level (Middle school graduates or lower=0)												
High school graduates	.396	1.486**	.411	1.508**	.370	1.448*	.391	1.478**	-.003	.997	.041	1.042
University graduates	.408	1.504*	.335	1.398	.580	1.785**	.482	1.620**	.193	1.213	.350	1.419*
Graduate degree or higher	.501	1.651	.737	2.089*	1.167	3.212***	.769	2.158**	.357	1.429	.192	1.211
Employment status (Unemployment, etc.=0)												
Temporary employment	.045	1.046	.000	1.000	.050	1.051	.015	1.015	.072	1.075	.144	1.154
Employer · self-employed	-.142	.868	-.234	.791	-.092	.912	.011	1.012	-.015	.985	.084	1.088
Regular employment	.143	1.154	.073	1.076	.036	1.036	.258	1.294*	.292	1.340*	.115	1.122
χ^2 Model	53.750***		46.113***		31.970**		140.339***		48.669***		36.702***	
-2LL	2419.631		2452.004		2161.612		3511.076		3760.815		3299.328	
Cox & Snell R ²	.029		.025		.017		.050		.018		.013	
R ² Nagelkerke	.039		.033		.025		.068		.023		.019	

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

school master's degree or higher than in the group with a middle school graduate or less, and it was found that regular wage workers preferred universal welfare more than the economically inactive population, showing a tendency towards general welfare attitudes. Only gender, age, and regular workers had a significant impact on the attitude of responsibility for Caring for Parents, and men, like before COVID-19, perceived the responsibility of offspring to support their parents more strongly than women. As the age increases, it can be seen that commercial workers, rather than the economically inactive population, think that their children are not solely responsible for parental support.

Finally, only gender and university graduates were found to be influencing variables in attitudes toward tax increases for welfare expansion. Men were more in favor of tax increase for welfare expansion than women, at the educational level, it was analyzed that the university graduate group was in favor of the tax increase for welfare expansion compared to the middle school graduate group.

5. Conclusion

By analyzing and comparing the 13th(2018) and 14th(2019) combined data and the 16th(2021) and 17th(2022) combined data of the Korea Welfare Panel, this study attempted to identify factors, changes, and patterns that affect the attitude decision of the welfare state. As a result of the study, it was confirmed that the social capital of "trust," a major variable in this study, had a statistically significant impact on the welfare state's attitude decision in 2018-2019 before COVID-19, but the significant influence disappeared in 2021-2022 after COVID-19.

First of all, in the case of 2018-2019, trust in others influenced the selection of welfare recipients and the attitude toward parental

responsibility, it was found that the individual's various positions on welfare, such as gender, age, and level of education, influence the attitude of the welfare state. However, in the same context as in 2019, these results came from various individuals' interests in welfare, and these results influenced the attitude decision of the welfare state. In other words, social isolation and disconnection that occurred to everyone after COVID-19 made it difficult for most members of society and affected not only the age but also the income class, and education level. So, it was found that general households, people with high education levels, and regular wage workers with stable employment status prefer universal welfare that is likely to be included in the welfare support.

Gender, age, education level, and employment status were variables that had a limited effect depending on the independent variable in attitudes toward responsibility for caring for Parents and a tax increase for welfare expansion, and men were more in favor of a tax increase for welfare expansion in both 2018-2019 and 2021-2022. These results are considered to be related to the welfare status of relatively unstable women, and women are more critical of tax increases due to their relatively unfavorable tendency in terms of employment safety and wage level than men[10].

Taking the results of this study together, it can be seen that the socioeconomic situation, social capital, and attitudes toward the welfare state are all in a mutually influential relationship, and trust in others in socioeconomic disaster situations such as the COVID-19 pandemic will decrease.

We can also confirm the relationship of mutual influence in determining attitudes toward social capital and the welfare state. As can be seen in the Nordic welfare state, citizens of the welfare state have high trust in others and high trust in the government. In other words, the higher the trust, the higher the probability of being a

welfare state, and the welfare state creates a society with high trust. In the preceding study, the relationship between the welfare state and the positive-sum strategy of social capital explains[15]. Also, as can be seen from an existing study[19] that explains the relationship between the social capital of 'Trust' and the development of the welfare state, in a society with high trust, citizens behave more honestly because they believe that others are trustworthy, it means faithfully fulfilling your civic duty. In addition, this means that the expectation of goodwill from other members leads to a sense of duty to be considerate of others, and members of a society with high trust in a virtuous circle respond favorably to the expansion of the scope of social expenditure and the expansion of the tax burden[20]. This is the relationship between social capital and the welfare state.

Through the past three years of the COVID-19 pandemic, polarization and socioeconomic inequality have intensified in our society, and the bigger problem is that the Post-COVID economic recovery is characterized by a K-shaped recovery. The K-shaped recovery, in which the rich and the poor show a polarized recovery, is that highly educated and high-income workers quickly recover to pre-COVID-19 levels, while the deteriorating conditions of low-educated and low-income workers have further deepened polarization, causing society to fall into further chaos and cracks. Since this polarization and inequality increase the level of social conflict and hinder cooperation, the vicious cycle of distrusting others can be repeated. If this phenomenon continues, even though the role and welfare of the state are desperately needed, it will not be able to obtain the consent and support of the people and expect a proper role of the state in the problem of financial burden. Now, our society can't help but think about practical ways to restore trust and build a virtuous cycle of positive-sum with the welfare

state. In the process of recovering the polarization of the COVID-19 pandemic and for sustainable welfare policies in the age of aging society, a process of social consensus that goes beyond individual interests is needed, and the prerequisite for this process of social consensus is social capital. This is also the power of social capital, which helps members cooperate based on trust among members of society and is "a spirit of reciprocity to serve others and the community with the expectation that they will someday be rewarded when they need it." The top priority to restore such important trust in our society is to increase trust in the government. This is because the people of the welfare state have as much trust in the government as they have in their neighbors, and a welfare state is possible only with trust and consent in what the government does. To increase the government's trust in the people, the most important prerequisite is to secure transparency and to set fair standards. No government policy, including welfare policy, can succeed without public consent and support based on transparency. Transparency is the basic principle of an open society, and information disclosure is also essential to ensure transparency. The role of citizens in response will need to continue to pay attention to government activities that affect our lives, participate in government activities through a sense of community, and constantly communicate. It can be said that the trust of our society is more important than ever when we face a period of recovery after the COVID-19.

This study conducted a study on the influence of social capital and welfare state attitude decisions before and after COVID-19, and its meaning can be found in that it empirically analyzed the relationship between social capital and welfare state attitude decisions. Nevertheless, in this study, there was a limitation in that it was necessary to consider various variables that can explain the dependent variable in the process of

checking the causal relationship because there was a limit to the setting of variables due to the use of secondary data. Therefore, in future studies, the study will be conducted in a way that overcomes these limitations.

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Doyoung Gim

[Regular member]



- Feb. 2008 : University of Seoul, MS
- Feb. 2013 : University of Seoul, Ph.D.
- Sep. 2022 ~ current : Sahmyook University, Instructor

<Research Interests>

Social Policy, Health Inequality