1	
2	
3	
4	Association between relative income and mental health in adults during the COVID-19
5	pandemic in Korea: Insights from a community health survey
6	
7 8	Short title: Relative Income and Mental Health during COVID-19
9	
10	Min Hui Moon <sup>1,2</sup> , Min Hyeok Choi <sup>1,2*</sup>
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	<sup>1</sup> Department of Preventive and Occupational & Environmental Medicine, Medical College,
16	Pusan National University, Yangsan, Republic of Korea
17	
18	<sup>2</sup> Office of Public Healthcare Service, Pusan National University Yangsan Hospital, Yangsan,
19	Republic of Korea
20	
21	
22	*Corresponding author
23	E-mail: come2mh@gmail.com (MHC)
24	
25	
26	THESE This deprive courts be used to guide clinical practice.

- Conceptualization: Min Hyeok Choi. 27
- Data curation: Min Hui Moon. 28
- Formal analysis: Min Hui Moon. 29
- Investigation: Min Hui Moon, Min Hyeok Choi. 30
- Methodology: Min Hui Moon, Min Hyeok Choi. 31
- Supervision: Min Hyeok Choi. 32
- Validation: Min Hui Moon, Min Hyeok Choi. 33
- Writing original draft: Min Hui Moon, Min Hyeok Choi. 34
- 35

#### Abstract 36

37 People of lower socioeconomic status are much more likely to be vulnerable to COVID-19. This study aimed to compare the associations between mental health according to 38 relative national and community income levels during the COVID-19 pandemic. Mental 39 health inequalities according to income level during the COVID-19 pandemic were assessed 40 using the Korea Community Health Survey before (2019) and after the COVID-19 pandemic 41 42 (2021). Univariate analyses were used to calculate the perceived stress and depression rates according to the risk factor categories. A multivariate logistic regression analysis was 43 performed to identify the association between two types of income levels (Korean or 44 45 community) and perceived stress and depression. In addition, we investigated the effect of relative income levels by subgroup (gender and region) on perceived stress and the experience 46 of depression. During COVID-19, although depression crude rates increased (from 6.24% to 47 48 7.2%), perceived stress crude rates remained similar. In addition, as for mental health inequality according to community income level, even after adjusting for each independent 49 variable, perceived stress [Odds Ratio (OR): 1.31, 95% Confidence Interval (CI):1.31–1.32] 50 and experience of depression (OR: 1.63, 95% CI: 1.62-1.63) increased as the income level 51 2

decreased. The effect of relative income level on perceived stress rate was found to be more pronounced in urban areas than in rural areas in terms of community income levels. Contrarily, the effect of relative income level on the depression rate was found to be weaker. Our findings demonstrated that mental health inequalities based on income level were more likely to occur during the COVID-19 pandemic and that disparities in community income levels may better reflect mental health inequalities.

58

## 59 Introduction

The coronavirus disease (COVID-19) pandemic has significantly impacted mental 60 health worldwide, including stress, anxiety, and depression worldwide [1,2]. According to a 61 2021 OECD report (Hewlett, E. et al.), the prevalence of depression in OECD countries has 62 approximately doubled since the COVID-19 pandemic, with the prevalence being the highest 63 in Korea at 36.8% among OECD countries [3]. During the COVID-19 pandemic, social 64 distancing and containment measures had a direct impact on mental health [4-6]. Several 65 previous studies have reported that large-scale infectious diseases can cause emotional 66 confusion and difficulties such as depression and anxiety [7-12]. Cao et al. [7] and Shevlin et 67 al. [11] explored the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic and social isolation on mental health, 68 and Lee et al. [9] investigated factors related to fear of the COVID-19 infection and its 69 psychological and social impact. Furthermore, studies have shown that social isolation due to 70 COVID-19 and fear and awareness of the infection increases symptoms of depression and 71 anxiety [4]. 72

Mental health related to stress and depression is affected by socioeconomic risk factors such as education level, occupation, and income level. According to Patel et al.'s [13] study on the effect of income level on mental health inequality among representative socioeconomic factors, 33 surveys conducted in 20 countries reported that the lower the

income level, the higher the risk of depression. Hong et al. [14] found that inequality based on 77 income level is more pronounced in mental health than in physical health, doubling the size of 78 inequality over 10 years. Several other studies have consistently shown that people with lower 79 socioeconomic status are more vulnerable to mental health problems [13-18]. Several studies 80 have identified mental health inequality according to income level at the national level. 81 Meanwhile, Song A and Kim W [15] studied income inequality at the national as well as 82 community levels. As income inequality at the community level has a significant impact on 83 social capital and access to healthcare infrastructure, measuring health gaps is more useful 84 than income inequality at the national level [15,16]. 85

The COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated health inequalities among populations with 86 low socioeconomic status. For example, the lower the education level, income level, or 87 unstable employment status, the higher the risk of COVID-19 infection, and the higher the 88 critical severity and mortality rate [19-25]. Hall et al. [19] examined the impact of income 89 inequality on daily life and mental health during the COVID-19 pandemic. The results 90 showed that the low-income population had difficulty purchasing food and daily necessities, 91 and their health status deteriorated because of a lack of time and resources for proper 92 healthcare. Owing to this influence, the low-income group showed unstable mental health 93 94 conditions, such as stress and depression, compared to the high-income group.

Previous studies have confirmed that a) mental health issues, such as stress and depression, deteriorated due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and b) there were differences in mental health according to income level [13-15]. These studies were often limited to income inequality at the national level; few studies have analyzed the relationship between income inequality and mental health at the community level, which can reflect the accessibility of healthcare infrastructure in the region.

101

This study aimed to identify changes in mental health according to income level

102	before (	(2019)	and after	(2021)	) the	COVID-19	pandemic.	In	addition,	it	was	conducted	to
-----	----------	--------	-----------	--------	-------	----------	-----------	----	-----------	----	-----	-----------	----

- 103 provide a policy basis for improving mental health inequality by comparing the patterns of
- 104 health inequality according to income at the national and community levels.
- 105 Therefore, the purpose of this study was to:
- Identify and compare levels of perceived stress and depression according to income
   level during the COVID-19 pandemic.
- 108 2) During the COVID-19 pandemic, we analyzed the relationship between perceived
- stress and the experience of depression on mental health according to the relative
- income levels of the total (Korean income level) and local (community income level)population.
- 3) Investigate the effect of relative income levels by subgroup (gender and region) onperceived stress and experiences of depression.
- 114

## **Materials and methods**

### **Data and study population**

Data were obtained from the Korea Community Health Survey (KCHS). Since 2008, 117 the Community Health Survey (CHS) has been conducted annually by the Korea Centers for 118 Disease Control and Prevention. The CHS is a large-scale survey in which about 220,000 119 people nationwide participate from August to October every year and includes questions on 120 chronic disease screening, health behavior, food intake, and socioeconomic status. Survey 121 data were used as official national indicators such as health level, health behavior, food and 122 nutrition intake, and chronic disease prevalence in Korea (Korea Community Health Survey 123 Guidelines, website: http://chs.kdca.go.kr/). This survey was conducted in the form of a 1:1 124 interview with a surveyor visiting households of adults aged 19 or older residing in 255 cities, 125

counties, and districts in Korea. Research participants were selected through probability proportional sampling and systematic sampling every year. This study selected 449,234 people, excluding those who did not respond, as the final study participants out of 458,341 people who participated in community health surveys in 2019 and 2021.

130

131 Variables

#### **Dependent variables**

133 The dependent variables included perceived stress and depression. Perceived stress and depression are representative indicators of mental health, and stress plays an important 134 role in predicting depression [26-28]. Several studies have demonstrated that exposure to 135 perceived stress and experiences of depression are associated with poor health outcomes and 136 affect socioeconomic imbalance [29-31]. Low socioeconomic status is associated with a high 137 prevalence of stress and depression; mental health in low-income groups is particularly 138 aggravated by persistent poverty and income inequality [32-34]. Perceived stress was assessed 139 using the question, "How stressful do you feel in your daily life?" with response options of 140 "feel very much," "feel a lot," "feel a little bit," and "hardly feel it.". For the analysis, those 141 who responded "I feel it very much" and "I feel it a lot" were classified as those who usually 142 feel stress in my daily life, and those who answered "I feel it a little" and "I hardly feel it" was 143 classified as a person who doesn't. The experience of depression was surveyed using the 144 following question: "Did you feel sadness or despair enough to bother you in your daily life 145 for more than 2 weeks in the last year?" Their answer was recorded as "yes" or "no." In this 146 147 study, a participant was defined as one who answered "yes."

148

#### 149 Independent variables

150

6

The health inequality variable, considered a major factor in this study, was income

level. The income level is an indicator of socioeconomic status that can be used to directly 151 measure the material resources available to individuals. It is a representative indicator of 152 socioeconomic inequality and is widely used because it implies that income inequality affects 153 health outcomes. Income level is closely related to health; the lower the income level, the 154 higher the rate of unhealthy states [35,36]. The income level used in this study was the 155 equalized income calculated by dividing household income by the square root of the 156 household members. The Korean income level reconstructs the average income level of the 157 entire population into the third quintile, and the community income level is set by dividing it 158 into third quintiles based on the average income level of 255 cities, counties, and districts. 159

The general factors associated with perceived stress and experience of depression were 160 included as independent variables after reviewing studies that previously reported mental 161 health risk factors [37-39]. Demographic variables included gender (men or women), age 162 group (19–29, 30–64, or  $\geq$ 65), and area of residence (urban or rural). Social-economic 163 parameters included education level (<middle school, <i shiph school, or college or above), job 164 status (economic activity), marital status (married or not married) 165 and the basic livelihood condition. Health behavior factors included current smoking (yes or 166 no), high-risk drinking (men: drinking seven standard drinks or more over once a week, 167 168 women: drinking five standard drinks or more over once a week), and walking practice (walking activity for  $\geq 30$  min,  $\geq$  five days in the previous week). 169

170

#### 171 Statistical analysis

Perceived stress and depression rates were calculated by performing univariate analysis according to the dependent variables. Statistically significant differences in perceived stress and experiences of depression were verified by performing the Rao-Scott chi-square test. The association between two types of income levels (Korean and community income levels) and mental health (perceived stress and experience of depression) was analyzed by
performing a complex-sample multivariate logistic regression analysis to adjust for other
variables. Subgroup analysis was performed based on two types of income levels (Korean and
community income levels), gender, and area of residence. Statistical significance was set at a
p-value of <0.05. All statistical analyses were performed using SAS 9.4 (SAS Institute, Cary,</li>
NC, USA).

182

#### **183** Ethical considerations

This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board of Pusan National University Hospital (IRB No. 04-2022-030). All the participants provided written informed consent for the KCHS. The survey was conducted after sufficiently explaining to the participants that the results would be used for statistical purposes only and that confidentiality was guaranteed. The need for informed consent was waived by the IRB because the data were analyzed anonymously.

190

## 191 **Results**

Table 1 shows the general characteristics of the study population. The total number of 192 participants was 449,234, and the number of weighted analysis participants was 84,491,967 193 (41.590.294 in 2019 and 42.901.673 in 2021). The proportions of men and women were 194 similar (49.66% in 2019 and 49.62% in 2021), and those aged 30-64 years were the most 195 common subgroup population (63.73% in 2019 and 62.75% in 2021). Regarding population 196 distribution by Korean income levels, Q1 (high) had the highest, followed by Q2 and Q3. The 197 same was found for community income levels. The perceived stress rates were 24.78% in 198 2019 and 2021. The experience of depression rates are 6.25% and 7.2% in 2019 and 2021, 199

#### 200 respectively.

201

#### 202 Table 1. General characteristics of the study population.

			2019			2021	
		N	Weight N	Weight %	Ν	Weight N	Weight %
Total		223,288	41,590,294	100.00	225,946	42,901,673	100.00
	Men	100,076	20,653,435	49.66	103,022	21,287,731	49.62
Gender	Women	123,212	20,936,859	50.34	122,924	21,613,942	50.38
	19–29	22,727	7,169,375	17.24	24,313	7,128,368	16.62
Age group	30-64	127,860	26,506,490	63.73	128,100	26,921,724	62.75
	≥65	72,701	7,914,429	19.03	73,533	8,851,581	20.63
Area	Urban	124,739	33,750,880	81.15	127,315	34,870,498	81.28
of residence	Rural	98,549	7,839,414	18.85	98,631	8,031,175	18.72
	Middle school	79,077	8,303,254	19.96	72,123	7,962,562	18.56
Education	High school	63,962	12,329,258	29.64	65,490	12,488,195	29.11
	College and above	80,249	20,957,782	50.39	88,333	22,450,916	52.33
Job status	Economically active	138,739	26,473,047	63.65	141,544	27,324,490	63.69
	Non-active	84,549	15,117,247	36.35	84,402	15,577,183	36.31
	Married	148,579	26,627,752	64.02	142,120	26,190,336	61.05
	Not married	74,709	14,962,542	35.98	83,826	16,711,337	38.95
TZ	Q1 (high)	75,415	18,462,860	44.39	80,798	19,667,569	45.84
Korea income level <sup>a</sup>	Q2 (middle)	74,948	14,451,252	34.75	70,232	13,493,676	31.45
	Q3 (low)	72,925	8,676,182	20.86	74,916	9,740,428	22.70
<b>a</b>	Q1 (high)	76,829	15,797,359	37.98	77,732	16,008,586	37.31
income level <sup>a</sup>	Q2 (middle)	71,527	13,580,193	32.65	72,386	13,889,434	32.38
	Q3 (low)	74,932	12,212,742	29.36	75,828	13,003,653	30.31
Basic livelihood	Yes	8,837	1,312,334	3.16	10,692	1,694,212	3.95
condition	No	214,451	40,277,960	96.84	215,254	41,207,461	96.05
Smoking	Yes	186,250	33,694,788	81.02	189,588	35,342,643	82.38
status	No	37,038	7,895,506	18.98	36,358	7,559,030	17.62
High-risk	Yes	198,249	36,136,004	86.89	205,720	38,690,084	90.18
drinking <sup>b</sup>	No	25,039	5,454,290	13.11	20,226	4,211,589	9.82
	Yes	89,671	18,967,814	45.61	93,778	19,377,491	45.17
	No	133,617	22,622,480	54.39	132,168	23,524,182	54.83
Porceived stress	Yes	49,319	10,305,831	24.78	50,169	10,630,372	24.78
	No	173,969	31,284,463	75.22	175,777	32,271,301	75.22
Experience of	Yes	13,731	2,598,126	6.25	16,129	3,088,224	7.20
depression	No	209,557	38,992,168	93.75	209,817	39,813,449	92.80

<sup>203</sup> <sup>a</sup>Categorized using equivalent income; Q1: high-income level; Q2: middle-income level; Q3:

204 low-income level

<sup>205</sup> <sup>b</sup>Drinking alcohol: men who drank seven standard drinks or more once a week; women who

- 206 drank five standard drinks or more once a week
- <sup>207</sup> °Walking activity  $\geq$  30 minutes,  $\geq$  five days in the last week.
- 208

Table 2 shows perceived stress and experiences of depression according to the factors 209 identified in 2019 and 2021. Perceived stress is significantly higher in women than in men in 210 both 2019 and 2021 (p<0.0001). It was most common in the 30-64 subgroup population, 211 followed by those aged 19–29 and  $\geq$ 65 years. Perceived stress according to the Korean 212 income level was significantly higher as the relative income level increased, and the 213 214 community income level was also confirmed by the same result. The number of people living in urban areas was higher than in rural areas. Economic activity was significantly higher than 215 in the non-economic activity group (p<0.0001). Depression was significantly higher in 216 women than in men in both 2019 and 2021 and occurred most commonly in the  $\geq 65$  years age 217 group. In 2019 and 2021, the experience of depression rates of lowest Korean income group 218 (Q3) is significantly higher. Community income levels showed the same results (p<0.0001). 219

220

# Table 2. Perceived stress and experience of depression according to factors during the COVID-19 pandemic.

		Perceive	Perceived stress					Experience of depression			
		2019		2021	2021		2019				
		Ν	%	Ν	%	Ν	%	Ν	%		
Gender	Men	20,789	20.77	21,384	20.76	4,350	4.35	5,315	5.16		
	Women	28,530	23.16	28,785	23.42	9,381	7.61	10,814	8.80		
	<i>p</i> -value <sup>a</sup>	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001		<.0001			
	19–29	6,164	27.12	6,377	26.23	1,212	5.33	1,479	6.08		
Age group	30–64	31,118	24.34	32,499	25.37	7,385	5.78	8,845	6.90		
	≥65	12,037	16.56	11,293	15.36	5,134	7.06	5,805	7.89		
	<i>p</i> -value	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001		<.0001			

Area of	Urban	29,908	23.98	30,809	24.20	8,002	6.41	9,513	7.47
residence	Rural	19,411	19.70	19,360	19.63	5,729	5.81	6,616	6.71
	<i>p</i> -value	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001		<.0001	
	Middle school	14,977	18.94	12,720	17.64	6,071	7.68	6,431	8.92
Education	High school	14,005	21.90	14,807	22.61	3,859	6.03	4,613	7.04
	College and above	20,337	25.34	22,642	25.63	3,801	4.74	5,085	5.76
	<i>p</i> -value	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001		<.0001	
Job status	Economically active	32,579	23.48	33,707	23.81	6,539	4.71	8,034	5.68
JOD Status	Non-active	16,740	19.80	16,462	19.50	7,192	8.51	8,095	9.59
	<i>p</i> -value	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001		<.0001	
Marital statu	Married	31,855	21.44	30,680	21.59	7,679	5.17	8,507	5.99
Maritai statu	Not married	17,464	23.38	19,489	23.25	6,052	8.1	7,622	9.09
	<i>p</i> -value	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001		<.0001	
	Q1 (high)	17,713	23.49	19,217	23.78	3,328	4.41	4,217	5.22
Korean income level	Q2 (middle)	16,244	21.67	15,456	22.01	4,071	5.43	4,381	6.24
	Q3 (low)	15,362	21.07	15,496	20.68	6,332	8.68	7,531	10.05
	<i>p</i> -value	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001		<.0001	
	Q1 (high)	17,237	22.44	17,670	22.73	3,313	4.31	3,964	5.10
Community income level	Q2 (middle)	15,551	21.74	16,074	22.21	3,786	5.29	4,523	6.25
	Q3 (low)	16,531	22.06	16,425	21.66	6,632	8.85	7,642	10.08
	<i>p</i> -value	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001		<.0001	
<b>Basic</b> livelihood	Yes	2,761	31.24	3,132	29.29	1,443	16.33	1,930	18.05
condition	No	46,558	21.71	47,037	21.85	12,288	5.73	14,199	6.60
	<i>p</i> -value	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001		<.0001	
Smoking	Yes	10,406	28.10	10,288	28.30	2,391	6.46	2,776	7.64
status	No	38,913	20.89	39,881	21.04	11,340	6.09	13,353	7.04
	<i>p</i> -value	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001		<.0001	
High-risk	Yes	6,887	27.51	5,745	28.40	1,418	5.66	1,439	7.11
drinking 	No	42,432	21.40	44,424	21.59	12,313	6.21	14,690	7.14
	<i>p</i> -value	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001		<.0001	
Physical	Yes	18,727	20.88	19,411	20.70	4,914	5.48	5,947	6.34
activity	No	30,592	22.90	30,758	23.27	8,817	6.60	10,182	7.70
	<i>p</i> -value	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001		<.0001	

223 <sup>a</sup> Results of the Rao-Scott chi-square test

Table 3 presents the influence of the two types of income levels (Korean and 225 community income levels) on perceived stress and experiences of depression by gender. Both 226 Korean and community income levels were significant factors for perceived stress and 227 depression after adjusting for the impacts of other factors in both 2019 and 2021. The odds 228 ratio (OR) of Korean income level of perceived stress was 1.30 (95% Confidence Interval 229 (CI) 1.30-1.30, p<0.0001) and 1.29 (95% CI 1.28-1.29, p<0.0001) in 2019 and 2021, 230 respectively. According to the community income level, the perceived stress for the low-231 income level group was 1.26 (95% CI 1.26-1.26) and 1.31 (95% CI 1.31-1.32) in 2019 and 232 2021, respectively, compared to the high-income level group. The experience of depression 233 was significantly lower in the high-income group than in the low-income group (p < 0.0001). 234 According to the community income level, perceived stress and experience of depression 235 were both high in the low-income group (2019 OR 1.55, 95% CI 1.55–1.56, 2021 OR 1.63, 236 95% CI 1.62–1.63). Comparing before and after the COVID-19 pandemic, perceived stress by 237 income level decreased and increased at the Korean and community income level, 238 respectively. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the magnitude of inequality in the experience 239 of depression increased for both types. 240

241

Table 3. Influence of the two types of income levels (Korean or community income levels) on perceived stress and experience of depression by gender based on complexsample multivariate logistic regression analysis.

			Perceiv	ed stress		Experience of depression					
		2019	)	2021		2019	1	2021			
		Adj OR <sup>a</sup> (95% CI <sup>b</sup> )	<i>p</i> - value	Adj OR <sup>a</sup> (95% CI <sup>b</sup> )	<i>p</i> - value	Adj OR <sup>a</sup> (95% CI <sup>b</sup> )	<i>p</i> - value	Adj OR <sup>a</sup> (95% CI <sup>b</sup> )	<i>p</i> - value		
Total											
	Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference			
Korean	Q2	1.09 (1.09-1.09)	<.0001	1.10 (1.10-1.11)	<.0001	1.21 (1.21-1.22)	<.0001	1.17 (1.17-1.18)	<.0001		
income ievei	Q3	1.30 (1.30-1.30)	<.0001	1.29 (1.28-1.29)	<.0001	1.72 (1.71-1.72)	<.0001	1.73 (1.72-1.73)	<.0001		
Community	Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference			
income level	Q2	1.07	<.0001	1.11	<.0001	1.12	<.0001	1.11	<.0001		

		(1.07-1.07)		(1.11-1.11)		(1.11-1.12)		(1.11 - 1.12)	
	Q3	1.26	<.0001	1.31	<.0001	1.55	<.0001	1.63	<.0001
Men		(1.20-1.20)		(1.51-1.52)		(1.55-1.50)		(1.02-1.03)	
	01	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
	<u></u>	1.04		1.08		1 15		1 13	
Korean	Q2	(1.04-1.04)	<.0001	(1.08-1.09)	<.0001	(1.14-1.15)	<.0001	(1.12-1.14)	<.0001
income iever	03	1.21	< 0001	1.24	< 0001	1.64	< 0001	1.75	< 0001
	20	(1.20-1.21)		(1.23-1.24)		(1.63 - 1.65)		(1.74-1.76)	
	_Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
Community	Q2	1.05 (1.04-1.05)	<.0001	1.08 (1.08-1.08)	<.0001	1.12 (1.11-1.13)	<.0001	1.08 (1.08-1.09)	<.0001
income level	Q3	1.20 (1.20-1.20)	<.0001	1.27 (1.26-1.27)	<.0001	1.48 (1.47-1.49)	<.0001	1.65 (1.64-1.66)	<.0001
Women		•••••							
	Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
Korean	02	1.15	< 0001	1.13	< 0001	1.24	< 0001	1.19	< 0001
income level	Q2	(1.14-1.15)	\$.0001	(1.12 - 1.13)	\$.0001	(1.24-1.25)	1.0001	(1.18-1.19)	\$.0001
	03	1.39	< 0001	1.33	< 0001	1.71	< 0001	1.67	< 0001
	20	(1.38-1.39)		(1.32 - 1.33)		(1.70 - 1.72)		(1.66-1.68)	
	_Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
Community	02	1.10	< 0001	1.14	< 0001	1.11	< 0001	1.13	< 0001
income level	~~	(1.10-1.10)	0001	(1.14 - 1.14)	0001	(1.11-1.12)	0001	(1.13-1.13)	0001
	03	1.32	< 0001	1.35	< 0001	1.56	< 0001	1.59	< 0001
	25	(1.31-1.32)		(1.35-1.36)	0001	(1.55 - 1.57)	0001	(1.58 - 1.59)	0001

<sup>a</sup>Adj OR, adjusted odds ratio; <sup>b</sup>CI, confidence interval; adjusted for gender, age, education,
job status, marital status, basic livelihood condition, smoking status, high-risk drinking, and
physical activity.

248

Table 4 shows the results of the subgroup analysis that investigated the income level 249 250 between the stress perception and experience of depression rates by gender and area of residence. Excluding the Korean income of men living in rural areas in 2021, the magnitude 251 of inequality in stress perception was statistically significant (p<0.0001). The size of the 252 inequality in experiences of depression was statistically significant in both 2019 and 2021, 253 except for men living in rural areas with a Korean income level (p<0.0001). In both 2019 and 254 2021, the stress perception rate based on Korean income level showed greater inequality in 255 urban areas. Furthermore, community income levels showed greater inequality in urban and 256 rural areas in 2019 and 2021, respectively. The magnitude of inequality in perceived stress by 257 gender was higher for women in both 2019 and 2021. In addition, the magnitude of inequality 258 in the depression recognition was larger for women than for men; however, in 2021, only the 259

260 magnitude of inequality for men living in rural areas was higher than that for women.

261

Table 4. Influence of the two types of income level (Korean or community income level)
 on perceived stress and experience of depression by gender and region of residence
 based on complex-sample multivariate logistic regression analysis.

				Perceiv	ed stress		Е	xperience	of depression	
			201	)	202	1	201	9	202	1
_			Adj OR <sup>a</sup> (95% CI <sup>b</sup> )	<i>p</i> -value	Adj OR <sup>a</sup> (95% CI <sup>b</sup> )	<i>p</i> -value	Adj OR <sup>a</sup> (95% CI <sup>b</sup> )	<i>p</i> -value	Adj OR <sup>a</sup> (95% CI <sup>b</sup> )	<i>p</i> -value
Total										
		Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
	Korean incomo lovol	Q2	(1.07-1.07)	<.0001	1.12 (1.11-1.12)	<.0001	1.10 (1.10-1.11)	<.0001	1.10 (1.10-1.10)	<.0001
	income ic ver	Q3	1.26 (1.26-1.26)	<.0001	1.31 (1.30-1.31)	<.0001	1.53 (1.53-1.54)	<.0001	1.63 (1.62-1.64)	<.0001
Urban		Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
	Community	Q2	1.11 (1.11-1.11)	<.0001	1.12 (1.12-1.13)	<.0001	1.23 (1.22-1.23)	<.0001	1.17 (1.17-1.17)	<.0001
	income iever	Q3	1.33 (1.33-1.33)	<.0001	1.30 (1.30-1.30)	<.0001	1.76 (1.75-1.76)	<.0001	1.73 (1.73-1.74)	<.0001
		Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
	Korean income level	Q2	1.08 (1.07-1.08)	<.0001	1.07 (1.07-1.08)	<.0001	1.19 (1.18-1.20)	<.0001	1.18 (1.17-1.19)	<.0001
<b>D</b> 1	income rever	Q3	1.25 (1.24-1.26)	<.0001	1.34 (1.33-1.35)	<.0001	1.62 (1.61-1.63)	<.0001	1.62 (1.61-1.64)	<.0001
Rural		Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
	Community	Q2	0.98 (0.98-0.99)	<.0001	1.01 (1.00-1.01)	0.0004	1.11 (1.10-1.12)	<.0001	1.17 (1.16-1.18)	<.0001
	income level	Q3	1.15 (1.15-1.16)	<.0001	1.21 (1.20-1.21)	<.0001	1.51 (1.50-1.53)	<.0001	1.71 (1.69-1.72)	<.0001
Men										
	Korean income level	Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
		Q2	1.04 (1.04-1.04)	<.0001	1.09 (1.08-1.09)	<.0001	1.12 (1.11-1.13)	<.0001	1.07 (1.07-1.08)	<.0001
<b>TT T</b>		Q3	1.21 (1.21-1.22)	<.0001	1.26 (1.25-1.26)	<.0001	1.48 (1.47-1.48)	<.0001	1.67 (1.66-1.68)	<.0001
Urban	Community	Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
		Q2	1.06 (1.06-1.06)	<.0001	1.10 (1.10-1.10)	<.0001	1.18 (1.17-1.18)	<.0001	1.16 (1.15-1.16)	<.0001
	income iever	Q3	1.24 (1.23-1.24)	<.0001	1.25 (1.25-1.26)	<.0001	1.71 (1.70-1.73)	<.0001	1.72 (1.71-1.73)	<.0001
		Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
	Korean income level	Q2	1.07 (1.06-1.07)	<.0001	1.05 (1.04-1.06)	<.0001	1.13 (1.11-1.14)	<.0001	1.12 (1.11-1.14)	<.0001
Derest	income iever	Q3	1.14 (1.13-1.15)	<.0001	1.32 (1.31-1.33)	<.0001	1.48 (1.46-1.50)	<.0001	1.57 (1.55-1.59)	<.0001
Kurai		Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
	Community	Q2	0.94 (0.93-0.94)	<.0001	1.00 (0.99-1.00)	0.6250	1.00 (0.98-1.01)	0.4675	1.01 (0.99-1.02)	0.3533
	income iever	Q3	1.07 (1.06-1.08)	<.0001	1.16 (1.16-1.17)	<.0001	1.35 (1.33-1.37)	<.0001	1.80 (1.78-1.82)	<.0001
Women										
		Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
	Korean income level	Q2	1.10 (1.10-1.10)	<.0001	1.15 (1.14-1.15)	<.0001	1.09 (1.09-1.10)	<.0001	1.11 (1.11-1.12)	<.0001
Urban		Q3	1.31 (1.31-1.31)	<.0001	1.35 (1.34-1.35)	<.0001	1.54 (1.53-1.54)	<.0001	1.58 (1.57-1.59)	<.0001
	Community -	Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
	income level	Q2	1.17 (1.16-1.17)	<.0001	1.15 (1.14-1.15)	<.0001	1.25 (1.25-1.26)	<.0001	1.17 (1.17-1.18)	<.0001

		Q3	1.41 (1.41-1.42)	<.0001	1.33 (1.33-1.34)	<.0001	1.73 (1.72-1.74)	<.0001	1.69 (1.68-1.70)	<.0001
	Korean income level	Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
		Q2	1.10 (1.09-1.11)	<.0001	1.10 (1.10-1.11)	<.0001	1.22 (1.21-1.23)	<.0001	1.21 (1.20-1.23)	<.0001
<b>D</b> 1		Q3	1.34 (1.33-1.35)	<.0001	1.38 (1.37-1.38)	<.0001	1.68 (1.66-1.69)	<.0001	1.65 (1.63-1.66)	<.0001
Kural		Q1	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
	Community income level	Q2	1.04 (1.03-1.05)	<.0001	1.03 (1.03-1.04)	<.0001	1.19 (1.17-1.20)	<.0001	1.28 (1.27-1.30)	<.0001
		Q3	1.23 (1.22-1.24)	<.0001	1.27 (1.26-1.28)	<.0001	1.59 (1.57-1.60)	<.0001	1.65 (1.63-1.67)	<.0001

<sup>a</sup>Adj OR, adjusted odds ratio; <sup>b</sup>CI, confidence interval; adjusted for gender, age, education,
 job status, marital status, basic livelihood condition, smoking status, high-risk drinking, and
 physical activity.

268

## 269 **Discussion**

This is the first study in Korea to compare mental health inequality according to relative income at the national and community levels using the CHS during the COVID-19 period. This study intended to provide basic data necessary for policy development to resolve mental health inequality caused by income gaps in the event of large-scale infectious diseases.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, although depression crude rates increased, perceived 274 stress crude rates remained similar. In addition, regarding mental health inequality according 275 to income level, even after adjusting for each independent variable, perceived stress and the 276 experience of depression increased as income level decreased. Hall et al. [19] found that low-277 income groups had less access to resources for responding to COVID-19 and suffered more 278 economic stress than high-income groups. These economic difficulties reportedly have a 279 negative impact on daily life and mental health [19,40,41]. As a result of measuring perceived 280 stress as income inequality at the national level, it decreased after the COVID-19 outbreak, 281 while income inequality at the community level increased after the outbreak of COVID-19. 282 When measuring inequality by income level, few previous studies have identified mental 283 health inequality at the community income level. Moreover, in some cases, inequality due to 284

the income gap at the community level may be more affected than the income gap at the national level. Aneshensel CS and Sucoff CA [42] and Mair C et al. [43] found that the economic situation (income level), population composition, and characteristics of the residential environment in the area of residence have an effect on depression symptoms. This result is consistent with previous studies that used the relative income gap at the community level as a measure of health inequality and as a significant indicator for identifying the relationship between income and depressive symptoms [15,16].

In this study, perceived stress was more vulnerable in the low-income group compared to the high-income group for both income levels. Experience of depression showed the same results, While women and men in 2019 and 2021, respectively, were susceptible to experiencing depression. The result of women mental health inequality observed in this study was higher than that of men, consistent with the results observed by Almeida et al. [44]. However, after the COVID-19 pandemic, the findings that men experienced higher levels of depression than women were contradictory.

Additionally, this study confirmed the regional characteristics (urban and rural areas) 299 related to changes in mental health inequality according to relative income levels during the 300 COVID-19 pandemic. The effect of relative income level on perceived stress rate was found 301 302 to be more pronounced in urban areas than in rural areas. On the contrary, the effect of relative income level on the depression rate was found to be weaker and more vulnerable in 303 urban and rural areas, in terms of Korean and community income levels, respectively. This 304 lack of consistent results has been reported in previous studies, as the impact on mental health 305 inequality in urban and rural areas is conflicting [45-49]. In urban areas, social distancing is 306 strongly practiced because of the high number of infected people, which may increase mental 307 health inequality. Furthermore, mental health may be more vulnerable in rural areas because 308 of the lack of information, access, and social support. These results indicate that the relative 309

income level during the COVID-19 pandemic can be expected to have different effects on mental health depending on regional characteristics; however, additional research needs to be conducted in the future.

The limitations of this study are as follows. First, the perceived stress and experience 313 of depression used as outcome variables are values that record responses in the form of self-314 report rather than medical diagnosis, which raises the possibility of bias. However, because 315 items most frequently used in national surveys were used, the possibility of comparison with 316 other studies related to this topic is high. Second, changes in direct mental health inequalities 317 across the subperiods of the COVID-19 pandemic were not identified. In Korea, the COVID-318 319 19 pandemic has usually been divided into three periods: the initial epidemic, delta mutation, and omicron epidemic phase. It is necessary to identify the difference in mental health 320 inequality according to the income gap within the detailed epidemic period because the 321 response strategies differ depending on the size of the epidemic and the impact of restrictions 322 on socioeconomic activities, such as social distancing. In addition, future studies will need to 323 address how inequality will change even after the end of COVID-19. 324

325

## 326 Conclusions

This study identified aspects of mental health inequality according to relative income during the COVID-19 pandemic and changes in inequality according to two types of income levels. This study indicated inequality in mental health according to income level and differences based on gender and residential area. To alleviate mental health inequality, income inequality should be improved, and mental health policies should be intensively implemented, especially for socioeconomically unequal population groups.

333

### 334 Acknowledgments

This study was supported by a 2022 research grant from Pusan National UniversityYangsan Hospital.

337

## 338 **References**

- Gibson B, Schneider B, Talamonti J, Forshaw M. Impact of inequality on mental health
   outcomes during the COVID-19 pandemic: A systematic review. Can Psychol.
   2021;62(1):101–26. doi: 10.1037/cap0000272.
- 2. Hoyt LT, Cohen AK, Dull B, Castro EM, Yazdani N. "Constant stress has become the new
- normal": Stress and anxiety inequalities among US college students in the time of COVID-
- 344 19. J Adolesc Health. 2021;68(2):270–6. doi: 10.1016/j.jadohealth.2020.10.030 PMID:
  345 33288459.
- 346 3. Hewlett E, Takino S, Nishina Y, Prinz, and C. Tackling the mental health impact of the
  347 COVID-19 crisis: An integrated whole-of-society response. Organization for Economic
  348 Cooperation and Development (OECD). 2021.
- 4. Oral T, Gunlu A. Adaptation of the social distancing scale in the covid-19 era: its
  association with depression, anxiety, stress, and resilience in Turkey. Int J Ment Health
  Addict. 2021;20(3):1336-53. doi: 10.1007/s11469-020-00447-1 PMID: 33688310.
- 5. Benke C, Autenrieth LK, Asselmann E, Pané-Farré CA. Lockdown, quarantine measures,
  and social distancing: Associations with depression, anxiety and distress at the beginning
  of the COVID-19 pandemic among adults from Germany. Psychiatry Res. 2020;293. doi:
  10.1016/j.psychres.2020.113462 PMID: 32987222.
- Kenkatesh A, Edirappuli S. Social distancing in covid-19: what are the mental health
  implications?. Bmj. 2020;369. doi: 10.1136/bmj.m1379.
- 358 7. Cao W, Fang Z, Hou G, Han M, Xu X, Dong J, Zheng J. Psychological impact of the
- COVID-19 pandemic on college students in China. Psychiatry Res. 2020;287:112934. doi:
   18

360 10.1016/j.psychres.2020.112934 PMID: 32229390.

- 361 8. Jean-Baptiste CO, Herring RP, Beeson WL, Dos Santos H, Banta JE. Stressful life events
   362 and social capital during the early phase of COVID-19 in the US. Soc Sci Humanit Open.
- 363 2020;2(1):100057. doi: 10.1016/j.ssaho.2020.100057 PMID: 34173495.
- 9. Lee D, Kim Y, Lee D, Hwang H, Nam S, Kim J. Inflammation and symptoms of
  coronavirus (COVID-19) infection in the general public, the darkening of the social
  environment and its effects on weapons. Korean Journal of Psychology. 2020;32(4):2119–
  56.
- 10. Lee J, Kim J, Kim M. The effect of social distancing on depression: The mediating effect
  of loneliness and the moderating effect of neurotic tendencies. Humanities and Social
  Sciences. 2021;12(3):1239–53.
- 11. Shevlin M, McBride O, Murphy J, Miller JG, Hartman TK, Levita L, et al. Anxiety,
  depression, traumatic stress and COVID-19-related anxiety in the UK general population
  during the COVID-19 pandemic. BJPsych Open. 2020;6(6):e125. doi:
  10.1192/bjo.2020.109 PMID: 33070797.
- Tull MT, Edmonds KA, Scamaldo K, Richmond KM, Rose JR, Gratz JP. Psychological
  outcomes associated with stay-at-home orders and the perceived impact of COVID-19 on
  daily life. Psychiatry Res. 2020;289:113098. doi: 10.1016/j.psychres.2020.113098 PMID:
  32434092.
- 13. Patel V, Burns JK, Dhingra M, Tarver L, Kohrt BA, Lund C. Income inequality and
  depression: A systematic review and meta-analysis of the association and a scoping review
  of mechanisms. World Psychiatry. 2018;17(1):76–89. doi: 10.1002/wps.20492 PMID:
  29352539.
- 14. Hong J, Knapp M, McGuire A. Income-related inequalities in the prevalence of
   depression and suicidal behavior: A 10-year trend following an economic crisis. World

- 15. Song A, Kim W. Association between relative income and depressive symptoms in adults:
- Findings from a nationwide survey in Korea. J Affect Disord. 2020;263:236–40. doi:
- 388 10.1016/j.jad.2019.11.149 PMID: 31818782
- 16. Tumin D, Menegay M, Shrider EA, Nau M, Tumin R. Local income inequality, individual
  socioeconomic status, and unmet healthcare needs in Ohio, USA. Health Equity.
  2018;2(1):37–44. doi: 10.1089/heq.2017.0058 PMID: 30283849.
- 392 17. Santiago CD, Wadsworth ME, Stump J. Socioeconomic status, neighborhood
  disadvantage, and poverty-related stress: Prospective effects on psychological syndromes
  among diverse low-income families. J Econ Psychol. 2011;32(2):218-230. doi:
  10.1016/j.joep.2009.10.008.
- 396 18. Zimmerman FJ, Katon W. Socioeconomic status, depression disparities, and financial
  397 strain: What lies behind the income-depression relationship? Health Econ.
  398 2005;4(12):1197–215. doi: 10.1002/hec.1011 PMID: 15945040.
- Hall LR, Sanchez K, da Graca B, Bennett MM, Powers M, Warren AM. Income
  differences and COVID-19: Impact on daily life and mental health. Popul Health Manag.
  2022;25(3):384–91. doi.org/10.1089/pop.2021.0214 PMID: 34652228.
- 20. McGowan VJ, Bambra C. COVID-19 mortality and deprivation: pandemic, syndemic, and
  endemic health inequalities. Lancet Public Health. 2022;7(11):e966–75. doi:
  10.1016/S2468-2667(22)00223-7 PMID: 36334610.
- 21. Saarinen S, Moustgaard H, Remes H, Sallinen R, Martikainen P. Income differences in
  COVID-19 incidence and severity in Finland among people with foreign and native
  background: A population-based cohort study of individuals nested within households.
  PLoS Med. 2022;19(8):e1004038. doi: 10.1371/journal.pmed.1004038 PMID: 35947575.
- 409 22. Green H, Fernandez R, MacPhail C. The social determinants of health and health
  - 20

<sup>385</sup> Psychiatry. 2011;10(1):40–4. doi: 10.1002/j.2051-5545.2011.tb00012.x PMID: 21379355.

410	outcomes among adults during the COVID-19 pandemic: A systematic review. Public
411	Health Nurs. 2021;38(6):942-52. doi: 10.1111/phn.12959 PMID: 34403525.
412	23. Khanijahani A, Iezadi S, Gholipour K, Azami-Aghdash S, Naghibi DA. A systematic
413	review of racial/ethnic and socioeconomic disparities in COVID-19. Int J Equity Health.
414	2021;20(1):248. doi: 10.1186/s12939-021-01582-4 PMID: 34819081.
415	24. De Lusignan S, Joy M, Oke J, McGagh D, Nicholson B, Sheppard J, et al. Disparities in
416	the excess risk of mortality in the first wave of COVID-19: Cross sectional study of the
417	English sentinel network. J Infect. 2020;81(5):785-92. doi: 10.1016/j.jinf.2020.08.037
418	PMID: 32858068.
419	25. Shah GH, Shankar P, Schwind JS, Sittaramane V. The detrimental impact of the COVID-
420	19 crisis on health equity and social determinants of health. J Public Health Manag Pract.
421	2020;26(4):317-19. doi: 10.1097/PHH.0000000000001200 PMID: 32433385.
422	26. Hammen C. Generation of stress in the course of unipolar depression. J Abnorm Psychol.
423	1991;100(4):555. doi: 10.1037//0021-843x.100.4.555 PMID: 1757669.
424	27. Fredrickson BL, Joiner T. Positive emotions trigger upward spirals toward emotional
425	well-being. Psychological science. 2002;13(2):172-5. doi: 10.1111/1467-9280.00431
426	PMID: 11934003.
427	28. Sariusz-Skapska M, Czabała JC, Dudek D, Zieba A. Assessment of stressful life events
428	and sense of coherence in patients with unipolar and bipolar disorder. Psychiatria Polska.
429	2003;37(5):836–75. PMID: 14631607.
430	29. Ngui EM, Khasakhala L, Ndetei D, Roberts LW. Mental disorders, health inequalities and
431	ethics: A global perspective. Int Rev Psychiatry. 2010;22(3):235-44. doi:
432	10.3109/09540261.2010.485273 PMID: 20528652.
433	30. Thoits PA. Stress and health: Major findings and policy implications. J Health Soc Behav.

- 434 2010;51(S):S41–53. doi: 10.1177/0022146510383499 PMID: 20943582.
  - 21

435	31. Lantz PM, House JS, Mero RP, Williams DR. Stress, life events, and socioeconomic
436	disparities in health: Results from the Americans' Changing Lives Study. J Health Soc
437	Behav. 2005;46(3):274-88. doi: 10.1177/002214650504600305 PMID: 16259149.
438	32. Freeman A, Tyrovolas S, Koyanagi A, Chatterji S, Leonardi M, Ayuso-Mateos JL, et al.
439	The role of socio-economic status in depression: Results from the COURAGE (aging
440	survey in Europe). BMC Public Health. 2016;16:1-8. doi: 10.1186/s12889-016-3638-0
441	PMID: 27760538.
442	33. Kim J, Shim J, Lee R. Material hardship and depression among low-income households in

- 443 South Korea: Differences by household type. Int J Soc Welf. 2016;25(2):187–98. doi:
  444 10.1111/ijsw.12181.
- 34. Lorant V, Croux C, Weich S, Deliège D, Mackenbach J, Ansseau M. Depression and
  socio-economic risk factors: 7-year longitudinal population study. Br J Psychiatry.
  2007;190(4):293–8. doi: 10.1192/bjp.bp.105.020040 PMID: 17401034.
- 35. Kim D, Lee S, Ki M, Kim M, Kim S, Kim Y, Lee J. Developing Health Inequalities
  Indicators and Monitoring the Status of Health Inequalities in Korea. Korea Institute for
  Health and Social Affairs. 2013.
- 451 36. Ichiro Kawachi, M. D. Social epidemiology. Oxford University Press; c2014.
- 452 37. Williams DR, Yu Y, Jackson JS, Anderson NB. Racial differences in physical and mental
- 453 health: Socio-economic status, stress and discrimination. J Health Psychol. 1997;2(3):335–
- 454 51. doi: 10.1177/135910539700200305 PMID: 22013026.
- 38. Newmann JP, Engel RJ, Jensen JE. Age differences in depressive symptom experiences. J
  Gerontol. 1991;46(5):224–35. doi: 10.1093/geronj/46.5.P224 PMID: 1890289.
- 457 39. Potts MK, Burnam MA, Wells KB. Gender differences in depression detection: A
  458 comparison of clinician diagnosis and standardized assessment. Psychol Assess.
  459 1991;3(4):609. doi: 10.1037/1040-3590.3.4.609.

- 40. Ettman CK, Abdalla SM, Cohen GH, Sampson L, Vivier PM, Galea S. Prevalence of
  depression symptoms in US adults before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. JAMA
  Netw Open. 2020;3(9):e2019686. doi: 10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2020.19686 PMID:
  32876685.
- 464 41. Swaziek Z, Wozniak A. Disparities old and new in US mental health during the
  465 COVID-19 pandemic. Fisc Stud. 2020;41(3):709–32. doi: 10.1111/1475-5890.12244
  466 PMID: 33362315.
- 467 42. Aneshensel CS, Sucoff CA. The neighborhood context of adolescent mental health. J
  468 Health Soc Behav. 1996;37:293–310. doi: 10.2307/2137258 PMID: 8997886.
- 469 43. Mair C, Roux AD, Galea S. Are neighborhood characteristics associated with depressive
  470 symptoms? A review of evidence. J Epidemiol Community Health. 2008;62(11):940–6.
  471 doi: 10.1136/jech.2007.066605 PMID: 18775943.
- 472 44. Almeida M, Shrestha AD, Stojanac D, Miller LJ. The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic
  473 on women's mental health. Arch Womens Ment Health. 2020;23:741–8. doi:
  474 10.1007/s00737-020-01092-2 PMID: 33263142.
- 475 45. Bil JS, Buława B, Świerzawski J. Mental health and the city in the post-COVID-19 era.
  476 Sustainability. 2021;13(14):7533. doi: 10.3390/su13147533.
- 477 46. Richman L, Pearson J, Beasley C, Stanifer J. Addressing health inequalities in diverse,
  478 rural communities: An unmet need. SSM Popul Health. 2019;7:100398. doi:
  479 10.1016/j.ssmph.2019.100398 PMID: 31011618.
- 480 47. Nepomuceno BB, Cardoso AA, Ximenes VM, Barros JPP, Leite JF. Mental health, well-
- 481 being, and poverty: A study in urban and rural communities in Northeastern Brazil. J Prev
- 482 Interv Community. 2016;44(1):63–75. doi: 10.1080/10852352.2016.1102590 PMID:
  483 26697905.
- 484 48. Wang Z, Li X, Chen M. Catastrophic health expenditures and its inequality in elderly
  - 23

- households with chronic disease patients in China. Int J Equity Health. 2015;14:8. doi:
- 486 10.1186/s12939-015-0134-6 PMID: 25599715.
- 487 49. Hong J. Socio-economic inequalities in mental health and their determinants in South
- 488 Korea. PhD Thesis, The London School of Economics and Political Science. 2012.
- 489 Available from: http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/id/eprint/494