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The emergence of the modern university in Korea

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Abstract. This article examines Western influence on the development of Korean higher education, which is characteristic of the predominance of adaptation to the American ideas and practices from the beginning in the late nineteenth century. The roots of American influence can be seen developmentally as representing three sets of entangled issues: the role of the early American missionaries in practice and unconstrained accommodation in resisting the Japanese oppression; the increase of American-educated scholars and their change-agent leadership; and the newly emerging definitions of nationalism and collaborative relationship between the change-agent and the indigenous group. The most probable schema to respond to the Western influences on Korean higher education is to view Western development as one of the sources challenging endogenous change, while treating it also as an influential force. The institutions of higher education in Korea are now faced with strong pressures for increased academic nationalism as well as for excellence comparable to that of Western advanced countries, dealing with the Western influences rather as a source of data for their own development.

Introduction

The development of higher education in Korea is the product of many influences and factors. It is a crude generalization of modernization to ascribe the current developments of Korean higher education exclusively to Western influences. On the one hand, some of them are likely to have been molded and influenced by a variety of Western forces. There are the external patterns and forms of higher learning which have been derived from American models and, along with them, their spirit and tradition have penetrated the modernization process, at least in part. On the other hand, it must be understood that traditional Korean values and systems have had an extraordinary resilience and persistence. The present features of higher education in the Republic of Korea are the result of the interaction of its historically formed traditions with the universalizing effects of early modernization, the so-called "Western Models".

The Republic of Korea, occupying a small peninsula extending south from the northeastern corner of the Asian continent, has taken great pride in its history of over 4,300 years. In the pre- modern age, namely, prior to the latter part of the nineteenth century, there was no well-articulated system of education in Korea. However, the ideas and practices related to providing people with education were well developed. The educational institutions were strictly divided into two types: state-run and private institutions. The state-run insti-

tutions were mostly those of higher learning, which opened their doors only to the selected youths of the privileged upper class. Accordingly, it was a symbol of social prestige to attend those institutions. The primary purpose of higher learning was to acquaint the students with Confucian philosophy and ethics through a course of study composed of Chinese classics, which were thought to be a guide for members of the bureaucracy. On the other hand, the private institutions of education were for the primary and middle levels of education. The formal general education for people was essentially a private matter, while the higher education for the ruling class was a public one. As in the institutions of higher learning, the educational opportunity at private institutions was available only to a small proportion of the population. Their curriculum was also the intensive learning of Chinese classics. These private institutions surely sustained the high intellectual and cultural standards of the nation. Their education extended up to the same higher level of sophisticated scholarly and spiritual learning with the other types of institutions. But the prominence of the state-supported educational institutions in this pre- modern age, as Uchang Kim once noted, may be partly due to the partiality of chroniclers for state-related activities over other informal doings of man.[1] And this tradition might have been unconsciously maintained for its long history, which probably resulted in an effect in part on the development of contemporary higher education.

Entering the nineteenth century, Korea began to be noticed by the Western world. For example, the notable Western missionary effort beginning in the Korean peninsula dates back to as early as in 1832, when Gutzlaff, a Prussian missionary, landed on an island on the coast of Korea and spent a month there.[2] However, it was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that Korea really emerged from its long seclusion as a Hermit Kingdom and was subjected to Western influences, particularly the American ones, along with the first Korea-U.S. Treaty in 1882. The influence of Western powers on the development of Korean higher education in the pre-independence age began with the arrival and movements of the American missionaries since that Treaty. Their influence as a whole, having the support of the indigenous people, were successful and crucial to seeding the contemporary shape of Korean higher education. By the turn of the century, however, such Western influences were suspended when the Korean Kingdom was subjected to Japanese aggression and was ultimately annexed to Japan in 1910. The following second section of this article deals with the Western impact on the development of Korean higher education during this pre-independence period as well as during the Japanese annexation.

With the end of World War II in 1945, Korea was liberated from Japanese colonialism but was administered by the U.S. Military Government for three years. Korean higher education was again under American influence, which

continued through the U.S. participation in the reconstruction of the country which was further damaged by the Korean War for a rather long time from 1953 through the mid-1960's. The main focus of the third section is on the American influence on the development of Korean higher education during these periods of post-independence.

During the past two decades, since the mid-1960's, Korea has achieved significant progress and is one of the few developing countries to be successful in economic and social development. Higher education in Korea deserves its share of recognition for contributing to such national achievement, with its own indigenous modernization in system and operation, in part, but also in conjunction with accumulated Western influences on Korean higher education. Most interesting, perhaps, are the discussions on the current state of Korean higher education presented in the fourth section. And the final section provides a concluding overview of the Western impact and its future perspective on the development of Korean higher education. In sum, the main focus for much of this article is on the impact of Western models on the development of Korean higher education, but the intention is to describe its interaction with the indigenous efforts of Korean society.

Western impact on the pre-independence developments

Western missionary movements and their impact

In 1884, Dr. Horace N. Allen, the first American Presbyterian missionary and physician in Korea arrived in Seoul. The other notable American missionary arrivals in the 1880's included Dr. Horace G. Underwood, a Protestant minister, who published the first Korean-English and English-Korean dictionary, Mr. and Mrs. Henry G. Appenzeller and Mrs. Mary F. Scranton under the Methodist Parent Board and the Methodist Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. The influence of Western powers on the development of Korean higher education began with the arrival of these American missionaries, who engaged in opening the institutions of higher learning. In 1885, Drs. H. N. Allen and O. R. Avison opened the first modern hospital for practicing and teaching Western medicine. With the help of the Ohio industrialist and philanthropist L. H. Severance, the hospital added a medical school, Severance Union Medical College and Hospital and the attached School of Nursing.[3] Some American missionaries pursued a particular strategy: that is, to initially establish a school for secondary education and then to elevate its level to higher education. For instances, Mrs. Scranton, with Queen Min's blessings, started a girls' school named Ewha Haktang in 1886, and it opened the first college department for girls in 1910 with fifteen students. This represents

the first opportunity to provide women in Korea with higher education. In 1906, a college department with twelve students in two classes was added to the Sungsil Academy, which had opened at Pyungyang in 1897, and was renamed Sungsil Union Christian College. The other important institution of higher learning established by American missionaries is the Choson Christian (Yonhi) College, founded in 1915 by the Reverend Horace G. Underwood in Seoul. It has since become one of the finest private institutions of higher learning in Korea, the present Yonsei University. According to Insoo Sohn, during the period of 1885-1910, a total of 796 schools, from elementary to college levels, were established and maintained by the Western missionaries. This is a significant number in that it comprises about thirty-five percent of the entire number of formal schools (2,250) in Korea.[4]

The earlier American missionary work, through the establishment of institutions of higher learning, was very successful, not only in proselytizing on behalf of the Christian faith, but also in introducing the structure and content of Western higher education. It influenced the development of higher education in Korea in five major ways: (1) democratic ideology of education, (2) equal opportunity for education, (3) education for women, (4) curriculum development, and (5) the institutional system of higher education. Each of these points merits additional discussion.

First, the American missionaries had emphasized democratic higher education and their activities were conducive to the development of a democratic ideology of freedom and independence. They introduced the concept of liberal education, which was to become an important focus in the higher education curriculum. Less tangibly, but even more important, they brought with them the Western democratic values of humanism, individual rights, representative government, primacy of law, and so on. In sum, they enlightened the path to democratic life for the people of Korea and led people into revolutionary and patriotic spiritual uplift toward freedom as an individual and a nation.

Secondly, another important legacy of the American missionaries is the fact that they spread the idea that education was for everyone – for men and women, the powerful and the powerless, the rich and the poor. In traditional Confucian education, the opportunity for higher education was open only to the upper class elite in terms of the social status imposed by a family line. In a sense, the missionary education also was available to an extremely limited elite group, but the elite in this case consisted of those who agreed with the tenets of Christianity. It did not exclude the working class, the poor, the oppressed, the lower class, and the underprivileged, who previously had been excluded from education. By opening the doors of their schools to everyone, the American missionaries endorsed equal opportunity in education. In later years, this new awareness with the abovementioned democratic ideology became the nurturing ground of nationalism, the patriotic independence

movement and of political resistance for democracy during the period of Japanese annexation.

Thirdly, while there was some expansion of educational opportunity for women during the later years of the Yi Dynasty, it was not until the coming of the American missionaries during the waning years of the nineteenth century that any serious attempt was made to provide women with the opportunity for higher learning. Traditionally, the women in Confucian Asian societies had very few educational opportunities. As was previously mentioned, the Ewha Haktang, which was established by an American woman missionary, with the blessings of Queen Min, the then powerful regent, was a pioneering institute of higher learning for women. An example of progress in education for females can be found when the girls of Ewha Haktang in 1898 asked that the teaching of Chinese characters be included in the curriculum.[5] This was a reflection of the new spirit that education for girls should not in any way be inferior to that of boys', knowledge of Chinese characters and classics being the traditional hallmark of a good education only given to boys.

Fourthly, the early American missionaries brought more than just the establishment of institutions of higher learning and a concern for curriculum and instruction for young Koreans. They brought modern scientific curricula and educational methods to Korean education. They contributed to Korean higher education not only the teaching of Christian principles, but also the theory for teaching. The Herbartian theory and method of teaching and the moral-personality principles were introduced in elementary education as well as in higher education.[6] Another influence that the Christian mission had exercised in curriculum development is also seen in technical and industrial education. While the teaching and learning in the Confucian system embraced only letters, the early Western missionaries introduced the importance of manual skills. Consequently, they emphasized natural sciences in their curriculum and wrote textbooks for biology, chemistry and physics.[7] They also opened a self-supporting industrial education program. It is, therefore, by no means exaggeration that Sung-Hwa Lee once stated that: "Korea owes what she has attained in modern culture, education, and advancement in science largely to Christian mission work." [8]

A final important contribution of the American missionaries to the development of higher education in Korea is their efforts to develop an institutional type at the level of higher education. At that time, there was no established form of higher education in Korea, even though some schools covered the instruction and the students at the postsecondary level. All educational institutions were simply called schools. The American missionaries initially upgraded their schools to junior colleges and exerted every effort to eventually turn them into Western- style four-year colleges.[9] The missionaries themselves intentionally used the term "colleges" when they referred to them in English.

However, this dream was not realized until Korea's liberation from Japanese colonialism. The American missionaries also assisted the government in its attempt to set up a Western-type educational institution. The government, recognizing the necessity for modern schools to train government cadres in the increasing conflicts with Western powers, established the Government School in 1883 and the Royal English School in 1886. The American missionaries were invited to the Royal English School as teaching staff and taught English, mathematics, natural sciences, history, world geography and political science, with English as the medium of instruction.[10] Of significance is not only the medium they used but also their latent influences on systematizing the school management and on curriculum development.

Reflecting on the responses of indigenous people to the influences of American missionaries, the period of 1876–1910 in Korea was an era of conflict complicated by internal and external political intrigue, which culminated in 1903 with the outbreak of the Russo-Japan War and the ultimate victory of Japan. On the one hand, some Koreans wanted to protect their isolation and reject any Western encroachments, not to speak of the Japanese encroachment upon Korean national sovereignty. On the other hand, more Koreans insisted that to survive as an independent entity they had to adopt contemporary Western practices in science and technology, and to reform their society without sacrificing any possible compatibility with tradition. This did not, however, advocate Westernization. Rather, it was an effort for adjustments in idiosyncratic tradition to deal with domestic ills and foreign threats and eventually for successful self-preservation rather than radical social transformation: it was the modernization movement of the Koreans based on the humane instinct for survival and nationalistic aspiration. In the seventeenth century, for a long time before the Western missionaries landed on the Korean peninsula, a reformist school of thought called *Sirhak*(Practical learning) began to evolve. Searching for the national identity and the historical idiosyncrasy of Korea, the *Sirhak* scholars emphasized a critical examination of national conditions with self-oriented interest independent of the long cherished Chinese concepts. They represented the spirit of a new age and led the development of modernistic thinking in the eighteenth century. The new nationalism of the intellectuals was passed on to the nationalistic reform advocates of the late nineteenth century when the Western missionaries began to spread their ideas and influences. In addition, a new nationalistic religion, called *Tonghak*(Eastern Learning) emerged in the early 1860's and gained momentum in the early 1890's, about the time when the Western powers began to exercise their influence over the Northeast Asian civilization. The new religion was revolutionary in nature. It was clearly a struggle for the liberation of the people from political oppression, economic exploitation, and social injustice. It was also an anti-foreign movement.[11]

As one may easily understand, in the critical period of historical transition, the early American missionaries had to confront deep-rooted indigenous nationalism and a reform movement. Due to the fact that American missionaries were foreigners, outsiders, and representatives of Western influences, they were seemingly rejected by the indigenous group. Rather, "the Korean people", as Sung Chan Choi depicted, "began to have a new interest in Western education and an appreciation of mission education. The Koreans' attitude changed completely." [12] Both the native nationalistic reform movement and the Western Christian missions' push towards independence and self-determination seemed to be intermingling and transforming themselves into a firm base for a new era of modernization in Korea. Both sides shared a number of common beliefs and practices. For instance, they were on the side of the "minjung" (people), in particular, the oppressed, the egalitarian, the lower-class, and the underprivileged. They were both private, voluntary, non-official and non-governmental. In a sense, they were against governmental authoritarianism, which in later years was strengthened by the Japanese agressors. The discipline of the newly established indigenous religion and the fundamentalism of the Christian faith placed their emphasis on insuring the welfare and peace of the whole people, helping each individual obtain human dignity and liberation from oppression. The Western missionaries did not struggle for power, at least in domestic politics. They had a great regard for the desire of native people to foster national strength and effectiveness in safeguarding national independence. Therefore, concerted efforts were possible by the missionaries and the nationalistic leaders to preserve the original goals and objectives in education.[13]

In discussing the responses of the native people toward the Western missionaries, two more points of clarification need to be made. First, the Western missionaries introduced Western higher learning in the Korean language, "Hangul". They did away with the Chinese classics. They were first-class Korean speakers and scholars in Korean studies. They wrote the history of Korea and they studied Korea's traditional religions.[14] In sum, they were pro-Korean, and were accepted by and obtained full psychological membership in Korean society. Second, the American missionaries arranged for Korean students to study in the United States. The early group of Korean students who studied in the United States before 1910 included Syngman Rhee, Philip Jaisohn (Chae Pil So), Chi-Ho Yun, and Kil-Jun Yu. These American-educated nationalist leaders, upon returning home from the United States, launched a movement for national sovereignty in various fields, and vigorously opposed the Japanese domination. As a result, they contributed to the formation of a pro-American missionary and attitude on the part of Koreans.

Japanese interruption of the Western impact

Korea, despite a fierce struggle, came under Japanese rule in 1910. Declaring Korea to be a part of Japan, the Japanese government enacted various regulations and ordinances to control and restrict every aspect of the political, social, cultural and economic movements of the Koreans. The colonial regime allowed the Koreans extremely few opportunities to chart their own destiny. Any effort on the part of the Koreans to establish a close relationship with Western power was crushed. The colonial policy forced the Koreans to remain in isolation and to stop developing and maintaining their own educational system. The interaction with the West was intermittent until Korea was liberated in 1945. The latter part in this section deals with two points: the Japanese policy on higher education in Korea and the intermittent Western influences combined with the effort of indigenous groups on the development of higher education.

The educational policy of the Japanese colonial power was extremely oppressive. It was completely antithetical to the educational policy which England implemented for the Indians or which the U.S. implemented for the Philippines so as to help them develop independent people. The major goal of Japanese educational policy was to assimilate Koreans by means of education. Education was used for obliterating the Korean nationality in terms of language, family name, religion and in every other possible area of life. According to the analysis of Han Young Rim, the objectives of Japanese education in Korea were four-fold: (1) denationalization, (2) vocationalization, (3) deliberalization, and (4) discrimination. Denationalization meant forcing the Korean people to substitute loyalty to the Japanese Emperor for that formerly given to their own rulers. Vocationalization implied concentration on those skills necessary to prepare Koreans to be low-level tradesmen. Deliberalization referred to a curriculum for Koreans which ignored both the liberal subjects and the advanced technical courses. Discrimination suggested that Japanese students were offered better and more advanced educational opportunities than Koreans.[15] This educational policy retarded the development of higher education, as follows.

First, very few opportunities for higher education were given to the Koreans, compared with those given to the Japanese living in Korea. The wide disparities in educational opportunities between Koreans and Japanese were found at all levels of primary, secondary, and higher education. In 1939, for example, there were 143 Japanese students enrolled in primary schools for every 1,000 Japanese, while there were only 55 Korean primary students for every 1,000 Koreans. Inequalities were greater at the secondary level: there were only 1.3 Korean high school students for every 1,000 Koreans compared with 32.7 Japanese high school students for every 1,000 Japanese.[16] Before considering

the fate of higher education under Japanese occupation, an explanation should first be made about the establishment of institutions of higher education. As was previously discussed, prior to the Japanese annexation of Korea, there were early institutions such as Suingsil Union Christian College and Ewha School established by American missionaries to provide higher education. Under the Education Ordinance of 1911, however, these institutions lost college status. The opportunity of Koreans for higher education was lost. Hence, immediately following World War I, the Korean nationalists initiated a movement to establish their own private university, named the People's University. To deflect this movement, the Japanese regime opened the Keijo Imperial University in Seoul in 1924 and it became the only university in Korea, while all the other established institutions of higher learning were downgraded to three-year non-degree granting institutions. Byung Hun Nam read the concealed motives behind the Japanese establishment of a state university in two ways: one was to provide higher education for the Japanese youth in Korea, and the other was for political expediency. The latter motive meant a dual purpose: on the one hand, to suppress the growing nationalism among Koreans by preventing the realization of the People's University; on the other hand, to indoctrinate the Korean youth elite with Japanese nationalism.[17] From a positive perspective, the founding of Keijo Imperial University was the commencement of the modern-style four-year university. The admission of Korean students, however, was strongly restricted to between one-fourth and one-third of the total number of students. For example, the total enrollment of the Imperial University in 1934 in ten years since its establishment was 930, of which the Korean fraction was only 32 percent. Even though the Korean fraction in 1942 rose to 39 percent it was even smaller than those at the primary and secondary education levels.[18]

Secondly, the Koreans' competitive admission to Keijo Imperial University and the Japanese-imposed prestige given to it facilitated the growth of a preference for state-run institutions to private ones, which was congruent with the feudalistic idea admired in traditional Confucianism. One can hardly deny that some of the elite Koreans, who might be strong advocates of Confucianistic ideology, enjoyed the life in Keijo Imperial University and took pride and self-confidence in their status as members of the select few. Japanese higher education in Korea, through Keijo Imperial University, left the Koreans with a bureaucratic centralized system of university governance. The influence of the Japanese pattern of rigid central domination on the development of Korean higher education was also observed in many areas of educational practice such as the entrance examination system, the unchallenged authority of professors, and the academic subject-matter centered curriculum.

Thirdly, after Korea was made a Japanese colony, the Japanese began to interfere craftily with the Christian mission schools and institutions of higher

education in every conceivable way. To begin with, the Japanese authorities were displeased with the curriculum and instruction in the mission schools which used the indigenous language as the medium of instruction, taught an ideology of freedom and self-determination and encouraged Christian behavior. This contradicted the Japanese educational policy which called for the denationalization of the Koreans. There was, however, the danger that any harsh restrictions on missionary activities might provoke reaction from the U.S. In the circumstances, subtlety and finesse were called for rather than a frontal attack on missionary schools.[19] One measure prohibited any religious instruction in the missionary schools as part of the official curriculum. Another proclaimed Japanese as the medium of instruction. The third demand was for the students and teachers to pay homage to Shinto shrines. A number of other complicated requirements were also imposed before the government would approve the mission schools. Concerning the reaction of the mission schools to these conditions, James Fisher, in his book *Democracy and Mission Education in Korea*, declared that "it was a case either of conforming to government standards or opting out."[20] The missionaries seemed to choose unavoidably the way to conform, at least outwardly, in order to protect their students and institutions. Consequently, in 1925, the missionary institutions of higher education, which lost their college status under the Education Ordinance of 1911, were reinstated as colleges.

For the thirty-six years of Japanese occupation, highly concerted efforts were made by the Western missionaries and indigenous forces to resist the Japanese educational policy and to preserve the national essence in education. A new and broader sense of unity emerged, and nationalism became one of the principal manifestations of the process of education. More Koreans went to the U.S. for study and returned home to work for Korean independence. Some were active in education and played the role of vanguard to adopt Western systems and ideas. The indigenous forces, however, were not necessarily united. Much dispute arose over the Western influences. The indigenous intellectuals, trained in the U.S. or in the domestic mission schools, preferred a new education and strongly advocated the adoption of the Western ideals. Some of them insisted on accepting even the Western influence transmitted by Japan. Sung- Hwa Lee pointed out this indirect Western influence through Japan as follows: "It is important to keep in mind that whatever form of education Korea has had, whether its system or thought, the greatest influence was brought from Japan. Therefore, it is natural to assume that whatever had influenced Japan from the outside would also be brought to education in Korea, in thought and in organization, during the thirty-six years of Japanese occupation." To illustrate an example of indirect Western influence, he cited an instance of French influence on the highly centralized school supervision and school district system in the establishment of Japanese education, which

was later transplanted to Korea.[21] It must be noted, however, that the Western impact transmitted by Japan might not be the original one. It must be the degenerated one that the Japanese brought for the purpose of oppressing and controlling the Koreans.

In this sense, it can be easily inferred that there must have been anti-Western indigenous forces. The major motive for the indigenous people to accept the Western missionaries lay in a common anti-Japanese consciousness. And it was because the ideology of freedom and independence brought by the missionaries was consistent with the Korean goal of independence. Nevertheless, many leading scholars trained in traditional thought and disciplines were reluctant to accept Western influences. They refused to risk compliant and unthoughtful accommodation with Western thought and practices. They were afraid of blind acculturation. What may be called Koreanism and Westernism thus emerged in the academic community which, in later years, became the focal point of continuous dispute among scholars in the institutions of higher education. However, the most dominant concern of the Koreans during the dark period of Japanese annexation was the instinct for immediate survival which dissolved the dispute over Western impact. Cooperative efforts were strengthened by Korean nationalistic aspirations to gain independence.

Western impact on the post-independence developments

The U.S. military government and educational aid

After Korea was liberated from the Japanese colonial rule in 1945, the next most important Western influence on the development of Korean higher education was the close relationship with the United States. The U.S. presence in Korea since 1945 can be divided into two distinct periods. At independence the Korean peninsula was place under a temporary trusteeship, with the U.S. as trustee south of the 38th parallel and the Soviet Union as the trustee in the north. The first U.S. presence in Korea began with such a trusteeship managed by the U.S. Military until 1948, when the U.S. military rule ended with the establishment of a new democratic government in south Korea, the Republic of Korea. However, the new Republic was set back by the disastrous consequences of the Korean War, which lasted from 1950 until 1953. Of course, the U.S. participated in the Korean War but, limited the discussion to the U.S. influences on the development of Korean higher education, the more significant U.S. presence this second time was the U.S. participation in the reconstruction of the country for the decade starting in 1953.

The primary goal of the U.S. Military Government in Korea was to help the Koreans establish a new democratic nation of their own as promised in the

Cairo Conference in 1943. The educational system was definitely regarded as one of the important areas from which the remnants of Japanese colonialism had to be swept away and where a new democratic system had to be instituted. The U.S. Military Government adopted a strategy for reshaping Korean education which had three components. First, the Military Government appointed many prominent Korean educators to become advisors for governmental affairs on education. The Government organized various advisory committees such as the Korean Committee on Education and the National Committee on Educational Planning, on which many leading Korean educators participated by invitation. Secondly, the Military Government made an effort to send Korean educators and students to the U.S. so that they could contribute to the rebuilding the national education system upon their return home. As intended, many of those early educators and students, who fostered the ideals of American-style democracy in educational theory and practice, came home to become college teachers and/or educational specialists and had a great impact on the Korean higher education sector as well as on primary and secondary educational development. By January 1948, a total of 111 Korean students had been sent to the U.S. to study at colleges and universities.[22] Some of them played the same role as G. Ticknor and other American students on returning home from their study in Germany in the early nineteenth century. Thirdly, the U.S. Military Government brought into Korea many American educators and educational specialists to serve as consultants and advisors and the like. Some of them conducted scientific research geared towards immediate and long-range planning for Korean education.

Placing greater emphasis on elementary and secondary educational development rather than on higher education, the Military Government introduced a new form of democratic educational philosophy in school organization and administration, curriculum and instruction, and so on. For instance, the idea of the 6–3–3–4 organizational ladder was instituted and compulsory education for the first six-year elementary education was implemented during this period of Military Government. In particular, it is worthwhile to note that the American pragmatic philosophy of education was introduced as the model of democratic education. American pragmatism emphasized living, child-centered education, education of the personality allowing for individual differences, and achieving social reconstruction through education. It is well known that the contribution of such a pragmatic philosophy to Korean education has been significant. Of more importance, however, is not the American acculturation but the Koreans' own initiative to make this pragmatism flourish in Korean education. The so-called New Education Movement, which relied entirely upon American pragmatism, was really initiated and advocated by the Korean educators who returned home from their study in the U.S.

The formation of the new democratic government, the Republic of Korea,

in 1948 was followed by the communist invasion in 1950 which lasted until 1953. Korea's accumulated economic and social difficulties, resulting from the Japanese occupation and the division of the country at the 38th parallel under divided trusteeship of the superpowers, were exacerbated by the devastation of the Korean War. After the armistice was signed in 1953, the next ten years was the critical period in the reconstruction of the Republic. Of course, during the eight year period from 1945 through 1953, foreign nations had contributed well over one billion U.S. dollars for aid to Korea, and the total proportion of the amount coming from the U.S. was over 95 percent.[23] During the ten year period from 1953 through 1964, of all the nations giving assistance to Korea for recovery from that ruinous conflict, the United States bore the greatest financial burden. For improvements in Korean higher education alone, the United States invested over $19 million during the period from 1953–1967.[24]

The U.S. educational aid program to Korea in the post-Korean War period began in 1952, when the United Nations formed an educational mission with the joint sponsorship of the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA). The UNESCO/UNKRA Educational Mission prepared a report, "Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea", which included a total of 108 specific recommendations for the overall improvement of Korean education.[25] According to the Mission's recommendations, the U.S. organized three Educational Missions sent to Korea from 1952 through 1955. These missions provided consultative services and in-service teacher training workshops. In particular, the third Mission, led by George Peabody's Professor Harold Benjamin, made a great contribution to the improvement of teacher education in Korea. They concentrated on field-work in schools, actually taught in schools, advised classroom teachers, and assisted school administrators both in schools and in the government. Their work even included advising on curriculum development and textbook revision at the Ministry of Education.[26]

There was a large number of aid programs. Three in particular deserve further discussion. All these programs were based on institutional contract. The first and largest, in terms of amount of investment, was the contract made by the U.S. Foreign Operations Administration between the University of Minnesota and the Seoul National University, in which the "objective was to upgrade the faculty members to the point where the programs there would compare favorably to those of high-ranking universities anywhere in the world."[27] The University of Minnesota designed various services to strengthen and develop educational research in the fields of agriculture, engineering, medicine and nursing; to establish a graduate school of public administration; to exchange professional staff; to provide technical advice for the rehabili-

tation of the physical plant; and to develop educational practices and procedures. The program began in 1954 and the total funding of the Minnesota contract until its termination in June 1962 amounted to about $6.5 million.[28] The contract provided for 300 person-years of staff training. A total of 226 Korean professors had been sent to the U.S. for additional study in forty-one fields of learning. Eleven of these professors earned doctoral degrees and fifty-five earned a master's degrees. Fifty-six faculty members from the University of Minnesota were sent to Seoul National University in the four fields covered by the contract.[29]

The second U.S. technical aid program to Korean higher education was the George Peabody College for Teachers Contract of 1956–1962. This contract aimed at improving the program for training teachers, facilities, and equipment in teacher training institutions. It reorganized and upgraded Korea's primary teacher training program from the high school to the junior college level. Consequently, the eighteen normal schools, which were at the senior high school level, were reorganized into fourteen two- year teachers colleges. The contract also called for exchanges of faculty: a total of 92 Korean educators were sent abroad and 39 Peabody College faculty members served in Korea. In this contract the U.S. financial assistance amounted to $3.8 million.[30]

The third program was the sister-relationship contract between Washington University of St. Louis and two leading private universities, Yonsei and Korea, in the field of business administration. As a result of the program, the curriculum and instruction of business administration at both Korean universities were improved and strengthened. Library resources were augmented as well as teaching materials and aids. The development and adoption of teaching methods such as the case study method, for instance, other than the lecture system in the classroom was encouraged. The contract provided for four management development conferences and, until its termination in 1963, 22 participants were sent to the conferences to receive advanced training in the U.S.[31] Other U.S. assistance to Korean higher education included aid to rebuild the Merchant Marine Academy at Pusan. It is also significant to note that England provided technical assistance to Korea under the aegis of the Colombo plan and the provision of a certain number of scholarships in Britain for Korean students. The Jesuit Fathers in Korea also supported the development of Korean higher education, through their assistance to Sogang Jesuit College.

Evaluation of the American influence

When one evaluates the American influence on the development of Korean higher education during the two periods of the U.S. presence, it has been a

common practice to emphasize the influences on primary and secondary levels of education alone.[32] It is understandable that, when all levels of education were ruined, the primary and secondary levels were given top priority. More concern and more finances were invested into those two levels of education. But significant progress was also made in the development of higher education by the U.S. Military Government, as illustrated by the following three examples.

First, the four-year undergraduate education system was implanted. As the 6–3–3–4 educational pattern was developing as the national system of education in Korea, the basic bachelor degree program at the tertiary level of education was extended to four years of study. Of course, higher education existed during the Japanese occupation period but not as it was known in America. Before liberation, there were 19 institutions of tertiary education, 260 professors, and a total enrollment of a little over 3,000 students. Most of those institutions were not four-year institutions and did not offer American-type bachelor degrees. The Military Government made an effort, with the help of educators in the private sector, to reorganize the system of Korean higher education based on the Western model. It is also notable that for a reorganization of higher education to occur, the Military Government had to rely to a great extent upon Korean personnel in private institutions of higher learning. As a consequence, the establishment of new institutions of higher education and the reorganization of established institutions was accelerated and the number of colleges and universities reached 29 with more than twenty thousand students by November 1947.[33]

Secondly, through an arrangement by the Military Government officials, the presidents and deans of institutions of higher education organized the Korean Association of Colleges and Universities in 1947. Out of 29 colleges and universities, 20 institutions which were approved by the Military Government authority became charter members of the Association, while the 9 other institutions remained to be approved.[34] The purpose of the Association was two-fold: to set up standards for the institutions of higher education and to serve as the accrediting organization, which followed the American model to control the quality of institutions of higher learning.[35] To a certain extent, the Association helped to improve qualitative and quantitative standards for higher education, but the total effectiveness of the Association was questionable. It is quite interesting that the Korean Council for University Education, an association of presidents and deans of four-year institutions of higher education, came into being in 1982, exactly 35 years after its precursor.

Thirdly, along with the establishment of higher education institutions, curriculum change was advocated. As in primary and secondary education, democratic principles were encouraged in describing educational objectives in higher education. The curriculum and its organization were implemented in

American style. The course titles and course of study itself were modeled after the American system. A number of American college textbooks were translated into Korean. The most salient change was the expansion of technical and vocational training establishments. During the era of Japanese colonialism, the highly skilled technical positions were reserved for the Japanese. Therefore, high-level skilled technical education was offered only to the Japanese. After liberation, however, the demand for high-level professionals greatly increased in Korean society and the Military Government was aware of this change. Many departments in engineering, agriculture, medicine, civil administration, education and other fields were established for professional education. Many American consultants took part in establishing these departments, along with colleges, their curriculum, and physical supports such as laboratory equipment.

Progress in educational reorganization under the U.S. Military Government was relatively successful and rapid compared to political and economic development. The main reason for this progress, according to an analysis by Byung Hun Nam, was the fact that while political and economic progress was largely dependent upon the results of negotiations between the United States and Russia, educational work could be carried on relatively uninfluenced by external considerations. Despite many difficult problems, educational policies and plans were carried out with a minimum of interference from outside forces.[36]

Some have criticized the U.S. Military Government's policy on education in Korea. Some reasons include the lack of preparation or pre-planning on the part of the United States and its ignorance of traditional Korean modes of thought and behavior. It is hindsight, however, which allows us to see some of the other interpretations.

According to many documents dealing with educational policy, it is clear that the U.S. Military Government intended to "Koreanize" education for Korean people outwardly. This policy seemed to be welcomed by the Korean people. The major and immediate goal of the Koreans after liberation was to rid their country of Japanese influences. However, the Koreans seemed to have had neither alternatives nor their own unique ideas and were therefore obliged to accept the ideas and practices of the American educators. The indigenous Korean people had little choice but to go along with the American notions in the development of higher education. This did not mean that Westernization or Americanization were the only alternatives. Koreans made efforts to preserve as much of their tradition as they could privately, but they could not develop any other better alternatives of their own design. The American influence on higher education was admittedly self-imposed with American encouragement and friendly assistance.

An inevitable conflict began to arise in the academic community and among

national leaders. One side was for American educational ideas. They were eager to modernize and democratize their educational system. In particular, they strongly advocated the American philosophy of higher education for a large number of capable students. It was a sort of universialism at the tertiary level of education. Many American-educated scholars still believe that the U.S. Military Government's policy on higher education made a meaningful impact on the expansion of the educational opportunity in higher education by region, level and class. The other side was composed of the Japanese-trained Korean scholars, who adhered to the Japanese philosophy of higher education for the highly selected few. Accordingly, when one looked at the U.S. Military Government's policy from the viewpoint of traditional elitism, it was seen to have failed and rather increased chaos in higher education. These scholars were afraid of educational acculturation and they wanted to protect Korean independence and autonomy against intrusion of American thought and practices into a Korean system of higher education imposed by Japanese colonialism.

The U.S. aid program to Korean higher education during 1953 to 1963 had positive as well as negative effects on the development of Korean higher education. Three essential factors can be observed. First, and foremost, through more emphasis on higher education comparable to primary and secondary level education, the U.S. aid program reshaped the existing colleges and universities. The limited opportunity for higher education was greatly expanded. Many new colleges and universities were established and enrollment rapidly increased.[37] The U.S. aid program expanded the idea of equality of opportunity in higher education. In his doctoral dissertation, Herbert W. Dodge described the justification for investment in higher education by the U.S. as follows:[38]

> Of the large number of Korean institutions of higher education, only a few could claim to be institutions of higher learning by the standards of advanced countries. The Republic of Korea was unable to devote sufficient budgetary support for higher education. Consequently there were very wide qualitative disparities in the system. An important deficiency of Korea's higher education was the absence of centers of advanced teaching and research. Korea needed such centers to provide high-level manpower over a broad professional and disciplinary spectrum. The availability of advanced, high-quality centers would reduce the outflow of talented students seeking training in foreign universities and lower the risk of losing them to the "brain drain". They might also draw back to Korea outstanding scholars who had settled abroad.

The intention to upgrade the quality of advanced training and to expand the

accessibility to such advanced institutions of higher education was not at all wrong in and of itself but could be acceptable only with exact judgement of societal demand for high-level education. The U.S. aid authority, however, failed in forecasting the high-level manpower demand in national development. The negative criticism of an overemphasis on higher education in aid programs notes that overproduction of college and university graduates resulted in increased unemployment of graduates. These critics go on to say that the provision of centers of excellence for high-level training may have exaggerated the brain-drain problem, as highly-skilled Koreans in technologies abundant in more advanced countries but not yet established in Korea found it easier to migrate abroad, especially given the changes in the immigration laws of the United States.[39]

Secondly, the American impact on Korean higher education was made through a sort of contact change, in which the change agent was the Korean students who went to the U.S. for advanced study and training. It has been reported that under the various U.S. projects aiding Korea's development in the period from 1954 through 1967, a total of 2,883 Koreans received advanced training in various fields in the U.S. and other Western countries.[40] By 1956, the third largest foreign student enrollment in the United States was from Korea, behind Canada and Taiwan. One in every twenty foreign college students in the United States was a Korean, many of whom majored in the social sciences (29.4%) or the humanities (17.9%). Enrollments in natural sciences and engineering were proportionately lower than those for other foreign students.[41] In 1987, Korea still occupied third place by sending 19,940 students – about 6 percent of the total foreign students in U.S. institutions.[42] Korea now sends its students to institutions of higher education in 51 foreign countries, of which the U.S., the top receiver of Korean students, took 54 percent of the total in 1987. Large numbers of Korean students also went to Japan (16%), West Germany (12%) and France (5%).[43] Of importance is the fact that many of those U.S. trained students came home and became faculty members in higher education institutions. They not only introduced what they learned in the U.S. but personalized the American knowledge and thoughts, which might have unaccountable potential effect on their research and teaching. The leadership role played by the U.S.-trained scholars in each college or university percolated into every corner of university administration, governance, financing, and curriculum development. It is said that contemporary Korean higher education is modeled after the American system. Perhaps, the most valid cause for this might be found in the leadership of the early U.S. trained scholars and faculty members.

Thirdly, there is another important effect which may be thought negligible but is actually quite meaningful, particularly in present day Korean education. In 1961, under the guidance of the U.S. Operations Mission's Education

Division, Ewha Women's University, the largest private women's institution, conducted a self-evaluation study, an important element in the accrediting process.[44] Evaluation criteria were developed and a self- evaluation mechanism was designed. The importance of the self- evaluation study does not lie in its content or recommendations but rather in the fact that it was the first work in self- evaluation in Korea. In view of the lack of institutional research and shortage of devices for qualitative improvement in Korean colleges and universities, such a self-evaluation system was enough to stimulate the other institutions of higher education to implement their own self-evaluation programs. To be discussed later, this self-evaluation idea again began to develop with the so-called experimental college in the 1970's and the institutional association for autonomy and self-control of university education in the 1980's.

Contemporary developments in higher education

During the past two decades since the mid-1960's, several significant developments occurred which are related to Western influences on Korean higher education. In discussing the primary orientation of development in contemporary Korean higher education, it is now common practice to give equal consideration to both the rapid quantitative growth and the qualitative innovations. The reason for this is that the increase in quantity has left in its wake a multitude of problems, particularly in relation to quality education. The conflicts between the societal demand for increasing access to higher education and the academic demand for quality of education are chronic and persistent in Korea. The first part in this section deals with quantitative growth, while the second part emphasizes qualitative aspects such as curriculum, faculty, and governance. This section ends its discussion with academic nationalism in Korean higher education.

Quantitative growth and qualitative development

The wave of growth experienced by Korean higher education, since independence is now cresting. As in shown in the following Table 1, the aggregate number of Korean institutions of higher education has increased from only 19 in 1945 to 255 in 1985, a thirteen fold increase. The enrollment in higher education reached a little more than 1.2 million, an increase of more than 150 times since independence, while the number of faculty members increased only about twenty-three times. The enrollment in 1985 exceeded thirty-seven percent of the total Korean population aged 18–21.

Table 1. Quantitative growth of Korean higher education

Year	Institutions		Faculty members		Students			
	Number	Growth rate	Number	Growth rate	Number	Growth rate	A*	B**
1945	19	1.0	1,490	1.0	7,819	1.0	—	0.5
1955	74	3.9	2,626	1.8	84,996	8.4	—	4.0
1965	162	8.6	6,801	4.6	141,636	18.2	7.1	4.9
1975	204	10.7	13,981	9.4	296,219	38.0	8.8	6.9
1985	255	13.4	33,483	22.5	1,209,647	154.7	37.1	31.1

* A: Percent of the enrollment to the population aged 18-21.
** B: Number of students per 1,000 total population.
Source: Ministry of Education, *Statistical Yearbook of Education* (each pertinent year) (Seoul: Ministry of Education, Republic of Korea, each pertinent year); Moo-sup Kang, *Hankook Kodeungkyoyook Jungchaek Yonkoo* [A Study of Policies of Higher Education in Korea] (Seoul: Korean Educational Development Institute, 1985), pp. 60-61.

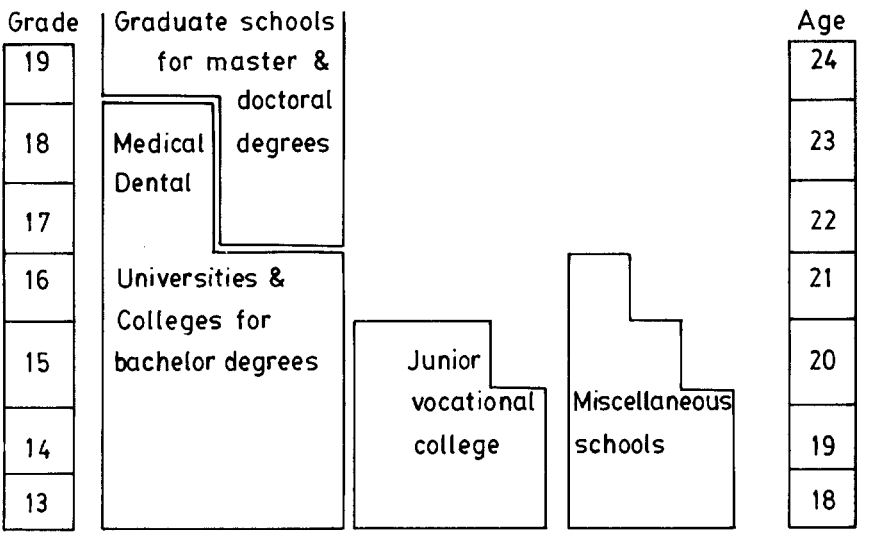

Fig. 1. Current higher education system in Korea.

The current higher education system in Korea includes four categories of institutions as depicted in Figure 1: 1) 2–3 year junior vocational college, 2) 4–6 year university or college for bachelor degrees, 3) graduate schools for master and doctoral degrees, and 4) miscellaneous schools at the postsecondary level. The graduate schools are mostly extensions of the 4–6year universities and colleges. There are three types of degrees conferred in higher education institutions: bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees. No degree is conferred

to the graduates of junior vocational colleges and miscellanous schools. The graduate degree includes an academic research degree at the master's and doctoral levels, but also a professional degree at the master's level. In 1986, there was a total of 111 universities and colleges, comprising about 74 percent of the entire enrollment in higher education, and 120 junior vocational colleges with about 19 percent. The 203 graduate schools accommodate approximately seventy-thousand students, about 5 percent of the total enrollment in higher education. The private institutions of higher education outnumber public ones by far, enrolling more than three-quarters of all students.

Several factors contribute to the upward expansion of higher schooling in Korea. There are two types of fundamental forces which are behind the dramatic increase in Korean higher education: one is the pushing force, which arises from the inescapable changes created mainly outside the circle of higher education, and the other is the pulling force, which is a desire or a persistent and sometimes latent demand from society and from within the institutions of higher education. Of course, these two forces do not operate in isolation of one another but are interwoven and amalgamated in a diverse set of dimensions. That is the very reason why it is difficult to pinpoint certain major factors that shaped the continued expansion of Korean higher education. The pushing forces include the continued rise in the birth rate since the Korean War, social and national demand for the leveling-off of enrollment in regional distribution, in public and private sectors, and in the academic disciplines. Another pushing force is the continued emergence of new major fields in the world of knowledge and new jobs in the world of work. Certain pulling forces were much stronger than those pushing ones. The most salient pulling force must be the traditional value orientations of Koreans who view higher education as a valuable means for socioeconomic mobility. However, as already discussed, under the Japanese domination, higher education opportunities for Koreans were severely limited to less than one percent of the eligible age group.[45] At the time, the American ideology of equal opportunity began to be introduced and was maintained through their continuous presence. With regard to this, Hahn-Been Lee once observed that "among the manifold manifestations of the ideology of equal opportunity none was more widespread and far-reaching than education."[46] With the traditionally strong zeal for higher education of people but with limited access to higher education, due to the government- controlled strict quota for enrollment, a social problem began to emerge in the early 1970's, that is, an accumulated increase in the so-called "repeaters" for the college entrance examination. In this regard, the late 1970's was a time in which a number of social, economic, political, educational and psychological pushing and pulling forces culminated, and the government could not help increasing and changing its strictly limited quota for enrollment. This explains why in the 1980's, the enrollment suddenly

jumped more than four times, as shown in Table 1. The other pulling forces include the inwardly cherished desire of many institutions of higher education to expand, for it has been widely perceived in the view of Korean public that one of the most important factors in assessing an institution is its size. The larger the institutions, the more prestigious social recognition the institution gains. And the larger the institution, the more serious are the financial constraints in general. Ironically, the larger the institution, the more flexible the financial position, particularly in some private institutions which depend entirely on the students' tuition as a means of support. In sum, currently almost 100 percent of the eligible age group is enrolled in elementary schools and all elementary school graduates advance to middle schools. Ninety- seven percent of middle school graduates enter high school, and about thirty-eight percent of high school graduates are admitted to institutions of higher education.

Under such a massive quantitative expansion the most critical problem faced in higher education was how to maintain and improve academic quality and excellence. This problem has been noted by the various constituencies of academic society as well as by the educational policy makers in the government. In an attempt at quality control of higher education, not only the government but also individual institutions have initiated new strategies for development to reform the institutions of higher education from the 1970's, in which Western influence was incubated, as is illustrated by the following two examples.

Faculty Development: recognizing that the faculty is the most important resource in higher education, each individual institution with governmental support designed many devices to encourage their faculty members to earn doctoral degrees. In 1967, the doctoral degree holders among faculty members in four- year institutions amounted to only 10.1 percent.[47] By 1983, it had increased to about 40 percent.[48] Now a Ph. D. is a prerequisite for employment as a professor in most universities and colleges. A major proportion of the doctoral degree holders, comes from the returning students who studied abroad, particularly in the United States. In 1983, the distribution of countries in which the faculty members in four-year institutions earned their doctoral degree is shown in the Table 2. It is important to explore the reasons for the predominance of American-educated doctoral degree holders. According to an analysis by Youngnok Koo and Dae-Sook Suh, a number of factors explain this phenomenon: following the Korean War, there was increased contact with Americans, who recommended study in the United States; scholarship grants were offered by American universities; there was the American professor exchange system and American technical aid; and, finally, American prestige in scholarship after World War II.[49] Another observation is that until the early 1970's graduate school education in Korea was relatively less developed in

Table 2. Distribution by country of where faculty members earned their doctoral degrees

Field	Country					
	Korea	North America	Europe	Asia	Others	Total
Linguistics & Literature	60.1%	14.1%	18.9%	6.6%	0.1%	100.0%
Humanities	39.2	38.3	15.7	6.5	0.3	100.0
Social sciences	47.2	36.4	11.6	4.7	0.2	100.0
Business administration	65.5	26.1	5.4	3.0	0.0	100.0
Arts & Physical education	24.6	60.7	11.5	3.3	0.0	100.0
Natural sciences	53.5	29.7	6.0	9.4	0.4	100.0
Engineering	56.8	19.1	10.3	13.6	0.2	100.0
Fishery & Marine	53.0	6.1	19.7	21.2	0.0	100.0
Medical sciences	90.2	3.7	1.6	4.4	0.1	100.0
Agriculture & Forestry	63.4	14.7	3.9	17.1	0.9	100.0
Total	61.1	21.9	8.7	8.0	0.3	100.0

Source: Woochul Kang, Insook Chang, Sungho Lee, *Daehak Kyosoozawon Teuksung Yonkoo* [An Analysis of Characteristics of University Professors] (Seoul: Korean Council for University Education, 1983), p. 37.

terms of its quality in curriculum and instruction. What was more problematic was the severely limited access to doctoral degree programs except in the medical science field. Many domestic-educated doctoral degrees in Table 2 were conferred since the 1970's.

Another approach to faculty development which has emerged in the 1980's is the American conceptualized style of faculty development, which aims at helping faculty members furnish themselves with a complex set of attitudes, knowledge, skills, motivations and values to assist them in teaching, research, social service and academic administration. A variety of workshops have been designed by individual institutions and by their associations. However, the primary focus is still limited to instructional development and has not been extended to organizational, personal, and community development. The government has allocated a considerable amount of its budget for faculty development, which is used for the faculty members to have one-year paid leave for an education or research program in a foreign country. As with the students, the majority of the faculty members prefer the advanced Western countries for their leave. Many universities and colleges have sister relationships with foreign universities and colleges to exchange their faculty members as well as their students. It is quite interesting that almost seventy percent of foreign institutions in exchange programs are from the United States and some advanced countries in Europe.[50]

Curriculum and administration

The curriculum in many departments in Korean universities and colleges has been based on the American model. Even though we find some native Korean conditions which have affected and modified the curriculum development, the mainstream in curriculum content selection and organization is shaped by the American-educated faculty members. At the graduate level, the procedure for conferring degrees is quite similar to that in American graduate schools. For example, course requirements, qualifying examinations, foreign language requirements, thesis writing and oral defenses are all standard practice in Korean higher education.

To focus on the undergraduate curriculum, the baccalaureate degree requires at least 140 credit hours in which about 32 percent is devoted to general education. In addition to the semester system the major-minor and double-major system were employed through the pilot experimental institute program in 1973. An advanced placement program for superior students in some subject areas through institutional examinations was also introduced. In 1984, summer sessions were universalized and present in every four-year institution of higher education. Considering certain problems and criticisms faced by Korean universities and colleges, it would be difficult to deny that the curriculum developed in Korean institutions has been influenced by the American patterns. Problems and criticism which arise are also common to the American university and college curriculum. The following are examples of the most frequently raised criticisms: [51]

- The ideal goal of general education is formulated but its actual objectives are not clearly defined.
- General education is recognized as an important element of college education in theory but regarded as peripheral in practice.
- The content of general education is poorly selected and organized.
- A major may simply be a collection of courses in a certain specialty area lacking balance or cohesion between depth and breadth.
- The students spend too much time taking the required major courses as well as the major itself as a whole.
- The undergraduate curriculum is departmentally fragmented and overspecialized by the dominant faculty specialization.

For a long time, a salient feature of Korean higher education has been direct government involvement in academic administration of higher education. In an attempt at quality control, the government has directly participated in accrediting institutions, faculty and programs. There has been, however, an urgent and cumulative demand for a new strategy of development to rejuvenate the institutions of higher education through mobilizing academic expertise. This need collectively culminated in 1982, when a non- governmental and

collective body of four-year institutions of higher education, dubbed as the Korean Council for University Education, came into being. It is an association of presidents and deans, reminiscent of a similar organization which existed during the U.S. Military Government period. The primary function of the Council is to insure a basic level of quality and considerable independence and autonomy through the practice of professional evaluation of higher education institutions and programs. The primary mode of the evaluation procedure established is the same as that of the accrediting system prevalent in the United States.

Academic nationalism

As observed in the preceding discussion, the Western, especially the American influence on Korean higher education was accommodated by the American-educated faculty members in universities and colleges. Their influence on Korean higher education varied from classroom teaching methods, curricular content, university administration and governance, as well as the mode of thought in teaching and research. Concerning such influences by American-educated faculty members, Youngnok Koo and Dae-Sook Suh once made a positive evalution: [52]

> Thus American-educated professors played a leading role in the process of academic development, except in such Korean studies as Korean literature and history. At an early stage, Korean professors imported American learning almost indiscriminately, but this was an inevitable process of development. Despite this weakness, they made a considerable contribution to the development of learning in Korea. Although a few American- educated scholars were dishonorable in their behavior, tempted as they were by power and wealth, the majority of them played a significant role in the development of democratic politics through education.

In the 1970's, conflicts began to arise in various forms. First of all, there was conflict between the American-educated younger faculty and the old members who had no doctoral degrees. The latter criticized the American Ph. D. faculty members for blindly borrowing the American academic culture through their teaching and behavior. Some of the older professors do not respect the doctoral degree itself, but rather take pride in their accumulated experience in teaching and research on indigenous culture and modes of thought. This tension shifted to the divided academy of Korean-educated doctoral degree holders and American- educated degree holders. It is a sort of an expression

of neo- nationalism in the academic community. Indeed, such national consciousness in academia obtained governmental support, by which the Academy of Korean Studies was established for the purpose of encouraging instruction and research in traditional Korean culture, philosophy, history, literature, etc. The movement to foster the self-identity of the Korean people has spread over all the fields in the higher education community. Neo-nationalism was more fully embraced by the emerging new generation which had been educated only with "Hangul", the Korean native language, in their primary and secondary schools.

Now, the tendency of dependence on Western theories and practices is being overcome not only by Korean-educated scholars but also by American-educated scholars. They are attempting Koreanization of their teaching and research in universities and colleges. Modernization is no longer synonymous with Westernization or Americanization. Modernization is a true Koreanization, seeking its own potentialities and building up its own idiosyncrasies. Accordingly, there is a growing preference for Korean research articles over foreign ones, and Korean degree holders over foreign ones in some academic specialities such as the humanities. There has been, however, the continuing dependence on Western development in the social and natural sciences and engineering fields. And it should be questioned whether or not such dependence is against Koreanization and what is the real border which separates the subtle from the overt accommodation of Western theories and practices. It is convenient to conclude by quoting Tong-il Cho's comment: "In the natural sciences and technology, there is an ever increasing demand to learn from the West, because that is regarded as the best means for national development. Social scientists still raise the question whether, within their field, the Korean way is possible and meaningful. But now it is almost unanimously accepted among the scholars of the humanities that Westernism must be fused into Koreanism." [53]

Conclusion

The history of any country is a collection of challenges and responses. In an era of interdependence, all countries borrow some features of their system from other countries on a different trial mechanism of challenge and response. The development of Korean higher education during the last century is no exception. The arrival of Western missionaries to Korea which had been closed to the world for a long time, the thirty-six year Japanese occupation, the independence movement, the management of independence under a trusteeship, the Korean War and the division of South and North Korea, all these experiences have required Koreans to come to terms with Western influence

in every corner of their lives. Higher education in Korea has developed in a long passage of such Western influences.

This article has examined Western influence on the development of Korean higher education dividing it into two periods: pre- independence and post-independence. Influence is regarded as a means of change, in which adaptation of new ideas and practices ascertained and expressed by one side brings about any reconstitution of conventional structures on the other side. The Western influence on the development of Korean higher education during the two periods is characteristic of the predominance of adaptation to American ideas and practices from the beginning in the late nineteenth century. The roots of American influence can be seen developmentally as representing three sets of entangled issues: the role of the early American missionaries in creating the spirit of resistance to Japanese oppression; the increase of American-educated scholars and their change-agent leadership; and the newly emerging definitions of nationalism and collaborative relationship between the change-agent and the indigenous group. Many conflicts still exist and run rather deeply in relation to these issues. Why do we inevitably follow the American models? What is true Koreanism or nationalism? Why do we, in our idiosyncratic development, have to emulate in American development? If development means new exploration and creation, not pale imitation or blind conformity, what developments has Korean higher education really been responsible for? Is it possible to reinterpret development of Korean higher education as an unfolding or revealing process of indigenous thought and philosophy? Is it the best solution against acculturation to return to more traditional forms or to experiment with the idiosyncratic form of Koreans without referring to Western developments? All of these questions cannot be answered in a few words. They are interwoven and require an integrated analysis. The dualistic judgement, which differentiates what is indigenous and what is the result of Western influence, is erroneous. It is even dangerous if we reject thoughtlessly the Western influences only with one reason that they are not indigenous. In conclusion, the most probable schema to respond to such issues is to view Western development as one of the sources challenging endogenous change, while treating it also as an influential force. If we have made any mistake in developing our higher education, it might be that we treated American development as a powerful influence on the development of Korean higher education and we neglected to deal with it rather as a source of data for our own development.

The Republic of Korea, as a newly industrialized nation, stands among the notable success in the developing world. In economics and international trade, Korea has received acclaim at the semi-advanced level, being recognized as a competent partner with, rather than a recipient of, foreign assistance. It is through the contribution of higher education that the hopes of Koreans were

realized. What is certain is that in a relatively short period Korean higher education has developed a reasonably clear educational philosophy, curricular system, and quantitative expansion which is generally well recognized as a source of national development and welfare. The progress made during the last four decades is reassuring. However, public confidence in higher education in Korea is likely to be shaken. Higher education, which should set standards for other elements of society to emulate, now seems to be suffering from an erosion of indigenous institutional integrity. The institutions of higher education in Korea are faced with strong pressures for increased academic nationalism as well as for excellence comparable to that of Western advanced countries. To achieve success in this task, Korean higher education institutions must not fall victim to exclusively narrow-minded attitudes for self-preservation but must move to establish a full psychological interdependent membership with their counterparts in the academic community worldwide.

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