The Centrality of the State in the Governing of Higher Education in South Korea:
A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

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Abstract

This thesis takes the critical incident of the suicide of a part-time lecturer in South Korea in 2010 and the subsequent policy response as paradigmatic of the problems of governing higher education. In terms of theoretical resources, it draws on state theories, especially a cultural approach to the state, in order to understand the multiple relations and the interplay of different layers of governing practices in the governing of higher education in South Korea. This thesis argues that mainstream theories of the state are often culturally 'blind' and that the specificities of the Korean state need to be understood with reference to its particular culture, history and context. The thesis also draws on literature on higher education governance, from which three governing principles are identified as topics for investigation, along with a process-oriented approach to professionalism. The research question emerging from this is 'how does the centrality of the Korean state play out in the governing of higher education in South Korea?' Methodologically, the enquiry is shaped by critical discourse analysis (CDA). This approach explores the ways in which higher education governing discourses are related to other social elements. By analysing policy texts and institutional characteristics, the first phase of the enquiry explores how the governing discourses have been indigenised, constructing particular state-academy relations in South Korea. The second phase scrutinises the case of part-time lecturer policy in order to illuminate the distinctive governing dynamics, by which the centrality of the Korean state is assumed to be practised.

Key words: Korean state, cultural assemblages, higher education governance, academic professionalism, modernisation, globalisation, discourse, critical discourse analysis (CDA), state-centrality

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All errors remain only mine.

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List of abbreviations

ACT	Appeals Commission for Teachers
AP	Academic Professionalism
BK 21	Brain Korea 21 (Project)
CCK	The Constitutional Court of (South) Korea
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
ERC	Presidential Advisory Educational Reform Committee
ESTC	Education, Science & Technology Committee
FTAS	Full-time Academic Staff
HEA	Higher Education Act
HEI	Higher Education Institution
IO	International Organisation
KCUE	Korean Council for University Education
KEDI	Korean Educational Development Institute
KIPU	Korea Irregular Professor Union
KPU	Korea Professor Union
KTU	Korea Teacher (and Education Worker) Union
KUADA	Korean University Academic Deans' Association
MEST	The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology

MOE	The Ministry of Education
MOE & HRD	The Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development
NA	The National Assembly
NHRD	National Human Resource Development
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCSC	Presidential Committee for Social Cohesion
PEOA	Public Educational Officials Act
PD	Professors for Democracy
PL	Part-time Lecturer
PLP	Part-time Lecturer Policy
PSA	Private School Act
PSSPA	Private School Staff Pension Act
ROK	The Republic of Korea
RRAS	Retention Rate of Academic Staff
SCK	The Supreme Court of (South) Korea
SK	South Korea
SM	State Managerialism
STIP	Status of Teacher for Irregular Professor in Korea
UDT	The Unified Democratic Party
UPP	The Unified Progressive Party
WCU	World Class University (Project)

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Introduction

Background and context

In May 2010, a part-time university lecturer (PL) committed suicide in South Korea (SK). He insisted on sending his will to the Blue House [the Presidential Office in SK] for official investigation, and asserted in it that there existed widespread immoral practices[1] in the Korean academy: these included unequal and hierarchical relations between supervisors and supervisees; exploitative practices in academic work, and bribery and corruption in recruiting academics (Bae, 2010; Lee, 2010). Indeed, his suicide was a critical incident in Korean society. It seemed to reveal a dark underside in the Korean academy and to undermine its reputation for moral integrity. Public concerns arose as the situation contrasted starkly with widely held images of the academic profession. In Korean society scholars have traditionally been venerated as noble men or members of professional elites who possess essential knowledge, and are thus granted privileges, originating from their roots in the Confucian ideology of the Cho-sun Dynasty (1392~1910) (T. Kim, 2001; 2009). The suicide, therefore, prompted public scrutiny of the culture and practice of academic professionalism and resulted in government intervention aimed at policy that would reduce the long-established inequalities within the academic profession as well as upholding distributional justice in the employment relations of the academic field.

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[1] This thesis works on Bevir's definition on the concept of 'practice'. According to Bevir, a practice refers to 'a set of actions that exhibit a pattern, perhaps even a pattern that remains relatively stable across time' (Bevir, 2011: 189).

The critical incident revealed the precariousness of part-time academic work to the public. Statistics showed that PLs took on around a half of all university lectures; their average salary was approximately 25% of that of full-timers; they were not paid during vacations; pension and health insurance did not cover them; and they usually only had short contracts of six months (MEST, 2010). The conditions of part-time academics and the reality of their working lives were problematised in the media after the suicide incident (Byun & Kim, 2010; Han, 2010). In the face of public pressures, the state apparatuses – i.e. the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST), the Presidential Committee for Social Cohesion (PCSC) and the National Assembly (NA) – undertook to improve the working conditions of the PLs as well as provide them with proper (legal) status.

In order to understand the political context within which the policy case unfolded, a brief account on the politics of the Republic of Korea [South Korea] may be helpful here. South Korea's political powers are in principle divided into three different branches – the legislative, the judicial and the administrative branches. Within this framework, the President represents the Republic of Korea as head of the South Korean state. Administrative power is exercised by the departments (including the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST)) of the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and the National Assembly (NA). The National Assembly (of the Republic of Korea) is the 300-member unicameral legislature of SK. The latest legislative elections were held on 11 April 2012 and its members serve four-year terms. The judicial branch is independent of the executive and the legislature and comprises the Supreme Court of Korea (SCK), the appellate courts and the Constitutional Court of Korea (CCK) (Wikipedia, 2014).

Within this context, three groups of policy actors – state officers, university managers, and labour union representatives – engaged in interaction from the suicide of the PL in May 2010, which lasted for more than three years until the end of 2013. The 'state officer' group comprises a number of officers participating in this policy as members of MEST (MOE since 2013), NA and PCSC. Here, the PCSC refers to a Presidential advisory committee founded in 2009 for increasing social cohesion and integration. The 'university manager' group consisted of staff members working for the Korean Council for University Education (KCUE), the Korean University Academic Deans Association (KUADA) and the headquarters of HEIs. Among these, KCUE is the representative association of four-year universities, which seeks to promote cooperation among member universities and improve the quality of higher education through guaranteeing the autonomy of the university (KCUE, 2014). The 'labour union' group includes the representatives of full-time academics and PLs. For instance, the Status of Teacher for Irregular Professor (STIP) group refers to a labour union joining actively in the policy debates throughout the policy process for the purpose of guaranteeing the (legal) status of PLs.

As illustrated in Figure 1 below, the policy process was constructed by interplay among the governing actors, which formed different phases of policy events represented in the production of three different versions of the Higher Education Act (HEA). In the first phase, the Korean government decided to allocate more resource for increasing the monthly salary of PLs, as well as widening their opportunities to participate in government-funded research projects (MEST, 2010). In this phase, the MEST and PCSC began to discuss the ways by which the legal status of PLs could be guaranteed: the MEST drafted the revision of the Higher Education Act (HEA); and the PCSC held meetings to gather the views of the university managers, PL unions and academic professionals. After intense deliberations and political struggles the NA passed the government-initiated HEA for protecting the status of PLs on December 2011 [the '2011 HEA'] (MEST, 2011; NA, 2011b; PCSC, 2010).

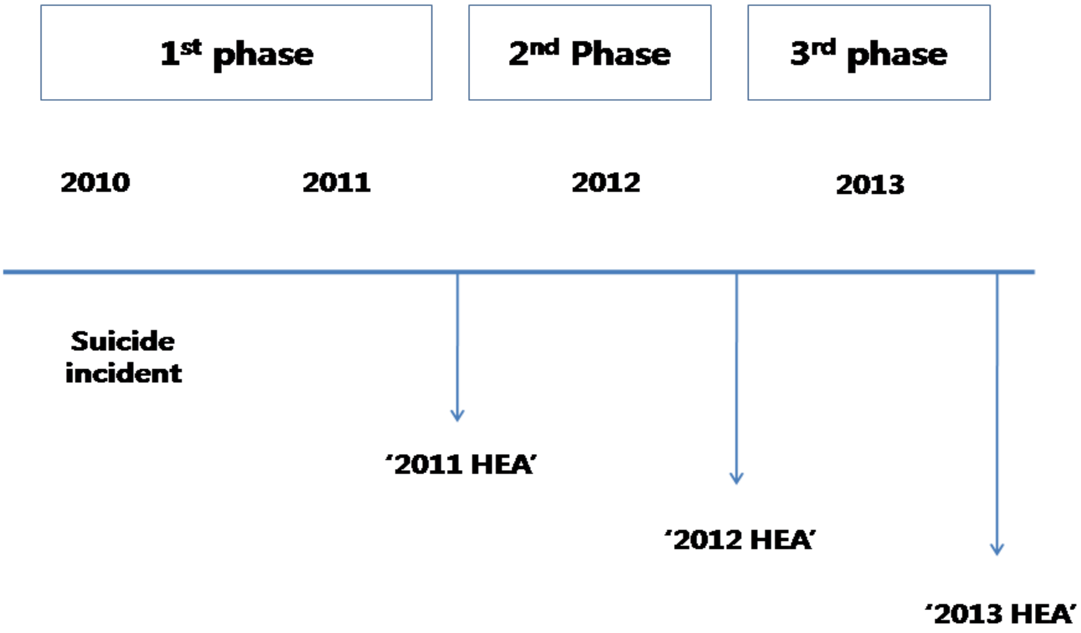

Figure 1. The policy phases and key events of the PLP case

However, these efforts were not sufficient to solve the problem. In the first place, this action represented a break with the autonomy of universities in employing academics. Therefore, this might be a source of conflict between the state and the academy, as the governing of the employment of academics was co-steered by the government and universities, in which government set the basic principles by means of legal institutions – i.e. the Public Educational Officials Act (PEOA) and the Private School Act (PSA), while the details of working conditions were determined by each university independently. In the second phase, for instance, universities began to decrease the quotas of PLs in order to reduce their employment costs, an action which may well have reduced the job security of PLs after the legislation (Kim & Kim, 2012). In these circumstances, university authorities and PL unions alike put pressure on the MEST by opposing the new HEA. In the midst of the contestations, the NA passed alternative legislation in November 2012, which proposed to postpone the enactment of the new HEA for one year [the '2012 HEA'] (Yoo et al., 2012). After the NA postponed the enactment of the '2011 HEA' until January 2014, the whole of 2013 witnessed recurrent policy debates which failed to develop a consensus. In the third phase, therefore, another postponement Bill was passed in the NA at the end of 2013 [the '2013 HEA'] (Yoon et al., 2013).

The 'cultural turn' and understanding governance

This brief account of the part-time lecturer policy (PLP) case condenses the seriousness of the critical incident – not just for higher education but for the Korean state and society. Because it reflects so many key developments in SK – the transformation of the economy and the labour market, the massification of higher education, the extent of social change and disruption of established relations – it can be seen as representing, in microcosm, the 'governing problem' of the Korean state in the context of modernisation and globalisation. The higher education policy context is also a rich environment in which to explore the particularity of the ‘governing practices’, within which the PLP case is embedded, because of the distinctive role and status of the academy in Korean society and the specific relationship between the Korean state and universities. This thesis accordingly seeks to use the PLP case as a means of investigating and thus better understanding the governing problems and governing practices that characterise the Korean state in its project of modernising higher education and competing globally. Through this contextualisation, I argue that the particular policy case encapsulates key elements and concepts that help to illuminate the nature of the governing practices of higher education in SK.

In the Western Academy over a long period of time, research on ‘governing’ or ‘governance’, despite regional and disciplinary differentiations, has been fundamentally about studying the topic of the ‘state’ or ‘government’ (Kjaer, 2004; Peters & Pierre, 2006). In other words, the conceptualisation of the state and governance were deeply interrelated. However, as the role of the state and approaches to governance were increasingly influenced by globalisation, the knowledge economy and European integration from the 1980s onwards, a number of scholars began to argue that the supremacy of territorial states in the governing of domestic affairs should be re-evaluated to elaborate systems of knowledge that took account of the (new) realities that Western societies experienced. Within these social and political contexts, new governance literature began to re-conceptualise the ways in which public agendas (including education policy) were managed at the supra-national, national and regional levels, and how the relations between these levels should be understood (Jessop, 2004;

Kooiman, 2003; Newman, 2005; Grek, 2012; Lawn & Grek, 2012; Ozga et al., 2011). This literature charted a shift from bureaucratic to networked governing forms and – in some cases – identified a decline in the capacity of sovereign states in defining or steering public problems (Bache & Flinders, 2004; Rhodes, 1996; 1997).

This literature was imported into Korean academy from the 1990s and came to occupy a dominant position as a *vogue* form of analysis driving public sector reforms (including higher education reforms) in the midst of overcoming successive Korean economic crises since 1997 (Byun, 2008; P. S. Kim, 2000; J. S. Park, 2004; H. Shin et al., 2013; D. J. Kim, 2008). Despite the widespread adoption of these approaches in SK, Korean researchers seem to pay little attention to the fact that the system of knowledge was devised for understanding Western realities and contexts: it is not a literature that is *indigenous* to the systems that have adopted it and that use its terminology. This phenomenon may be understood as a part of the spread of neo-liberal ideas in this globalised world. Neo-liberalism, as Harvey (2005: 2) clearly puts it, proposes that 'human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade'. The political and economic projects of the Western developed countries have also been applied to education reforms, resulting in surging reform agendas involving privatisation, deregulation and performance management (Ball, 2007; 2008). The education reform agendas underpinned by neo-liberalism were 'transferred' into the South Korean academy and government from the mid-1990s and New Public Management (NPM) principles and new governing techniques have been mobilised politically as necessary in the context that Korean society confronted in the globalised world of the knowledge economy (P. S. Kim, 2000; Phillips & Ochs, 2003; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004).

In engaging with this ‘spread of neo-liberal ideas’ (S. J. Ball, 2012; Harvey, 2005), I am also confronting the ‘neo-liberal spread of ideas’ as a Korean researcher who is interested in understanding the governance of higher education in SK and sensitive to the possibility of the inappropriate transfer of Western ideas and practices into the South Korean state. It is, therefore, necessary to evaluate the possibilities as well as limitations of applying Western ideas to the Korean context. A critical evaluation of this literature is therefore offered here as a preliminary to assessment of its relevance in understanding (higher education) governance in South Korea.

Based upon the argument that the mainstream Western literature tends to be culturally ‘blind’ and thus may fail to capture the varying nature of governing practices within the transnational context, this thesis offers a ‘cultural turn’ as a way of theorising the specificities of higher education governance in SK in this globalised and globalising era (Clarke, 2004, 2005). This particular perspective develops a ‘cultural approach’ to the state as an appropriate theoretical framework, in which the local meanings of higher education governance are strongly contextualised within the pressures of globalisation, by endogenising or localising global dynamics ‘inside the national’ (Sassen, 2010: 1). It also expands the conventional meanings of the term ‘higher education governance’ beyond what universities are doing in their routines – i.e. organising, staffing, budgeting and strategic planning (Kwickers, 2005; Shattock, 2006) – in order to include a broader conceptualisation of governance. In other words, this approach develops the argument that the theorisation of higher education governance in SK can best be accomplished by positioning the university and the academic profession within the cultural and political configurations in which they are situated.

The outline of this thesis

Drawing on these key ideas and theoretical frameworks, this thesis sets out in Chapter 1 a critical review of a variety of theories to the state, ending with a discussion of the selected approach – ‘a cultural approach’ (Clarke, 2013; Hall, 1982; Williams, 2011) – to understanding the Korean state and its governing practices. Here, the idea of cultural ‘assemblages’ (Clarke, 2012) is proposed as a conceptual resource through which the particularity of the Korean state is scrutinised. In this view, the state is theorised as a peculiar combination of beliefs, values, ideologies, practices and policies that were and are shared by groups of actors in a particular time and space. Chapter 2 applies this perspective to the Korean state by tracing its historical development in different phases as the Confucian state, developmental state and new managerial state. On the basis of this review I argue that the Korean state has played an important role in generating governing dynamics and thus in governing societal fields including higher education, which in turn suggests that the idea of ‘state-centrality’ may be productive as the central, theoretically elaborated assumption of this thesis in investigating higher education governance. Chapter 3 shifts the analytic focus to the area of higher education governance. A ‘political’ approach to (higher education) governance, rather than the mainstream ‘managerial’ or ‘institutional’ approach, is suggested as a useful theoretical lens to examine Korean state-ness as articulated and contested in that particular governing space (Clarke, 2009; Ozga et al., 2013). This approach thus emphasises the political work of governing processes in which academic professionalism has been embedded within the South Korean context. Within this theoretical standpoint a process-oriented approach to academic professionalism (or professionalisation) is offered as a focused research framework through which the close state-academy relations of the Korean state are scrutinised.

The key research problem emerging from these chapters is: ‘how does the centrality of the Korean State play out in the governing of higher education?’ Here, the part-time lecturer policy (PLP, 2010~2013) is seen to be the best case by which the particularity of the Korean state may be investigated. The aim of this empirical enquiry is to analyse the peculiarity of meaning-making practices by attending to the political work of governing actors and thus to the processes of (re-)assembling varying elements of the Korean state – and so analysing its governing practices in higher education. Chapter 4 outlines the methodological approach, explaining the link between the cultural approach adopted towards the state and the choice of an interpretive approach to the empirical investigation. It sets out the key elements of a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology, and explains the nature of the key data sources and the planned approach to their analyses. Chapter 5, the first phase of the enquiry, explores how the higher education governing space has been constructed in the period of modernisation and globalisation in SK (1945~present). The analysis offers evidence of specific higher education governing discourses that have been developed within the modern history of SK, illuminating state-centrality in the state-academy relations. On the basis of this contextualisation, Chapter 6 scrutinises the case of part-time lecturer policy (PLP) by analysing a wide variety of policy texts (e.g. documentary text, interview text, and video recording) drawing from different policy communities to investigate discursive relations and their changes. Through these analyses, the meaning of state-centrality in the governing of higher education in SK is highlighted.

Chapter 1. The state: theoretical frameworks

This chapter establishes the theoretical resources informing this thesis by critically reviewing mainstream Western literature addressing a variety of state theories. In the Western Academy, research on 'governing' or 'governance', despite regional and disciplinary differentiations, was inseparable from the topic of the 'state' or 'government' (Hirst & Thompson, 1995; Kjaer, 2004; Peters & Pierre, 2006). From the 1980s onwards, however, new governance literature began to re-conceptualise the ways in which public agendas were managed and how these changes should be understood within such new contexts as the emergence of globalisation, knowledge economy and European integration (Newman, 2005; Rhodes, 1997; Rosenau, 1992). This literature charted a shift from bureaucratic to networked governing forms, and – in many cases – identified a decline of the sovereignty of territorial states. The viewpoint was imported into the Korean academy from the 1990s then came to occupy a dominant position driving public sector reforms (including education policy). However, South Korean researchers tend to underestimate the fact that the system of literature developed for understanding Western realities: it is not a literature that is indigenous to the systems that have adopted it and use its terminology.

A critical evaluation of this literature is therefore offered here as a preliminary stage before assessing its relevance in understanding the (higher education) governance of SK. For this, sections 1.1 and 1.2 trace the historical development of state theories in the Western Academy, classifying each of them into two categories – a state-centred approach and a society-centred approach – distinguished on the basis of different assumptions about the 'locus of social dynamics' (Skocpol, 1985). In section 1.3, the implications and limitations of the mainstream state theories in understanding the specificities of the Korean state are discussed. Based upon the critical evaluation, I offer in section 1.4 a synopsis of different standpoints on the state – a synopsis that moves towards the articulation of a cultural approach. The recognition of the importance of social, historical and cultural elements of the state provides this thesis with a coherent standpoint to approach the Korean state and the governing of higher education.

From the theoretical discussions, I suggest that the contextualisation of socio-cultural configurations or arrangements of the Korean state is essential to the understanding of higher education governance in South Korea. Whereas the idea of state-centrality may transfer as an appropriate metaphor depicting the Korean state (or Korean state-ness), it is important to exercise caution in assuming a dichotomous relation between the Korean state and society (or rather the Korean academy), as the state-society boundary in Korea may not be as clear as the Western literature assumes. The cultural approach adopted here reconceptualises the state as a set of cultural practices, rather than simply formal structures, organisations and institutions, as assumed in state-centred approaches, or an arena of class struggle as assumed in society-centred approaches. The next section begins to establish the theoretical frameworks of this thesis by reviewing state-centred approaches to the state.

1.1. The state-centred approach

1.1.1. Developmental historicism

The term ‘developmental historicism’ illuminates the centrality of the territorial states in Europe, which took a leading role in various forms of state-formation (Bevir & Rhodes, 2010). In this rather idealised understanding, the state is seen as the culmination of the common good or the ethical core of society (ibid). The state is envisaged as an organism which ‘embodied a spirit or culture that itself had a progressive teleological history’ (ibid: 2). Historically, the modern conception of the state originated in a specific school of international relations referred to as the ‘Westphalian system’ in which states acquired and internalised the legitimate means of violence and domination. In the Westphalian system, the world is organised into territorially exclusive, sovereign nation states each with a monopoly of sovereign power or legitimate force (Hirst & Thompson, 1995: 410). Consequently, people associated the task of ‘governing’ with the ‘state’: central government was seen as a dominant actor in public policy; there existed a clear hierarchy of authority; and governing was understood exclusively as a top-down process (Kennett, 2008; Peters & Pierre, 2006; Stoker, 1998).

The conceptualisation of the state as ‘an ethical organism’ (ibid: 3) protecting social justice and human welfare within the territory, despite its erosion in the West since the 20th century, has elements in common with the Confucian state model that dominated the Korean state for more than 1,000 years as an official political discourse of the pre-modern period and then arguably contributed to the transformation of SK from one of the poorest countries to a developed country with significant levels of industrialisation and democratisation. In the period when Western states were formed, developed and consolidated, Confucianism steered the lives of people as the fundamental philosophy of social regulation in the East Asian states – i.e. China, Japan and Korea. As the state orthodoxy, Confucianism laid down the basic principle of social governance, which was represented by an ethic of filial piety and loyalty to social hierarchy as the key factors maintaining the legitimacy of the state as well as social stability (Hahm, 2004; T. Kim, 2009). Despite differences in time and space, both the Westphalian and the Confucian state models place strong emphasis on the ethical primacy and sovereignty of the state and its apparatuses in addressing social problems. The state-centric viewpoint was seen as effective in the process of (modern) state formation in 19th century Europe (e.g. Germany) as well as in 20th century East Asia (e.g. Japan and SK).

Considering that developmental historicism focused exclusively on the aggregate (i.e. state) and ideal (i.e. sovereignty and general will) levels of accounts on the state, however, it inevitably attracted criticisms on the blind spots of the approach, which were identified by new mainstream scholars advocating modernist-empiricism and institutionalism.

1.1.2. Modernist-empiricism and (old) institutionalism

In the early 20th century, modernist-empiricism, which treats institutions as ‘discrete, atomised objects to be compared, measured, and classified’, began to replace developmental historicism in the social and political sciences (Bevir & Rhodes, 2010:

3). This newly dominant way of thinking saw the state as a set of formal and informal structures that scholars attempted to explore using cross-cultural and cross-temporal studies in order to uncover regularities and patterns (ibid). Unlike developmental historicism which stressed an ideal aspect of the state, it focused on the explicit aspects of the state – i.e. political structures, governmental organisations – rather than the ideologies, sovereignty, ethics and meanings embedded in them. To put it another way, while the 'old' institutionalism explores the state in terms of its political, administrative and legal arrangements, modernist empiricism, underpinned largely by a 'descriptive methodology', juxtaposed different state configurations in order to demonstrate similarities and differences in the ways governments worked (Schmidt, 2006: 99-100).

Given the complexity around the concepts of the state, however, the simplified approach of (old) institutionalism was challenged from inside and outside of the camp. The critiques can be summarised in relation to three aspects: old institutionalism tends to rely on an ahistorical account in understanding the nature of state; and its structural-deterministic view is likely to ignore the role of individual agency[2]as having will and intention (Bevir & Rhodes, 2010; Hay, 2002: 94). For those reasons, the old institutionalism did not maintain its primacy for long. From the 1970s and early 1980s, 'new' institutionalism emerged from critiques of the dominant political science of neo-classical economics and behaviourist approaches (March & Olsen, 2008). Schmidt (2006) divides the new institutionalism into several strands.

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[2] In social and political sciences, the concept of 'agency' implies a sense of 'free will, choice or autonomy' of an individual actor. Put differently, the idea assumes that the actor could have behaved differently and that this choice between potential courses of action was, or at least could have been, subject to actors' conscious deliberation (Hay, 2002: 94).

> Rational choice institutionalism portrays the state either as itself a rational actor pursuing the 'logic of interest' or as a structure of incentives within which rational actors follow their preferences. Historical institutionalism concentrates instead on the origins and development of the state and its constituent parts, which it explains by the (often unintended) outcomes of purposeful choices and historically unique initial conditions in 'logic of path-dependence'. Sociological institutionalism sees the state as socially constituted and culturally framed, with political agents acting according to the 'logic of appropriateness' that follows from culturally-specific rules and norms'.
>
> (Schmidt, 2006: 99)

Although it has developed in many variations, the core of the institutional perspective is that it emphasises the endogenous nature of institutions that fashion, enable and constrain political events or actions (March & Olsen, 2008). In March & Olsen's (2008: 4) definition, institutions are 'collections of structures, rules, and standard operating procedures that have a partly autonomous role in political life'. The definition shows how difficult it is to grasp the institutional approach, but it also signals that the state still occupies the central position in understanding institutions. Thus, the 'bringing the state back in' literature, which will be outlined in the next section, may be a particular form of analysis within wider research efforts labelled as new institutionalism.

1.1.3. Bringing the state back in

Since the mid-1970s, a renewed interest which considered the state as a 'weighty actor' explored the ways in which it impacted upon each of social spaces through policies and patterned relationships (Evans, 2006; Skocpol, 1979, 1985: 3). This marked a clear departure from the 'societal approaches' to the state – i.e. mainstream American behavioural science and structural-functionalism – that dominated social and political studies in the mid-20th century (Hall, 1982; Kjaer, 2004: 124-6). The society-centred research considered the state as a neutral arbiter of societal interests or a mere arena in which class struggles took place (ibid). The so-called ‘bringing the state back in’ literature also differed from its predecessor – the old institutional approach (or modernist-empiricism), in that it tried to escape from the dry and thin descriptions of formal and legal structures of the state. As Stepan (1978) puts it, this approach tried to study the state not merely in its structure and activities but also in relation with wider society.

> …the state must be considered as more than the “government”. It is the continuous administration, legal, bureaucratic and coercive systems that attempt not only to structure relationships between civil society and public authority in a polity but also to structure many crucial relationships within civil society.
>
> (Stepan, 1978: xii)

The neo-statist perspective adopts an ‘organisational realist approach’ (Skocpol, 1979: 31-2). It assumes that the state exists out there explicitly regardless of our cognitive constructions of it. Accordingly, the ontological assumption tends to define the state as an objective entity (or reality) rather than discursive practice (or ideational trajectory). However, I suggest that the complex nature of the state’s existence as well as its operation is likely to be underestimated within this theoretical viewpoint. I am proposing here that richer intellectual resources are needed in order to consider multiple aspects of the state – the cultural legacy, historical experiences and political discourses – by which the specificities of the (Korean) state are better examined and understood. Attention to a wider frame of reference around the state may, I suggest, enlarge understanding of the cultural specificities of the Korean state and enable a more nuanced understanding of governing practices within these settings.

In this view, the concepts of ‘autonomy of the state’ and ‘state capacity’ proposed in the bringing the state back in literature may work as key elements for identifying the peculiarities of the Korean state. According to Skocpol (1985), the state is autonomous if it formulates and pursues goals that are not simply reflective of the demands of society. In addition, state capacity refers to the ability to formulate and implement domestic policies (Kjaer, 2004; Weiss, 1998). With reference to the structural characteristics of states, the unevenness of state capacity by which the political institutions of particular states are governing domestic linkages are of primary interest to neo-statists (Evans, 1995; Krasner, 1989; Skocpol, 1985; Weiss, 1998). Hence, a sovereign state is not only the most densely linked institution in contemporary society, but also the difference in its capacity owes much to the degree and type of institutional depth and breadth (Krasner, 1989; Weiss, 1998). Evans (1995: 12) also argues that ‘only when embeddedness and autonomy are joined together can a state be called developmental’. It is an autonomy embedded in a concrete set of social ties that provides institutionalised channels for the continual negotiation of goals and policies (Weiss, 1998). According to this perspective, SK’s economic governance is an example illustrating the case in which strong state capacity is propagated effectively into the social fields.

Within the education discipline, there also exist efforts to bring the state back into the forefront of education studies. Kazamias (2009) is representative of a ‘politics of education’ perspective which focuses on the ways in which the governing goals of education are presented to education systems (Dale, 1982: 128-9). According to Dale, what is important is not the machinery of government or its effectiveness, but ‘what powers it, or how and where they are directed’ (ibid: 129). In his later work, Dale (1997) examines the extent to which state-interventions in governing activities – i.e. funding, regulating and delivering – have been transformed in Western states. While recognising that the so-called ‘hollowing-out’ of the state is taking place in education governance with the rise in influence of coordinated institutions such as the market and the community, Dale argues that ‘its [the state’s] continuing role as the major funder and regulator of education enables it to remain very much in the driving seat’ (ibid: 274).

Despite disciplinary variations, what is common in this perspective is that it foregrounds the role of the state as well as its apparatuses in defining and steering public problems. However, the assumptions of strong state responsibility as well as capacity have long been competing with the society-centred approach to the state in the social and political sciences. The next section reviews briefly the historical development of ideas in this perspective and sets out their implications for understanding the Korean state. Here, the relevance of mainstream literature in the contemporary Western academy will be critically scrutinised, with reference to the extent to which new governance literature is appropriate for understanding the particular pattern of governing practice of SK. The critical evaluation leads me to offer an alternative perspective for the investigation of the Korean state and the specificities of its governing of higher education.

1.2. The society-centred approach

1.2.1. Pluralism, behaviourism and structural-functionalism

After World War II, academic attention shifted away from formal state institutions to political systems or behaviours in society (Bevir & Rhodes, 2010; Kjaer, 2004; Schmidt, 2006). This marked a clear departure from the old orthodoxy of modernist-empiricism or institutionalism, in the sense that it took a ‘society-centred’ approach in understanding the governance of public issues. Since then, pluralist and structural-functionalist scholars dominated political science and they adopted new empirical topics – i.e. public opinion, political parties, pressure groups. Historically, the origin of pluralist theory on the state owed much to American political traditions in which state power was understood as dispersed into multiple centres within society (Hall, 1982; Smith, 2006). As Smith puts it:

> Underpinning the modern democratic system then are three core principles: first, is the centrality of groups to the political process; second, is the way in which power is dispersed between different power centres and third, is the degree of consensus underlying the political process.
>
> (Smith,2006: 26)

Accordingly, pluralists assumed that the state was ‘a neutral arbiter of a plurality of social interests’ (Kjaer, 2004: 125), and government was ‘an arena within which economic interest groups or normative social movements contended or allied with one another’ (Skocpol, 1985: 4). Unlike the institutionalists or statists, the pluralist camp did not understand the state as an active, independent entity initiating policy processes, as they denied the concept of a state as a power-house of social dynamics. In a similar vein, Kazamias (2009) terms the pluralist interest-group analyses as the 'functionalist-modernisation political systems' (FMPS) perspective in the comparative education literature. Regarding the key ideas of the perspective, he proposes that:

> Education was conceptualised as a site, an arena of political conflict involving different social interest groups (teacher organisations or unions, political parties, religious groups, business, labour, students, etc.), which vied with each other for power, influence and prestige. Education reform from this perspective was the outcome of such conflict, either because consensus had been reached or because the views of one group or of a coalition of groups had prevailed.
>
> (Kazamias, 2009: 162)

In this view, public policy decisions were understood to be 'allocations of benefits' among competing groups (ibid: 4). The account sits well with the traditional notion of policy, conceiving it as a series of authoritative decision making within the domain of government (Colebatch, 2009). These assumptions have been challenged since the 1980s. New governance literature offered a new perspective on the conceptualisation of the governing practices of contemporary societies. The next section addresses this perspective in detail and considers the extent to which it is applicable in understanding the governing patterns in SK.

1.2.2. New governance

New governance theory emerged as a set of perspectives on governing in response to profound changes of modern states in an increasingly globalised world (Rosenau, 1992). It refers to new patterns in public policy in contemporary Western states following the rise of neo-liberalism, the development of new public management (NPM) and public sector reforms (Dorey, 2005; Kjaer, 2004; Smith, 2006: 31). Recent trends in globalisation and the transformation of politics have resulted in an emphasis on the decline of state sovereignty, as well as identification of the emergence of new forms of political coordination. Although there are a number of sceptical commentators on these mainstream interpretations (Dale, 1997; Hirst & Thompson, 1995; Peters & Pierre, 2006; Weiss, 2005), the term globalisation is widely seen as heralding a fundamental shift in piloting public arenas and consequently highlighting the advent of new social contracts or settlements (Clarke & Newman, 1997). Under new historical circumstances, central governments are assumed to have lost their monopolistic power and the dispersal of that power is seen as undermining the privileged position of the state, which was displaced by network forms of control or multiple parallel spaces in which powers are encountered and negotiated (Daly, 2003; Newman, 2005). Kooiman also emphasises the pluralist assumptions in the conception of governance;

> …the concept of diversity, dynamics and complexity are central features of governance itself. The social-political system is increasingly differentiated, characterised by multiple centres, and is one in which actors are continuously shaped by (and in) the interactions, in which they relate to each other.
>
> (Kooiman, 2003: 2)

Within this perspective, the terms ‘modernisation’, ‘globalisation’, ‘privatisation’ signal a profound shift in governing practices. A particular focus for interrogation of these developments has been through European integration and the emergence of the EU as illustrations of new political conditions reconstituting the European policy landscapes (Clarke, 2009; Rosenau, 2002; Newman, 2005). These new Western realities and phenomena and their associated transformations of the structures and functions of the sovereign state as well as its relations with the multiple actors within and beyond territorial states are underlined in the dominant debates of the Western literature on governance – i.e. ‘governing without government’ (Rhodes, 1996) or the emergence of a ‘differentiated polity’ (Rhodes, 1997) and ‘global governance’ (Rosenau, 2002) along with ‘multi-level governance’ (MLG) (Bache & Flinders, 2004; Jessop, 2004). Rosenau addresses the concept of ‘global governance’ as a new kind of world order:

> Global governance is a summarising phrase for all the sites in the world where efforts to exercise authority are undertaken. It neither posits a highest authority nor anticipates that one is likely to evolve in the long run. On the contrary, it argues that an irreversible process is underway wherein authority is increasingly disaggregated, resulting in a system of global governance comprised of more and more centres of authority in every corner of the world and at every level of community.
>
> (Rosenau, 2002: 71)

To put the discussions in the Western literature differently, new governance theories have been academic efforts to re-conceptualise the governing structures, modes, practices, relations and therefore meanings associated with the governing activities within and beyond modern states by attending to shifting (and in many cases shrinking) nature of the authority of territorial states in particular time and space – that is, predominantly in the contexts of contemporary European states. In assessing the ideas and assumptions of new governance, we need to consider two contextual aspects: firstly, new governance can be understood as a ‘reflecting’ keyword by which the transformative changes in the governing patterns of contemporary Western states have been grasped under the coherent and inter-related set of theories and ideas; secondly, it may also represent a ‘mobilising’ keyword by which a perspective such as neo-liberalism has gained political legitimacy in the particular historical contexts. For instance, the idea of profound change in the state is a fundamental assumption of neo-liberal thought, which asserts a reduction of state authority in order to make markets operate freely thus develop the choices of autonomous and rational actors and agencies (Harvey, 2005). In this way, adherents of neo-liberalism mobilised and spread particular organisational forms – i.e. new public management (NPM) – as ‘good’ governing practices in the Western societies. These ideas, including ideas about the best form of management of organisations, have been transferred to South Korea since the mid-1990s, and NPM principles and new governing techniques have been mobilised politically as essential in the context that Korean society confronted in the midst of financial crisis in the late 1997.

As indicated earlier, in dealing with this ‘spread of neo-liberal ideas’ I am also questioning what might be termed a neo-liberal spread of ideas as a Korean researcher sensitive to the possibility of the inappropriate transfer of Western ideas into the South Korean state. It is, therefore, necessary to evaluate the possibilities as well as limitations of applying Western ideas to the Korean context. It is a preliminary step of this enquiry which allows me to look for appropriate theoretical and methodological frameworks reflecting the (un-)changing realities that the Korean state (as a cultural assemblage) faced and is facing. The next section will summarise this critical review of the Western state literatures, highlighting the significance of taking a cultural approach as a guiding theoretical perspective in this thesis.

1.3. The critical evaluation of Western state theories

The locus of social dynamics		19c	20c	1980s
State-centred	Theories	**Developmental Historicism**	**Modernist-empiricism, Old institutionalism**	**New institutionalism, Bringing the state back in**
	Research topics	- General will - Sovereignty - Ethical entity	- Formal-legal analysis - Government structure - The Constitution of polity	- State capacity - Embedded autonomy of state
Society-centred	Theories		**Pluralism, behaviourism**	**New governance**
	Research topics		- Political behaviour - Pressure group - Public opinion - Political party	- Policy networks - Differentiated polity - Global governance - Multi-level governance

Table 1: State theories and research topics

The review of Western state theories seeks to locate the particularity of the Korean state within the huge edifice of knowledge systems dealing with Western experiences associated with their epochal changes since the 19th century, such as state building and modernisation, developments of capitalism and civil society, and the recent trend of globalisation. Accordingly, each theory addressed in the earlier sections illuminates certain historical and political contexts in which particular discourses – both scholarly and political – about the state have been generated. For instance, ‘developmental historicism’ [section 1.1.1] reflected the ideas dominating the period of state formation in nineteenth century Europe; ‘pluralism’ [section 1.2.1] came from the political traditions of the United States; ‘bringing the state back in’ [section 1.1.3] offers a revival of continental European traditions; and the ‘new governance’ literature [section 1.2.2] broadly captures new socio-political landscapes of Western societies transforming the paradigm of policy making since the 1980s. The importance of the varying contexts in which diverse perspectives on the state and its governing are embedded carries practical implications for this thesis. Different assumptions about the state and society may lead to the adoption of different empirical topics. Accordingly, the multiple layers by which the state is investigated provoke the necessity of making ‘methodological choices’ as a means of confronting the huge complexity that competing theories of the state offer to the policy researcher (Ozga, 2000).

In order to enable the theoretical and methodological choices to inform this particular enquiry on the Korean state and its higher education governing practices, I derived four criteria from the critical evaluation of the Western state theories to be borne in mind when organising my enquiry. First, it is evident that the ‘power distribution’ within the state is an underlying issue, which is explained by two opposing perspectives in the Western literature. A pluralist perspective assumes that political power is equally distributed or dispersed, while a statist (or elitist) approach argues that the power is taken up by selected groups or people. The second dimension relates to the ‘existential mode’ of the state. The state may be defined in terms of objective entities as well as ideological trajectories: the former reflects a realist approach; while the latter is characteristic of an interpretivist approach [for details of interpretivism see chapter 4.2 below]. The third dimension is the ‘level of activity’ of the state. It may be depicted as an active, autonomous agency (for example in the ‘bringing the state back in’ approach), or merely as an arena of class interests or conflicts (pluralism). The varying dimensions of theoretical assumptions conceptualising the nature of the state are also linked to the patterns of thought on the ‘degree of demarcation’ between state and society, the fourth criterion adopted to evaluate the nature of the (Korean) state in this thesis.

State-centred approach	**Society-centred approach**
State as an actor	State as an arena
Elitism	Pluralism
Power domination	Power dispersion
Government	Governance
Order and authority	Policy networks

Table 2. Different perspectives on the nature of state and governing

As illustrated in Table 2, we may categorise the theoretical assumptions embedded differentially in both camps. The state-centred approach bases its arguments on the elitist point of view which assumes that political power in a specific polity is exercised by selected institutions, groups or people – that is, by state apparatuses or key policy makers. Therefore, the focus of enquiry is on exploring how the autonomy or independence of the state works in selected policy cases: the official institutions or organisations set up policy goals; make decisions; and implement them using the institutional ties with each of the social sectors, including the academic field (Evans, 1995; Krasner, 1989; Skocpol, 1985; Weiss, 1998). In contrast, a society-centred approach assumes that governing power is, or should be, dispersed within the society. The pluralist perspective largely mirrors American political traditions as well as recent changes in Western societies. Research in this tradition varies from pressure group studies and studies of public opinion and political party studies, to research on and conceptualisations of policy networks, the idea of differentiated polity, and multi-level governance (MLG) studies (see, for example Rhodes, 1996; 1997; Rosenau, 2002; Bache & Flinders, 2004).

These signposts provide this thesis with possibilities as well as limitations in positioning the Korean state and higher education governance within the Western theories, thus better understanding its specificities through further (empirical) enquiry. At a first glance, the state-centred approach, rather than the society-centred approach, may fit well with the Korean context, considering the arguments that political power in Korea has been monopolised by the state throughout its history-thus referencing the key issue of power distribution, as well as the arguments that the Korean state occupied an autonomous, privileged position in policy making – thus connecting to the key idea of level of activity (K. S. Kim, 2005; Shin et al., 2013; Weiss, 1998).

However, mainstream Western theories seem to be based largely on a rather ‘dichotomous’ conceptualisation in terms of the degree of demarcation in state-society relations. In state-centric theories, for instance, the state is viewed as ‘a clearly bounded institution that is distinct from society’ (Sharma & Gupta, 2006: 8) and new governance literature stresses the emergence of new policy agents and networks in Western societies which fundamentally overhauled the ways of steering public arenas (Clarke, 2009; Kooiman, 2003). Both approaches seem to imply that state-society relations have fluctuated in the history of Western society. But this dominant metaphor might not work well in exploring the South Korean context, as the empirical relations between the Korean state and society may have been nested, rather than fluctuating, and in which the dominant position of state-authority may have been reinforced even in the midst of pursuing globalisation projects and higher education reforms since the 1990s. In addition, the boundary between state and society in SK may not be as clear-cut as that assumed in Western literature.

Those considerations lead me to suggest that an alternative theoretical perspective on the (Korean) state may need to be elaborated. The new standpoint should attempt to reveal the contextual features of the Korean state – its culture, history and political characteristics – as well as offering rich resources for understanding state-academy relations. The emphasis on state power and its activity in the public arena remains an important point of reference but this thesis adopts a more ‘inclusive and reflexive ontology’ about the Korean state and governing (Kauppi, 2010; A. Smith, 2009). The next section reviews a ‘cultural approach’ to the state as an alternative perspective suitable for addressing the overarching research question posed in this thesis – identifying and understanding the specificities of South Korea’s governing practices in higher education.

1.4. A cultural approach

I argued in the earlier sections that mainstream Western theories on the state and governing are culturally ‘blind’ and that the specificities of the Korean state need to be understood with reference to its particular culture, history and context. Thus, this section draws on theoretical resources mainly from cultural studies and social anthropology so as to address adequately the concepts of ‘culture’ and ‘cultural analysis’. Here, I present some literature conceptualising states as cultural assemblages and that discusses cultural practices before considering the implications of these ideas as theoretical resources for this thesis.

1.4.1. Defining ‘culture’ and ‘cultural analysis’

Before clarifying the notions of ‘culture’ and ‘cultural analysis’, it may be helpful to consider the difference between the ‘analysis of higher education as a cultural space’ and the ‘cultural analysis of the governing of higher education’, taking into account that understanding ‘culture’ is building an important bridge connecting the analyses of the Korean state (or Korean state-ness) to the particular governing practice of higher education within that context. It is a taken-for-granted belief to conceive of higher education as a social space (or a distinguishable physical place) distinct from the state sector as well as from any other sectoral spaces within the state – i.e. the economy, politics, agriculture and fishery. Under this sectoral categorisation, the property most often ascribed to higher education by scholars and laymen is that the higher education sector or the university is a cultural institution involved in producing ‘cultural goods’ by means of academic research and teaching (Gartman, 2002). The common perception of higher education as a cultural space is insightfully addressed in Bourdieu’s field theory, which shows how the intricate intersections of modern societies led to the structuration of ‘relatively autonomous social spaces’ (Bourdieu, 1996; Mangez & Hilgers, 2012; 191). The notion of a ‘field of power’ is a key concept for understanding the relative autonomy of social fields (Mangez & Hilgers, 2012). It is like ‘a gaming space’ which is structurally determined by the state of relations of different forms of power – i.e. economic capital and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1996: 264).

In this view, particular fractions of society regulate the struggles of agents and institutions aimed at occupying the dominant positions within their respective social field (ibid). For example, Mangez and Hilgers (2012: 193) note the hierarchisation in the education field in the struggle for dominance between those who conceive of ‘education as an autonomous domain primarily concerned with cultural matters’, and those who emphasise ‘education in relation to external concerns such as economic prosperity and competitiveness’. The recent trends in globalisation and the knowledge economy have altered the traditional idea of education and research in terms of ideas about the nature of knowledge and knowledge production (Ozga, 2008). Ozga points out that the knowledge economy creates the conditions in which research and knowledge production in the field of education can be managed and steered for the purpose of economic growth (ibid). Based on field theory, this new trend can be understood as a transformation of equilibrium within the field of (education) knowledge where the cultural capital (i.e. knowledge) becomes subordinate to economic capital (Mangez & Hilgers, 2012; Ozga, 2008).

Given the contribution of the recent research based on Bourdieu’s post-structuralist theory (Bourdieu, 1996), the approach still tends to envision higher education as a ‘relational entity’ which has been structured under the particular field of power of a polity. Therefore, adopting the idea of culture as a meaning-making practice in a particular time and space offers an ontological change in investigating the Korean state. Drawing on Calhoun’s (2005) categorisation, Clarke & Fink (2008) offer a constructivist account of the concept of culture:

> Calhoun (2005) has argued that there are two main views of culture in the social sciences. One treats culture as a specific and delimited social field – the domain of values or aesthetics that can be distinguished from other fields (the economy, politics, etc.). The alternative view sees culture as saturating society. Here, culture denotes the practices of meaning making, and all domains of social life involve social agents in the production, distribution and consumption of meaning.
>
> (Clarke & Fink, 2008: 226)

Clarke & Fink seek to reconstruct the object of studying culture as ‘articulated formations rather than unitary totalities’ and thus emphasises the fact that culture stresses ‘the social practices in which meanings are produced, distributed and consumed’ (ibid: 226). In his work entitled ‘The analysis of culture’, Raymond Williams conceptualised this view as the social definition of culture:

> …there is the ‘social’ definition of culture, in which culture is a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour. The analysis of culture, from such a definition, is the clarification of the meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular culture. Such analysis … will also include analysis of elements in the way of life that to followers of the other definitions are not ‘culture’ at all: the organisation of production, the structure of the family, the structure of institutions which express or govern social relationships, the characteristic forms through which members of the society communicate.
>
> (Williams, 2011: 61-2)

Analysing culture or theorising culture invariably accompanies an attempt to discover ‘the nature of the organisation’, ‘patterns of a characteristic kind’ as well as ‘the relationships between the patterns’, and ‘structures of feeling’ (ibid: 67-9). If we understand the concept of culture more politically, those cultural elements are widely and deeply possessed by the community and shaped in dynamic relations of contestation that link meanings and (political) power, meanings and (social) construction, domination and subordination (Clarke, 2005; Clarke & Fink, 2008; Williams, 2011). Hall (1982) draws on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in linguistic anthropology, suggesting that each culture has its own way of classifying the world and these schemes are reflected in the different linguistic and semantic structures of societies (ibid: 66). As Hall puts it:

> Meaning is a social production, a practice. The world has to be made to mean. Language and symbolisation is the means by which meaning is produced… Because meaning was not given but produced, it followed that different kinds of meaning could be ascribed to the same events. Thus, in order for one meaning to be regularly produced, it had to win a kind of credibility, legitimacy or taken-for-grantedness for itself. That involved marginalising, down-grading or de-legitimating alternative constructions.
>
> (Hall, 1982: 67)

The perspective highlights that ways of linguistic conceptualisation in a particular society should be analysed in order to understand the dynamic nature of the ‘politics of signification’ in the society (ibid: 67). Accordingly, theorising the cultural practice of the Korean state is deeply associated with identifying the patterns of the language game, in which different modes of semiotic symbolisation are in contest with one another in the pursuit of dominance within the social fields of the Korean state. The next section narrows the focus to review literature theorising states as cultural assemblages or cultural practices, with the purpose of suggesting that this approach is an appropriate way of studying the Korean state.

1.4.2. States as cultural assemblages

Cultural theorists of the state coin such terms as ‘assemblages’ (Newman & Clarke, 2009), ‘ensembles’ (Sharma & Gupta, 2006) and ‘constellations’ (Leibfried & Zürn, 2005) in order to convey the essence of their approaches. According to Clarke (2013), each of these terms emphasises a sense of construction and combination – the building of elements into a temporarily unified combination. For instance, ‘assemblages’ are temporarily stable states of affairs which consist of ‘ideas (imaginaries of states and state-ness), policies, practices, people and objects (in which state-ness is embodied)’ (ibid: 18). The first element of this approach is the idea of assembling as a process (with assemblages as its result). The second is the insistence on temporality. This signifies that social artefacts such as institutions, systems and structures are assembled, or constructed, and stabilised for a determinate period of time, which means they are vulnerable to de-stabilisation, deconstruction and projects of reassembling (ibid: 17). As Sharma & Gupta (2006: 9) put it, this perspective approaches the state ‘within other institutional forms through which social relations are lived, such as the family, civil society, and the economy’.

Proposing to reconceptualise states as culturally embedded and discursively constituted ensembles, Sharma & Gupta (2006) argue that states are produced through everyday practices and encounters and through cultural representations and performances. In this view, states are not *a priori* institutions that perform given functions (ibid: 27). This perspective allows us to view states as ‘disaggregated’ configurations that demonstrate the ‘multi-layered, pluri-centred, and fluid nature of this ensemble’ where various contradictions are present (Hall, 1986. cited in Sharma &

Gupta, 2006: 10). The idea of the ‘cultural constitution of state’ emphasises the ways in which people perceive the state, how their understandings are conditioned by particular experiences with state processes, and brings the role of cultural difference in forming and informing states into the foreground of our observations (Sharma & Gupta, 2006: 10-11). This marks a clear departure from mainstream approaches in that, for instance, two states having similar institutional characteristics may exhibit difference in terms of everyday governing practices.

A cultural approach to the state seeks to interpret its meanings by analysing the ways in which states are culturally constructed as well as substantiated in people’s lives. A wide range of analytic focuses which are explored in deliberate isolation in mainstream state studies – i.e. material and ideational aspects of the state, structural and agency levels of the state, and sub-national, national and transnational dimensions of the state – are integrated into the analysis in ideas such as ‘assemblages’ and ‘ensembles’– with a focus on their formation, institutionalisation, embodiment and problematisation. Through such approaches, the processes by which cultural elements of a particular nation-state are ‘materialised’, ‘enacted’ as well as ‘inculcated’ in governing practices are illuminated in line with its historical transformations (Fairclough, 2003, 2010b; 2013).

1.4.3. The centrality of the Korean state

A fundamental theoretical assumption shaping this thesis and underpinning its empirical enquiry is that of the centrality of the Korean state in the governing of higher education. The view was initially predicated on my prior knowledge of myself as a Korean researcher and then refined in the process of reviewing Western as well as Korean literature dealing with the state as well as its relations with other societal fields (including the academy). Mainstream state literature in the West opens up the possibility of applying theoretical concepts such as ‘state capacity’ and ‘autonomy’ to the analysis of empirical phenomena of the Korean state, in terms of investigating its governing patterns. However, this standpoint also has limitations. State-centrality in the mainstream literature is a matter of ontology and research paradigm, in which the state is conceptualised as an organisational entity with clear boundaries, despite recent efforts towards ‘bringing the state back in’ or a variety of approaches within new institutionalism [for further discussion see 1.1.3 above]. This viewpoint tends to treat the idea of state-centrality as a given property embedded in the Korean state as an entity, rather than understanding it as consisting in cultural practices that have developed throughout the history of the Korean state and are thus widespread in Korean society through the everyday practices of governing actors. Indeed, the development of the idea owes much to scholarly work in both the Western and South Korean academies focusing on the role and capacity of the (Korean) state in the governing of economic problems throughout its modern history. However, this work tends to underestimate and therefore fail to develop detailed studies on the governing of other societal fields – including higher education.

I propose here that the centrality of the Korean state is a theoretically-informed assumption reflecting and representing the specificities of the Korean state. This assumption is used in this thesis as a focus for investigating the governing of higher education in the Korean state. This particular viewpoint is investigated by focusing on the key idea of cultural assemblages, which, in turn, derives from a cultural approach to the state. In this approach, contextual elements such as history and culture are as important as formal structures and functions, distinguishing this thesis from the mainstream 'state-centred' approach. An important aspect of studying Korean state-ness is positioning the Korean state within transnational contexts – i.e. modernisation and globalisation. The external forces or dilemmas which the Korean state and people have faced are significant elements through which meaning-making patterns as well as their transformations may be investigated (Bevir & Rhodes, 2010; Sharma & Gupta, 2006). In other words, the concept of globalisation is redefined as filtered through the cultural practices of the Korean state peopled with different traditions and discourses. In this view, the powers of the state are not understood as exercised in the organisational and official levels, but practised throughout the everyday routines of people. They are also perceived in the deliberations or meaning-making of the people who are intersecting with the state apparatuses within the transnational contexts (Sharma & Gupta, 2006). The subtlety of state power and hegemony reminds us of the 'hidden face of power' in which the effects of power are felt in micro-level experiences in a more sophisticated way (M. Foucault, 1982; Lukes, 2005).

In this regard, understanding Korean state-ness requires us to interpret the particular contexts and meanings in which the Korean state and higher education are situated. Consequently, exploring the particular nature of the assemblages of the Korean state is a key to understanding the governing patterns of higher education of SK as academic practices are likely to retain Korean state-ness, reflected in the peculiarities of the social, economic and political arrangements. The cultural analysis is achieved first by tracing the historical transformations of the Korean state and higher education, through which specific state-academy relations are scrutinised in terms of (dis-) continuity. The next section begins this work by selectively reviewing literature about the history of Korean state and higher education.

Chapter 2. The Korean state and higher education: transformation and legacy

In the previous Chapter I chronicled the historical development of Western theories on the state and governing, through which I identified a cultural approach to the state as a theoretical framework informing my enquiry on the specificities of the Korean state in the governing of higher education. On the basis of the critical evaluation, I argued that both trajectories in the mainstream Western literature – i.e. state-centred and society-centred approaches – imply that each theoretical standpoint reflects particular contextual elements of time and space, within which the scholarly work of academics produces and articulates specific theory. I also suggested that newly dominant state theories in vogue since the 1980s – and summarised as new governance literature – largely draw on the shifting nature of governance in Western societies, which may not contribute very productively to understanding South Korean phenomena. The emphasis on contextual features of the (Korean) state as well as concern about the rather uncritical importation of Western theories and their implications led me to propose cultural analysis as an appropriate way of theorising the peculiarities of the Korean state.

The adoption of the cultural approach to the Korean state guides me to conduct a historical review as a preliminary step in order to identify key cultural elements and thus scrutinise the particular resources that contribute to the 'cultural assemblages' that make up the Korean state. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to apply a cultural approach in tracing the phases of historical transformation that the Korean state and higher education have undergone. Through this selective historical review, I argue that state-centrality functions as a focal point through which the governing patterns of higher education in SK may be scrutinised. To achieve this, the history of SK is divided into three periods which I characterise as the neo-Confucian state, the developmental state, and the managerial state – on the basis of two critical junctures – namely liberation from Japanese domination (1945) and the foreign exchange crisis and IMF bailout (1997). In developing the accounts of each of these periods I deliberately focus on the ideological background of the historical phases and on the relations between the state and higher education, as the purpose of this thesis is to explore particular governing practices and patterns, which are likely to become visible in the field of state-academy relations.

2.1. 1392~1910: the neo-Confucian state

In 1392 Seong-Gye Lee (T'aejo) founded Cho-sun dynasty, which lasted more than 500 years until Japan colonised Korea in 1910. Seong-Gye Lee adopted neo-Confucianism as an official political ideology for governing the kingdom (C. Chung, 1995; Connor, 2002; K. Lee, 1984). The Confucian tradition worked as the dominant social regulation of Korean society, and thus the governing of higher education and the nature of state-academy relations were inseparable from the particular societal configurations created by Confucian principles.

2.1.1. Neo-Confucianism as social regulation

Confucianism – a loosely organised tradition of spiritual and ethical teachings and practices associated with the Chinese sage Confucius – was imported to Korea in early eras (K. Lee, 1984). For instance, Chi-Won Choi, a Korean Confucian Scholar mandarin, philosopher and poet in the Unified Shilla period (668~935), went to Tang China (618~907) to study Confucianism. He then passed the highest civil service exam and served as a high ranking officer in the Chinese government before returning to Korea (T. Kim, 2009). Before Cho-sun, the Ko-ryo dynasty (918~1392) absorbed the meritocratic principle of civil service exam in 958 to recruit governing elites, called *Gwa-geo* in Korean (J. Kim, 2000; K. Lee, 1984). The importance of the Confucian examination system increased during the Cho-sun Dynasty and it played a significant role in maintaining the rigid class structures of the society until it was officially abolished in 1894 (ibid).

As the state orthodoxy, Confucianism laid down the basic principle of social regulation – an ethic of filial piety and loyalty to social hierarchy – as the key moral elements maintaining social stability (Zeng, 1999). Even in contemporary SK, as Terri Kim (2009) suggests, it is generally recognised that the ethical rules and principles guiding the private lives of the people are bound up with those for regulating of the public arenas (Kim, 2009). She illustrates this point as follows:

> In Korea, social relations and activities involve concern for *'inwha'*, or harmony based on respect of hierarchical relationships, including submission to authority. For Japan, public relations operate within the context of *'wa'*, which stresses group harmony and social cohesion (Alston, 1989). In both Japan and Korea, employees were indoctrinated to regard their workplace as a family environment with the company director as a

> family head. They were taught to identify themselves as members of a big family, typically organised in the order of a Confucian family hierarchy, which is especially visible in big business companies, conglomerates (i.e. *Zaibatsu* in Japan and *Chaebul* in Korea).
>
> (T. Kim, 2009: 863-4)

To understand the mechanisms of social engineering, we need to note the principle of state-family. The term ‘nation-state’ (*Kuk-ga* in Korean) literally means ‘state-family’ indicating that a vision of the state is built upon the family: the family is a miniature state, while the state is an enlarged family; and the head of the state parallels the head of the family (T. Kim, 2001). Kwang-Ok Kim (1996: 226) also classifies the Confucian culture in Korea into ‘familism, intellectualism or literati elitism’. Familism developed a communal ethic and a strong sense of hierarchical relationships among the people (ibid). The family is the basic unit of social identity and control in East Asian societies as well as the method of establishing trust and mutual obligations across family boundaries (Pye & Pye, 1985). More recently, Chai-Bong Hahm (2004: 98) proposes that Confucianism relies on two pillars: the extended family and the state. Within this configuration, a patriarch (male head) of the family was the closest analogue to a priest who had the ritual responsibility of revering ancestors. Likewise, the government officials, who were also the heads of family clans, were leading scholars and practitioners of Confucian ideals. Their mastery of the classic Confucian texts was tested by the higher civil service exam (*Gwa-geo*) and only after gaining that official recognition could they be promoted to important public posts (ibid). He goes further arguing that ‘the family’s due is filial piety (*Hyo* in Korean) and the state’s due is political allegiance (*Chung* in Korean). These virtues of filial piety and loyalty are arguably the two Confucian desiderata *par excellence*, the values that give life to the family and the polity (ibid: 98).

This particular form of rationalisation (or institutionalisation) in which the Confucian state consolidated effective rule systems over the territory provides us with several reference points. First, as Hahm (2004: 98) clarifies, one of the figures differentiating Confucianism from other religions is its lack of ‘visible and autonomous structures’. Instead it took the form of a “diffused” religious or quasi-religious system (ibid). Alfred Stepan suggests that:

> Confucianism is actually a cultural and philosophical tradition, not a religious tradition, in that it is “this-worldly” rather than “other-worldly” and has no priests or church. Nonetheless, many observers, from Max Weber to Samuel P. Huntington, treat it as one of the world’s major religious-civilisational traditions.
>
> (Stepan, 2000: 56)

This is different from Western cultures of Christianity in which the secular power (king) and sacred power (church) are seen as having been involved in largely dichotomous relations, maintaining separate spheres of authority. Stepan's (2000: 37) concept of “twin tolerations”, which refers to the ‘minimal boundaries of freedom of action that must somehow be crafted for political institutions vis-à-vis religious authorities, and for religious individuals and groups vis-à-vis political institutions’ is useful in understanding the power relations of the Confucian state in which the political and religious power were enmeshed within the domain of political institutions. Regarding the supremacy of Confucian state, Hahm also states that:

> In Confucian societies, the lack of an independent and culturally indigenous "church" aided the rise of the state and with it socioeconomic modernity, yet left this same state too often unchallenged by countervailing authoritative sources. The new state could define the whole public realm as the nation, and then claim that state control of this realm drew justification from the government's role as supreme bearer of national goals and aspirations. Post-Confucian states freely articulated and imposed national ideologies.
>
> (Hahm, 2004: 101)

From the literature considered in this section, we can understand that the neo-Confucian ideology in pre-modern Korea was firmly embedded within the political institutions of the dynasties – both Ko-ryo and Cho-sun. The particular national project of rationalisation seemed to influence the ways by which the public configured their values and behaviours in the public arena. The context-specific features of order-compliance frameworks in state-society relations may be intensified by formulating and thus normalising national education systems in particular ways. In this regard, the next section reviews literature on the higher education institutions (HEIs) in this period, with considerable attention to the extent that and in what ways the HEIs of the Confucian state contributed to moulding the specific nature of state-academy relations in pre-modern Korea.

2.1.2. Higher education as a state institution

A noteworthy point to be discussed here is the particular status of higher education as well as the position of the academic profession in the Confucian state. The Confucian notion of Tao, which refers to a basic way of Confucian teaching and learning, stresses self-cultivation and self-realisation. Self-cultivation means to determine one's proper position in the network of social relationships and to behave properly according to one's position (T. Kim, 2001: 25). Therefore, education was a useful tool for legitimising and consolidating Confucian ideology (T. Kim, 2000; 2009; Zeng, 1999).

	Public institutions		Private institutions	
	Higher	Middle	Middle	Lower
Koguryo	Taehak (372)			Gyeongdang
Unified Shilla	Gukhak (682)			
Ko-ryo	Kukjagam (992)	Hakdang Hyanggyo	Sib-i-do (12 Schools)	Seodang
Cho-sun	Sunggyungwan (1398)	Hyanggyo	Seowon	Seodang

Table 3. The education institutions in ancient and pre-modern dynasties in Korea
* The number in () means the year of establishing HEIs
Source: MOE & HRD (2008) *Education in Korea 2007-2008*. Seoul: MOE & HRD.

Table 3 presents educational institutions in ancient and pre-modern Korea. Every Korean dynasty since the Three Kingdom era (1st~7th century, A.D.) established a state-run educational institution to prepare young students from the upper class for future government service (J. Kim, 2000). The table also illustrates that all the HEIs were monopolised by the state, while middle and lower (primary) education was also provided by private institutions (MOE & HRD, 2008). For instance, the *Sunggyungwan* was a national HEI throughout the Cho-sun dynasty. Located in the capital, *Hanyang*, the institution was essentially a training centre for students (primarily sons of state mandarins) who were preparing to take the higher-level civil service exam (J. Kim, 2000). An exemplar from among their ethical codes states that “A scholar should have a definite goal in mind in pursuing the way to become a scholar, statesman, and promoter of world peace”: this illustrates the close associations between higher education, scholarship and politics in the neo-Confucian society (ibid: 18-21).

As Terri Kim (2009) identifies, education in East Asian societies has been the fundamental instrument of the ruling class in governing states. The ideal typical model of the Confucian education provided the self-cultivation of the ruler (sage-king) and the scholar mandarins with a high degree of legitimacy (T. Kim, 2001; 2009). Moreover, the merit-based civil service exam (*Gwa-geo,* 958~1894) rewarded the scholars who possessed moral virtue and knowledge with official government positions. The Chinese ideograph *‘sa’* (士) indicates a “scholar” having a certain degree of knowledge and skills required to be a state official (ibid). Kyung-Ju Kim (2006) also underlines that, during the Cho-sun dynasty (1392~1910), the elite group of neo-Confucian scholars reconstituted themselves as a scholar official class in which hereditary and monopolistic access to power, wealth and knowledge by the *Yangban* class (meaning a group of “intellectual bureaucratic aristocrats”) was morally justified (Connor, 2002). As Terri Kim (2001: 27-8) puts it, two compatible roles were ascribed to ruling class males: the scholar mandarin (‘*sadaebu’* in Korean) in the government, and the autonomous academic (‘*sonbi’* in Korean) in the academy. Through scholarship, the *sonbi* also became a social leader. In this way, the intellectual aristocrats stood at the top of social hierarchy made up of four classes – scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants (K. Lee, 1984).

Given this context, as several scholars comment, the contemporary university entrance exam and the civil service exam systems in SK have inherited Confucian ideas about university-state relations since the period of the Ko-ryo and Cho-sun dynasties and all the modern routes to the academic profession in Korea resemble the traditional formations of academic power groups generated by certain academic clans and their networks (C. Chung, 1995; K.O. Kim, 1996; T. Kim, 2009; Zeng, 1999). Kwang-Ok Kim (1996) points out that the position of a university academic in SK is said to be the modern version of the noble man who internalises the Confucian values of knowledge and self-cultivation. He adds:

> Since education is the most important mechanism by which people become proper human beings, jobs related to education, such as being a teacher or professor, are highly respected. The job of university professor is one of the most prestigious in (South) Korea, as this represents the model of the noble man.
>
> (K. O. Kim, 1996: 206)

As may be seen, the Confucian state and state scholars in the pre-modern Korea enjoyed a dominant position in establishing as well as running HEIs. Moreover, limited entry to the state institution contributed to intensifying the monopolistic position of the ruling class working in the state apparatuses, while the exclusive education worked as a social regulation governing the public as a whole. The pre-modern higher education system experienced a transformative change since the Cho-sun was liberated from Japanese rule (1945) and established South Korean government (1948). However, high degree of continuity also seems to exist in this modernising era. The next section focuses on tracing the changes and continuities in state-academy relations.

2.2. 1945~1980s: the developmental state

SK’s modernising decades (1945~1980s) considered in this section were one of the most dynamic periods in the Korean history. They witnessed transformational changes in the Korean state – industrialisation and democratisation – leading to learning from and emulating Western systems. However, the transformation (or the development) also foregrounds a certain degree of continuity through which the particular governing patterns of the neo-Confucian state maintained its influence in forging relationships with social spheres. Accordingly, understanding the particularity of the developmental state model in SK provides a background for exploring the peculiarities of modernising higher education in SK.

2.2.1. The developmental state model

The idea of the ‘developmental state’ was coined by Chalmers Johnson in his study of Japan’s economic transformation (Johnson, 1982). According to Castells' (1992: 56) comparative analysis of Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong, a state is *developmental* when it ‘establishes as its principle of legitimacy its ability to promote and sustain (economic) development.’ Arguing that South Korea was a developmental state with strong state capacity, Weiss (1998: 24-39) provides four hypotheses to explain ‘cross-national difference in state capacity’, which consist of social bargaining, coercion, policy instruments and autonomy. For her, the inter-national difference is largely determined by the degree and character of ‘institutionalisation’ which is strongly influenced by the historically and geographically formed international environment in which state-building takes place (ibid: 18). Here, institutionalisation is conceived along two aspects: insulation and depth/breadth. While the former refers to the degree to which the public sphere is ‘distinguishable’ from the society, the latter refers to the ‘density’ of the links between state and other social entities (Krasner, 1989; Weiss, 1998). Weiss comments:

> The concept of embedded autonomy has been coined to solve the puzzle of why some highly interventionist states, such as (South) Korea, have been able to translate their developmental goals into practice, while others like Brazil and India have been far less effective in economic management.
>
> (Weiss, 1998: 35)

According to this statist (or institutionalist) approach to economic governance, effective states like Japan, Singapore, and South Korea enjoyed sufficient autonomy in formulating goals as well as embeddedness in making various networks implement them [for further discussion see also section 1.1.3]. As I suggested in Chapter 1, the developmental state model is highly informative in understanding the particular historical context in which SK’s higher education governance has been located. In other words, the strong commitment of the Korean state towards economic development (or prosperity) may imply the possibility of placing higher education and its governance under the overarching national project. President Jung-Hee Park made it clear that his highest policy priority was to take the country out of nation-wide poverty; thus he pushed forward economic modernisation and industrialisation by adopting an export-led growth strategy. The authoritarian government initiated the “Five-Year Plans” for national economic development for accomplishing national prosperity, which was managed by skilled bureaucrats (C.S. Ahn, 1999; K. M. Hwang, 2010: 230-1). The close interrelationship between the state’s economic development strategies and education policies is clearly illustrated in Table 4 below.

National development phases		**Economic development**	**Education policy**
Phase 1 (1945~1960)		Post-war reconstruction	Establishment of a basic education system
Phase 2	1960s	Labour-intensive industrialisation	Expansion of secondary education and vocational education
	1970s	Heavy and chemical industrialisation	
Phase 3 (1980s~mid-1990s)		Technology, knowledge and information-intensive industrialisation	Expansion of higher education
Phase 4 (Since the 1990s)		Globalisation, informationalisation and knowledge-based economy	Universalisation of higher education and human resource development (HRD)

Table 4. The correspondence between economic development and education policy
Source: KEDI (2008a) *Understanding Korean Educational Policy (Vol. 1): National Development Strategy and Education Policy*, Seoul: KEDI.

Table 4 shows that the consecutive changes in strategies of economic development also shifted the dominant agendas of education policies. Therefore, SK’s higher education policy in this period was associated with intensive processes of state formation and economic development, within which the features of centralised education policy have become firmly embedded (KEDI, 2008a). Ki-Su Kim (2005) refers to the national context as a ‘statist political economy’, arguing that the internal conditions of SK restricted and even inhibited education reforms in the globalised era, although these characteristics made a substantial contribution to economic and educational development in SK. In addition, he regards statism as a legacy of Japanese colonial rule (1910~1945), which had been imported from Prussia in the modernisation process of Japan (19th century) (ibid: 4). This is, I propose, a standpoint for understanding (higher education) governance in terms of processes by which external pressures have been met, negotiated and mediated by the internal mechanisms embedded within the historically-shaped context. In other words, the process-oriented approach towards the indigenisation of the external forces provides a useful tool to explore the modernisation of higher education in SK.

2.2.2. The modernisation of higher education

The concept of modernisation has been widely referenced as a peculiar form of societal development (Apter, 1965; Chodak, 1973). The literature about modernisation seems to presume two related elements – constant communications (between different cultures, societies and states) and systemic efforts (to accomplish their own (developmental) goals). For example, Chodak (1973: 257) highlights that modernisation is ‘a process of emulation, of the transplantation of patterns and products from achievements of others’. Therefore, there are always model and follower groups, societies and nations in this process (ibid). Drawing on Chodak’s conceptualisation, Kwang-Woong Kim depicted the economic and societal development since the 1940s as ‘induced modernisation’ (Chodak, 1973; K. W. Kim, 1991: 144). Another important point is the influence of indigenising processes, by which a certain combination of constant communications and systemic efforts forge a degree and direction of transformation of the legacy of societies. South Korean modernisation lends itself well to exploration drawing on these conceptual guides. As Kyung-Ju Kim (2006) puts it, the modernisation of SK is understood as involving a particular relationship between the pre-modern Korean civilisations and the processes of modern state formation, capitalist development and nationalism. Accordingly, its features are characterised as the processes of interaction, whereby the historically formed traditions and the universalising forces of early modernisation were met, adjusted, and transformed (S. Lee, 1989).

Western higher education systems were imported in various ways in this process. For instance, the centralised bureaucratic systems of the French model were transplanted into the Korean education system during the Japanese colonial era (1910~1945), which has persisted as a dominant institutional setting since liberalisation from colonial rule (H. K. Hwang, 2010; J. Yoon, 1999). The German idealism expressed in the principle of academic freedom and autonomy was imported as a basic principle of legal constitution of the ROK from 1948 (K. W. Lee, 2007). Apart from this influence from Continental Europe, the U.S. post-war aid programme disseminated the idea of equality of opportunity in access to higher education. The American educational idea of universalism contributes to modernising and democratising Korea's HEIs (S. Lee, 1989). In a similar vein, Shin (2011: 322) argues that a single model does not represent the current governance of Korean higher education. Based upon the origins (or founders) of HEIs, he presents three models – i.e. the German model (public or national university, e.g. Seoul National University), the US model (private university, e.g. Yonsei University) and the domestic model (Korean educator model, e.g. Korea university). The literature considered in this section highlights the complexity (or multiple dimensions) by which higher education governance is able to be examined.

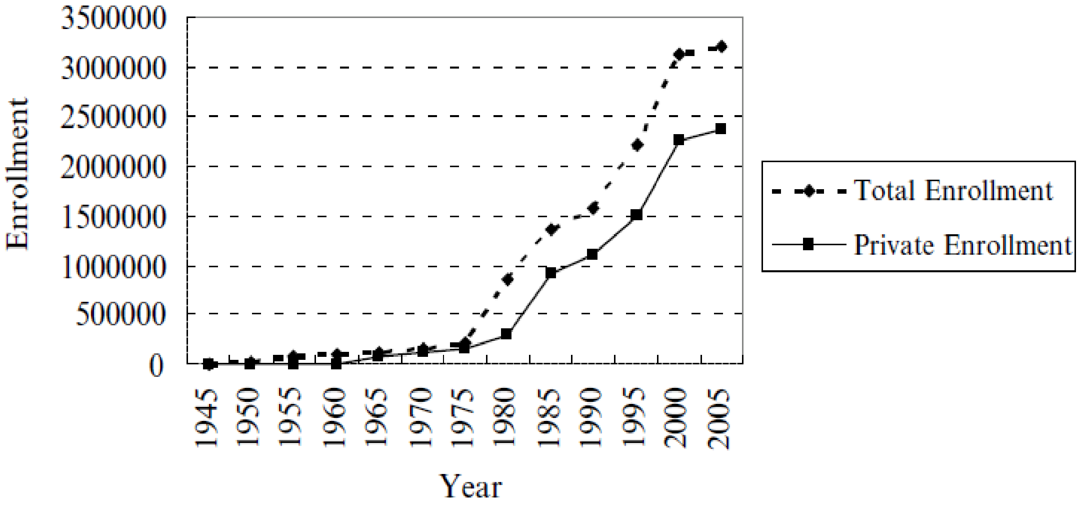

Figure 2. Growth of Korean higher education enrollment. Notes: (a) Total higher education enrollment is the total of student enrollment in 4-year and 2-year HEIs. (b) Private enrollment data are available only from 1965. (c) Sources: Annual education statistics (MOE) [cited in Shin (2011: 323)].

Apart from the Western influences and the processes of their indigenisation, the modernisation of South Korean higher education is also marked by huge expansion and massification. Figure 2 shows the rapid growth in the student enrolment in HEIs in SK. As a result, the enrollment rate of South Korean higher education is the highest among OECD countries (J. C. Shin & Harman, 2009; J. C. Shin, 2011). According to this Figure, the real expansion of higher education took place initially during the 1980s and there was a 30% increase in student numbers in this period. The sharp increase continued after the legislation of the Korean government (MOE) which facilitated the establishment of new four-year universities and two-year colleges in the 1990s (Grubb et al., 2009). Moreover, the quantitative growth was largely attributed to the remarkable expansion of private HEIs. In fact, around 80% of students are currently enrolled at private universities and colleges in SK, which is termed as 'over-privatisation' (K.S. Kim & Woo, 2009; T. Kim, 2013). What is noteworthy here is, as they point out, the fact that the expansion of (private) HEIs exceeded the financial and administrative capacity of the Korean government, which resulted in the undermining of the value of higher education (provision) as a 'public good' (ibid: 126). Here, I am emphasising that this is a context-specific element of South Korean higher education and its governing (or management), distinguishing it from Western models that have, to some extent, enjoyed corporatist privileges in the same period (although their position has undergone significant changes since the 1980s).

The quantitative growth of higher education alongside the tensions between the imported ideas and culturally embedded practices are factors that are regarded as important elements in this enquiry, contributing to the construction of 'Korean State-ness' in the governing of higher education. The next section enlarges the analytic view by explaining how the Korean state has filtered the external pressures of globalisation since the 1990s.

2.3. Since the 1990s: globalisation and new managerial state

It is recognised in the Korean literature that globalisation and economic crisis in the 1990s posed a new challenge to South Korean society, which pushed the Korean government to employ new managerial reforms in all public sectors – including higher education (Byun, 2008; Moon & Kim, 2001; P. S. Kim, 2000; T. Kim, 2013; J.S. Park, 2004). The literature also tends to label higher education reforms in this period as 'neo-liberal' and to highlight changing features in higher education governance (T. Kim, 2013). In the discussion that follows I raise questions about this approach to transplanting Western (Anglo-American) governance literature into the South Korean context. In doing this, I offer a process-oriented approach to understanding globalisation and review South Korean literature on higher education reforms in this era, in order to identify alternative ways to conceptualise the particular context of SK.

2.3.1. Globalisation and state mediation

The terms "globalisation" and "knowledge economy" have been one of the most intriguing research topics for social and political scientists, as well as education researchers studying the transformation in the governing of higher education and politics (Dale, 1999; 2000; Dobbins, 2011; Held et al, 1999; Hudson & Lowe, 2009; Nagel et al, 2010; Ozga, 2008). In general, globalisation is about new political structures, national and supranational, and their evolution as well as powerful economic forces (Hudson & Lowe, 2009). As Giddens (1999) argues:

> Globalisation is an economic, ideological, political and institutional project propelled by a technological revolution, an ideological and policy shift, a strengthening of the role of global financial systems and a changing geopolitical culture. Globalisation is restructuring the ways in which we live in a very profound manner.
>
> (Giddens, 1999: 4)

Scholarly debates about globalisation have been developed in which it is possible to distinguish three broad schools of thought, which Held et al. (1999) refer to as the hyperglobalisers, sceptics, and transformationalists. For the hyperglobalisers, globalisation defines a new epoch of human history in which the 'traditional nation-states have become unnatural'. The emergence of a single global market, they argue, is bringing about a 'denationalisation' of economies through the establishment of transnational networks of production, trade and finance (Held et al., 1999: 3-5). Sceptics assert that globalisation is little more than an illusion which was invented by neo-liberal economists to justify tax cuts and welfare retrenchment. In this point of view, the nation-state still remains the key geopolitical unit (ibid: 5-7). Transformationalists suggest that globalisation is not only an economic transformation, but involves the reprogramming of many aspects of social and political life. In this thesis, the nation-state is not in decline but rather compelled to reinvent itself under the impact of the new global pressures (Hudson & Lowe, 2009: 35-6). This means that, as Held et al. (1999: 440) put it, the role of the nation state has to be 're-articulated, reconstituted and re-embedded at the intersection of globalising and regionalising networks and systems'.

These debates about globalisation and its impact on the state imply two inter-related dimensions of discussion about the nature of contemporary governance and policy making. With reference to the 'degree of change', the extent to which the traditionally taken-for-granted state authority is undermined as a result of globalisation seems to be of primary importance. In relation to the 'direction of change', the issue of whether or not (education) systems in the nation-states converge into a common model (or a world polity) is central to the discussion. In probing these questions, Dale's (2000) work is particularly useful. Addressing the issues of globalisation and education policy, he classifies the different perspectives existing in the educational discipline into two broad categories: the ‘Common World Educational Culture’ (CWEC) approach and the ‘Globally Structured Agenda for Education’ (GSAE) approach. According to him, the proponents of the CWEC approach argue that the development of national education systems is to be explained by universal models of education, state and society, rather than by distinctive national elements. On the other hand, the GSAE approach explains the mechanisms in which the global agenda is interpreted or responded by states in regionally differentiated ways. As Dale points out, there are significant differences between these perspectives; while the CWEC views globalisation as a supranational set of (Western) ideas, norms and values that permeate every region of the world, the GSAE approach sees globalisation as particular arrangements being constructed through three related sets of activities: economic, political and cultural (ibid: 436).

The transformationalist thesis (Held et al., 1999) and GSAE approach (Dale, 2000) have much in common as both provide a coherent way of understanding the shifting nature of (higher education) governance and the role of the state in it. Both approaches acknowledge that changes are caused by supra-national forces. However, they highlight the role of the (nation-) state as a ‘meso-level’ unit filtering, translating or mediating the forces of globalisation (Hudson & Lowe, 2009). Thus, globalisation is understood more as processes or the end-state of the processes, the nature of which depends on the political, economic and cultural contexts of states, rather than supra-national structures. This approach suggests that we can approach changes in contemporary higher education governance from this process-oriented perspective.

Drawing on the idea of (cultural) 'assemblages' that I adopted in Chapter 1, I propose that the Korean state's construction of its particular relations with higher education historically, and the extent to which these particular configurations have been re-assembled or re-formulated within the new context of globalisation, are of significance in this enquiry. Accordingly, this thesis recognises the nature of globalisation as external conditions offering resources which have promoted particular modes of interpretation or translation by the Korean state.

Here, I suggest that the idea of 'indigenisation (or internalisation)' developed by Phillips & Ochs (2003) is useful. In explaining the mechanisms of policy borrowing in education, they refer to the concept as processes by which a particular policy 'becomes part of the system of education of the borrower country' (ibid: 456). In order to explain state-mediated changes in the education systems of modern states, Robertson & Dale (2008: 27) use the term 'mandate' and 'capacity'. The mandate refers to the purpose of education which reflects 'the core problem of the state within the context of the global and national regimes of accumulation', whereas the capacity of the education system is shaped by 'competing interests and sets of conditions arising from the three main spheres of a social formation: economy, state, and civil society' (Robertson, 2000: 39).

Drawing on these ideas, it is possible to re-conceptualise the processes of mediating global pressures with reference to differentially 'articulated formations' (Clarke & Fink, 2008), in which the contextual elements of the state and its governing practices are made visible. The next section attempts to mobilise some of these insights through a review of the literature addressing the ways in which new educational mandates have been articulated as managerial reforms of higher education in SK since the 1990s.

2.3.2. Higher education reforms in South Korea

In understanding the nature of higher education reforms in SK since the 1990s, I attend to the competing arguments developed in the political science literature to conceptualise the impact of globalisation on the dominant position of the state in policy making. As stated in Chapter 1 [section 1.2.3], new governance literature puts forward the proposition of the 'decline of the nation-state' or even 'state denial', following from global integration and convergence function that act on the state as unprecedented forces through which the sovereign power and autonomy of nation-states is undermined (Daly, 2003; Kooiman, 2003; Newman, 2005; Rhodes, 1996; 1997; Rosenau, 2002; Weiss, 1998).

On the other hand, there also exist contrasting arguments suggesting that the uncertainties of global competition reinforce the state's legitimate power to withstand increased economic vulnerability (Hirst & Thompson, 1995; Weiss, 1998, 2005). This means that nation-states adopt certain policy choices to survive the forces of globalisation (Kay, 2008). The terms 'economism' and 'competition state' thus depict the institutional and normative tendency whereby economic competitiveness became the 'touchstone of legitimacy' in policy making (Evans & Cerny, 2003; Kay, 2008). According to this particular perspective towards globalisation, as Weiss (2005: 345) puts it, 'states are metamorphosing not into minor figures but into supporting players'. Here, I stress that the metamorphosis thesis contributes to opening up a new discussion on two aspects: first, that the impact of globalisation may vary across different states and so more attention needs to be paid to the process of inter-national differentiation; second, unlike the arguments of mainstream governance literature, the dominant positions of certain states may be reinforced in the midst of globalisation.

Korean scholars who analyse higher education reform agendas in SK since the mid-1990s tend to acknowledge that the South Korean government has begun to employ New Public Management (NPM) techniques underpinned by neo-liberal ideology in order to reform higher education (Byun, 2008; T. Kim, 2013; J. S. Park, 2004; H. Shin et al., 2013). Jung-Su Park (2004) highlights recent changes in higher education governance structures, in which the bureaucratic, direct controls of the Korean government gave way to market-driven, indirect controls. Other commentators argue that South Korean universities have been heavily restricted by government regulations, asserting that the government should try to incorporate more market-based policies in order to upgrade the quality of teaching and research at HEIs (S. Kim & Lee, 2006).

More recently, however, research efforts that take account of the contextual features of SK to a greater or lesser degree have begun to emerge. Ki-Yong Byun (2008) argues that some typical elements of the NPM are found in the higher education governance reforms in SK but that those principles have not been firmly incorporated into South Korean universities. He termed this ‘retardation in the implementation of the NPM’ in SK (ibid: 190). In a similar vein, Shin et al. (2013: 53) conceptualise recent (higher) education reforms as ‘neo-liberalism intertwined with statism’. Drawing on historical institutionalism, they argue that the institutional context of state-centred governance generates ‘unintended consequences’ in the process of internalising neo-liberal policies (ibid: 62-3). Jung Cheol Shin uses the term ‘decentralised centralisation’ to describe a new trend in higher education governance, in which evaluation-based budget mechanisms have displaced the bureaucratic regulations of the government (decentralised), while the internal governance of HEIs is becoming centralised in order to enhance their performance and efficiency (centralisation) (J. C. Shin & Harman, 2009; J. C. Shin, 2011).

The Korean literature addressing the managerial (higher education) reforms since the 1990s conveys an image of the Korean state seeking to re-formulate the modes of governing higher education by referencing Western ideology of neo-liberalism, importing new managerial techniques of NPM, and pushing them forward for the purpose of enhancing the quality of the Korean academy and its work. From these discussions, it could be argued that there existed the possibility of a metamorphosis of the Korean state in the process of adapting to global pressures since the 1990s. However, I suggest, more detailed and empirically-underpinned investigation is required to make claims about the ways in which and to what extent the complex aspects of state-academy relations have changed or remained stable. In confronting these questions, South Korean scholars tend to conceptualise higher education governance within the disciplines of public administration, management, economics and institutionalism, and thus that scholarship pays less attention to important issues of history, culture, politics and context. This may be a result of importing Western literature without considering seriously the contextual features of the South Korean academy. In this regard, the cultural approach to the state and governing that I adopted in Chapter 1 as an appropriate theoretical framework provide useful resources to incorporate more explicitly the cultural elements into the analyses of globalisation and the process of state-mediation, and thus understanding the extent of change and continuity in the governing of higher education.

The historical account in this chapter pays attention to the traditional state-university relations in the Confucian state and discusses the transformative changes initiated by the modernising projects of the Korean state, as well as the mechanisms by which the Korean state mediated the pressures of globalisation since the 1990s. The particular types of intersection between the endogenous and exogenous elements generated specific conditions and processes resulting in the indigenising of Western higher education systems and, at the same time, expansion and massification of higher education produced another important point of reference for the understanding of the governing of higher education. The keen interest in the cultural embeddedness of higher education and the social, political and economic contexts in which it is situated works as a bridge enabling this thesis to move from the state and governance literature embedded in ‘western contexts’, towards specific discussions on higher education governance embedded in ‘Korean contexts’. Informed by the previous discussion, the next chapter moves on to reviewing theoretical resources on higher education governance, academic professionalism and professionalisation.

Chapter 3. Understanding higher education governance

In Chapter 2, I proposed that an emphasis on the cultural embeddedness of the Korean academy might be informative in the analysis of the governing practices of higher education. In taking this approach, this thesis considers higher education as a specific type of cultural assemblage in which Korean state-ness plays out. Informed by the theoretical discussions of the previous chapters, this chapter seeks to understand how Western models of higher education governance – as represented by the principles of state-authority, market principles and university self-regulation – have intersected within the Korean state. This is, in other words, an examination of the ways in which the cultural elements of the Korean state identified in Chapter 2 play out in the governing work of higher education.

The chapter begins with a review of the literature on higher education governance within the field of education research, and through that review identifies three different theoretical perspectives that I term managerial, institutional and political approaches to higher education governance. It then adopts the political approach as an appropriate conceptual standpoint to inform the empirical enquiry of this thesis. The second section compares three ideal models of higher education governance. Each of these models are termed the Humboldt model, the Napoleonic model, and the Anglo-American model. Given that each model has been embedded within different socio-historical contexts in Western states and academies, this section offers cases in which the academy is diversely associated with external authorities – the state and market in divergent ways.

A third section briefly reviews theories of academic professionalism, concluding that a process-oriented approach is best suited for understanding state-university relations. These discussions lead me to offer a particular focus, where the particularities in the cultural assemblages of the Korean state and its meaning-making practices are scrutinised by taking a political approach to the governance of higher education, through which the indigenisation of Western higher education governing models within the historical experiences of the South Korean state – that is, modernisation and globalisation – is illuminated.

3.1. Defining higher education governance

The concept of ‘governance’ reviewed in chapters 1 and 2 is associated with key theoretical concepts and their historical shifts in the social and political sciences – i.e. state, power, legitimacy, authority, modernisation, globalisation and the knowledge economy. It offers a basic standpoint for approaching the shifting nature of governing paradigms in this globalised era. On the other hand, the culturally-oriented and historical approach adopted in this enquiry also highlights the importance of contextualising the complex relations between the Korean state and higher education as a way of approaching the concept of higher education governance. This is an attempt to bridge the gap I referred to earlier between Western literature and the South Korean phenomena I seek to investigate by assessing the extent to which these theoretical resources may be applied in the specific context of SK. At the same time, this is a narrowing of the analytic focus from ‘governance’ to ‘higher education governance’ and so we need to review how the concept of higher education governance is defined in the relevant scholarly work.

I categorise research on higher education governance into three different approaches or schools of thought: the managerial approach, institutional approach and political approach. The first (managerial) approach tends to conceive of the university as an organisational entity and thus defines university governance as ‘the constitutional forms and processes through which universities govern their affairs’ (Shattock, 2006: 1). In this view, the administrative, economic and juridical aspects of universities as well as their internal governing strategies – e.g. structuring, staffing, budgeting and planning – are significant (Kwickers, 2005). Education researchers in SK also approach the concept in terms of organising structures and their operation in universities (Byun et al., 2011; H. K. Hwang, 2010; K. S. Kim, 2008). This approach envisions higher education governance as operating in line with corporate planning or management originated in the private sector as forms of business administration, focusing on similarities and differences in managing two organisational entities (Parsons, 1995). Therefore, ontological and epistemological questions about the assumptions of this approach might be raised as they treat the structures and behaviours related to internal operations of universities in isolation.

The institutional approach, on the other hand, understands higher education governance within the wider institutional contexts in which universities are located. It enlarges the conceptual boundary of higher education governance by defining it as ‘the way higher education systems and institutions are organised and managed’ (Neave, 2006: 4. cited in Harman & Treadgold, 2007: 15). Similarly, Dobbins (2011: 33-4) defines higher education governance in terms of organisations of HEIs (for example university governing bodies), their operation (e.g. financing) and formal and informal rules (e.g. legislative conditions) surrounding HEIs. Based upon this conceptualisation, researchers investigate contemporary changes in national higher education systems comparatively (Huisman, 2009). Comparative studies of national transformative capacities in response to the driving force promoted by IOs – for example through the Bologna Process or, at the school level, through OECD's PISA studies – argue that national transformative capacities modify these external challenges differentially (Dobbins, 2011; Nagel et al., 2010). Within this institutional approach, Dobbins (2011) analyses historically anchored relationships between the state and higher education. Focusing on transnational policy convergence in higher education governance or convergence-promoting mechanisms as a by-product of global integration, his institutionalist approach addresses how the interplay between pre-existing institutional models and transnational initiatives impacts on the evolution of higher education in the central and eastern European countries (ibid).

Other scholarly work takes a more fluid, socially constructionist, political and process-oriented approach to the governance of (higher) education (Clarke, 2009; Grek, 2012; Ozga, Dahler-Larsen, Segerholm, & Simola, 2011; Ozga, Baxter, Clarke, Grek, & Lawn, 2013; Ozga, 2013; Lawn & Grek, 2012). They understand the concept of governance as defined and (re) constructed in the process of governing (Clarke, 2009). This approach defines the governing of education as a 'set of practices which participate in the organization and the orientation of social life' (Lagroye 1997: 25. cited in Grek, 2012: 245; Ozga et al., 2013: 206). This is an interdisciplinary research effort informed by political and policy sociology, as well as political science and social geography in order to respatialise and thus reconceptualise new governing patterns in this era of globalisation and Europeanisation (Lawn & Grek, 2012). For instance, researchers working with these ideas argue that data use in quality assurance and evaluation (QAE) systems may be understood as a form of education governance, and show how new and evolving practices of governing are forming and shaping European education identities and policy spaces (Ozga et al., 2011). In the new politics of education, the use of knowledge-based technologies – the collection, circulation and processing of knowledge – is acquiring primacy through new regulatory instruments and thus benchmarking and comparison are becoming key governing processes (Fenwick et al., 2014; Lawn & Grek, 2012).

The so-called 'governance turn' (Fenwick et al., 2014: 6) is conceptualised around the 'political work' of key actors – brokers, mediators and translators – working in local, national and transnational contexts (Ozga et al., 2013). Here, 'political work' is defined as the work that 'both discursively and interactively seeks to change or reproduce institutions by mobilising values' (Smith, 2009: 13). Accordingly, governance study requires exploration of the processes of political as well as discursive mobilisation – particularly problematisation, institutionalisation and legitimisation (Grek, 2012; Smith, 2009). These processes highlight dispersed and diverse ways of interaction, in which (cultural) assemblages are being crystalised and therefore the purpose and direction of governing work are being defined (Clarke, 2009; 2013). In short, this approach offers a new way of defining the concept of higher education governance (or rather, governing). As Ozga (2013: 2) suggests drawing on Clarke, the term governing highlights relationships that are not fixed, but that are liable to disruption, and that seek to build coherence or continuity across different spaces, sites and personnel.

Through adopting an approach that builds on the understanding of the importance of political work, as expressed in the previous paragraphs, this thesis will attempt to re-conceptualise the governing of Korean higher education within wider contextual features – namely the cultural and historical resources of the Korean state. By taking this view, I expect to overcome problems that may follow from a rather over-determined or reified conceptualisation of governance to which managerial and institutional approaches often adhere, and enable the incorporation of more explicitly cultural elements of the Korean state into the analysis of higher education governance. Informed by this theoretical standpoint, the next section reviews three higher education governance models developed in the different contexts of Western countries.

3.2. Three higher education governance models

Clark (1983) lists three coordinating channels identified in the national systems of higher education – i.e. state authority, market form and professional oligarchy. He further proposes that these coordinating pillars are entangled in as well as integrative of their particular national systems (ibid). Each of these three channels, although derived from a different history of each state and its experiences, functions as relatively stable templates for university management and governance (Dobbins, 2011: 36).

University governance	Referential community	Role of state
Humboldt model	Scientific & research community	Financer; promoter of free scientific inquiry
Napoleonic model	Nation-state	System design for national cohesion and homogeneity
Anglo-American model	Local community	Fostering competition and quality

Table 5. Three modes of higher education coordination
Source: Dobbins (2011) *Higher Education Policies in Central and Eastern Europe: Convergence towards a Common Model?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Table 5 summarises the historical origins of the coordinating principles. The typology provides wider frames of reference as each of them is underpinned by different assumptions in the governing of higher education, in terms of the nature of the university, the referential community to which universities should be answerable, and the role of the state in steering universities (Neave, 2003). As a preliminary to examining the processes of Koreanising those models in the modernising and globalising eras of South Korean history, it is useful to review what each of the Western governing principles is about and how is it related to the state in a particular context.

3.2.1. The Humboldt model

As Anderson (2004: 51) puts it, the 'Humboldtian model' of the German university was initiated as a political reaction against Napoleon's domination of Germany and his defeat of Prussia in 1806. It is rooted in the historical experiences of university reforms in eighteenth century Germany as well as the intense debates among German scholars and philosophers, of which Wilhelm von Humboldt and his colleagues articulated as ‘a set of practices which were held to guarantee academic freedom, a new relationship with the state, and a neo-humanist ethos’ (ibid). The ideal of neo-humanism emphasising the concept of ‘*Bildung*– which does not translate simply as ‘education’, but also signifies an ideal of personal self-development through the pursuit of truth’ – was absorbed into the model (ibid: 52). In this golden age of German philosophy, the scholars such as Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Humboldt advanced the ideas of ‘the unity of teaching and research, the autonomy of the university, and education through science and scholarship (Anderson, 2004; Kehm, 1999). In the reform era represented by the foundation of the University of Berlin in 1810, the privileged status of philosophy faculty was maintained and therefore the state was required to abstain from direct, bureaucratic interventions; accordingly only the university community could judge scientific matters (Anderson, 2004: 53-4). Anderson goes further to emphasise that:

> He [Humboldt] did indeed speak of cultivating science and scholarship ‘for their own sake’, but the cultural concept was ‘the unity of teaching and research’. Research and *Bildung* were indissolubly linked. Teachers must be researchers, because *Bildung* places the search for truth and understanding, not professional training or the routine absorption of knowledge, at the centre of general, liberal education
>
> (Anderson, 2004: 56).

Dobbins (2011) identifies that the model is based on a state-university partnership, governed by principles of corporatism and collective agreement. At the organisational level, academic 'oligarchy' is synonymous with the self-regulation of academic affairs by professors and scientists. The Humboldtian model of 'academic self-rule' thus granted a higher degree of autonomy and legitimacy to the local communities and in turn the universities. Within this frame, the state set the legislative framework for the university to autonomously enhance learning and research. Hence, the state acted as a promoter of the freedom, while providing an 'institutional buffer' to prevent external interests from undermining unfettered scholarship (Neave, 1996: 35). German idealism assumed that the responsibility of HEIs was 'to act as the highest expression of cultural unity', the independence of which was maintained by the institutional arrangements that the state provided (Neave, 2001: 25). Consequently, the lack of any institutional coordination (for example in relation to planning future labour force needs) between universities and industrial and/or political objectives is characteristic of this higher education governing model (Dobbins, 2011: 39). In the South Korean context, the ideal of academic freedom or independence may have been differently embedded or indigenised as a 'projected' discourse of higher education governance in the efforts to resist the dominant governing practices of the Korean state. I will examine the particular characteristics of indigenisation in chapters 5 and 6.

3.2.2. The Napoleonic model

When Napoleon first took power in France in 1799, the first reform priority was secondary education, which was intended to provide France with well-educated civilian officials and military officers (Anderson, 2004). In 1802, the central schools were replaced by state *lycées* (upper secondary schools), the elite schools run by means of strong state control and authority (Anderson, 2004; Chevaillier, 2001). The *lycées* trained male students for the baccalaureate and the baccalaureate led them directly into the professional faculties. Accordingly, it became a main route towards a wide range of state posts and a badge of middle class status (ibid: 44). Regarding the educational monopoly of state and secularisation of education, Anderson comments:

> Napoleon was prepared to leave the education of the masses, such as it was, to the church, and to consign middle-class girls to convent schools. But the education of the male elite was to be secular and state supervised.
>
> Anderson (2004: 43)

The Napoleonic University was launched as the state's own teaching corporation which consists of the whole body of teachers in secondary schools and in the faculties. For instance, the 1808 Law created the École Normale Supérieure which was to produce lycée teachers and to prepare for the *aggregation* (a civil service competition exam). It is obvious, through these policy measures, the French system tried to instil 'the single spirit' to the mind of the public as well as direct political and moral opinions (Anderson, 2004: 43-47). The 'nationalisation of higher education' as a public service provided and regulated by the state formed one of the fundamental conditions by which higher education was conceptualised as a public institution (Neave, 2003: 143). The so-called "Napoleonic" relationship envisioned the 'individual establishment bonded into the national community' by means of close oversight exercised by a central administration (Neave, 2003: 144). The national administration was seen as the 'guardian' of general interest and accordingly very little legitimacy was acknowledged to external stakeholders seeking to act beyond these frames in France and Italy (ibid). In addition to the notion of ‘referential community’, Neave argues that the principle of ‘legal homogeneity’ was the coping stone on which this particular pattern of governance rested (Neave, 1996, 2001). Neave advances his argument thus:

> Stated briefly, the principle of ‘legal homogeneity’ says that, within a given nation, the same type of higher education institution will be regulated by the same set of laws, decrees and ministerial fiats… The rationale underlying legal homogeneity was itself and parcel of the democratic values which the Nation-state inherited from the French Revolution of 1789 – to wit, equality under the law and the advance of meritocracy in public life
>
> (Neave, 2001: 31-2).

Consequently, the links between higher education and the world of commerce and industry should be mediated or filtered through national administration (Neave, 2003: 145). This implies the instrumental value of higher education in the nation-building efforts of states – by the same token in so-called developing and developed ones – is quite often followed by political discourses calling for concrete reform measures piloting universities in specific directions. I suggest that the particular idea of state-dominance in the governing of higher education along with the instrumentalisation of higher education may resonate with the culturally-embedded practices of the Korean academy and its governing, which will be further evidenced and presented in detail in chapters 5 and 6.

3.2.3. The Anglo-American model

While the Napoleonic interpretation of the university is characterised by close legal and administrative ties between state and university, the Anglo-American interpretation emphasised the close ties of the university to the local community, and with direct representation of local interests (Dobbins, 2011). As Clark (1983: 142-5) illustrates in his account of ‘the triangle of coordination’, the United States exhibits little coordination at state or national levels by senior academics. As they lack the power base of European and Japanese counterparts, American academics are poorly represented in the higher reaches of the controlling bodies. Clark illustrates this point as follows:

> [I]t is noteworthy that even voluntary commissions established to address national issues in higher education, such as the Carnegie Commission on higher education, are manned by administrators representative of important sectors and institutions rather than prestigious professors.
>
> (Clark, 1983: 145)

The Anglo-American interpretation – distance and separation – is founded upon two fundamental ideas and principles. First, it is assumed that the relationship between the government and the university should not be close; and second, the principle of closeness should apply to the community to which the university is answerable – that is the local community (Neave, 2003: 144). Although the English and American tradition adopts the Humboldtian legacy of academic freedom and unfettered scholarship, they are responsible to the regional interests and important stakeholders in the local community in directing academic institutions (Dobbins, 2011; Neave, 2003). Dobbins (ibid: 17) notes the different trajectories between the English and American model. The so-called ‘Newman tradition’ which emerged in England was based on the belief that students were not only instructed to acquire knowledge and skills, but also prepare for later service to the community. In addition, the American model lays more emphasis on the idea of ‘useful knowledge’ and its connections to local economic structures (ibid).

The economy-driven as well as consumer-oriented approach of American universities has constructed a distinctive trend differentiating it from those of continental European states. More recently scholars studying the shifting nature of higher education have tried to address the emergence of new practices governing the academy in which the university and academic profession are subject to market principles – i.e. the ‘market model’ (Clark, 1983) also referred to more critically as ‘academic capitalism’ (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), and the ‘enterprise university’ (Marginson & Considine, 2000). Slaughter and Leslie (1997) draw on ‘resource dependence theory’ suggesting that contemporary universities change their resource-seeking patterns to compete for new, more competitively based funds. For instance, faculty are quite willing to compete for commercial funds if these resources do not conflict directly with their traditional status or if there are compensatory factors such as symbolic rewards through media presence, especially in science and technology (ibid: 18). Marginson & Considine (2000) also argue that universities function more effectively when they are operated as economic enterprises within and for regional or global markets. They suggest that the ‘enterprise universities’ perform not only for economic profits, but also for academic prestige and the competitiveness of the university. In the meantime, academic identities are often subordinated to the mission, marketing and strategic development of the institution and its leaders (ibid.).

As I suggested in Chapter 2, several Korean scholars concede that the market-principle began to change the governing practices of higher education in SK since the Korean government imported the NPM techniques underpinned by neo-liberalism (Byun et al., 2011; P. S. Kim, 2000; J.S. Park, 2004; H. Shin et al., 2013). However, my argument is that South Korean academics, myself included, need to exercise caution in importing and using the outcomes of Western scholarly work that originated in different cultural and historical contexts. The keen awareness of the possibility of cultural differentiation in constructing governing practices in a particular time and place helps me position critically the three Western governing principles on higher education within this research project. In other words, the three different models offer useful organising principles through which this thesis contextualises the governing patterns of higher education in SK, by paying considerable attention to the processes of indigenising these governing principles. It is worth noting that these organising principles have emerged as significant in particular conditions in Western society. Thus, the extent to which the organising types of academic governance are also present in SK, and whether they changed in particular ways in the South Korean context are of significance in this enquiry.

3.3. Academic professionalism: the state and the academic profession

In this approach to the higher education governance of the Korean state, a process-oriented approach on professionalism, which is considered in this section, guides my attention to the particular relations between the state and the academic profession. As I discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, state-centrality is an assumption developed in order to examine the specificities of the governing practices in the South Korean academy. Therefore, reviewing the literature on the (academic) professionalism and professionalisation provides this enquiry with a focused theoretical framework, which incorporates many of the elements I have selected so far – the cultural approach to the state, the indigenisation of governing principles (discourses) in the context of modernisation and globalisation, and the political approach to the governing of higher education. I now turn, therefore, to different theoretical standpoints on professions and professionalism.

3.3.1. Theorising professionalism: traits and processes

Traditional accounts on the professions tend to focus on general attributes which are supposedly shared by the members of highly educated groups. The so-called trait approach tries to isolate the characteristics distinguishing a profession from other types of occupations [for a critique see Ozga and Lawn (1981)]. For example, scholars typify the general dimensions of a profession as the cognitive dimension (i.e. body of knowledge), the normative dimension (i.e. service orientation and distinctive ethics), and the evaluative dimension (i.e. autonomy and privilege) (Freidson, 1994; Millerson, 1964). Similarly, Liberman (1956) underlines that a profession performs an essential social service, has a long period of specialised training, offers a high degree of autonomy, puts emphasis upon the services rather than the economic rewards, and operates on the basis of a code of ethics. From a more critical and process oriented perspective, Larson (1977: x) acknowledges that there is substantial agreement that 'professions are occupations with special power and prestige'. Based on these criteria, the three original professions of medicine, law, and the clergy (of which university teaching was part) were termed the 'high status professions', highlighting their marked difference from newer 'occupational' professions (Elliot, 1972). This approach, with its focus on inherent traits, cannot take account of the emergent professions which came into existence as society changed, and especially as the state required new kinds of services.

From the 1970s onwards, the process approach, asserting that professionals were to be understood as much by their organisational ability and political power to obtain professional status as by their expertise, began to challenge the conventional view (Freidson, 1994; Larson, 1977; Macdonald, 1995). For instance, Larson (1977: xvii) moves away from a focus on ‘professionalism’ and towards the scrutiny of ‘professionalisation’ which she defines as ‘an attempt to translate one order of scarce resources – special knowledge and skills – into another – social and economic rewards’. In her historical study of capitalist formations of the Anglo-Saxon societies – i.e. the cases of Britain and the United States in the 19th century – Larson (1977) elucidates the significance of the state’s monopolistic appropriation and organisation of a higher education system and credentialing as effective channels objectifying professional privilege and the market value of professional service. Similarly, Freidson (1994: 62) also argues that ‘professionalisation might be understood as a process by which an organised occupation … obtains the exclusive right to perform a particular kind of work, control training for and access to it, and control the right of determining and evaluating the way the work is performed’. In his analysis of medicine, Freidson (1970) illuminates the nature of professional privilege and the processes by which it is guaranteed. The examination leads him to propose that the distinctive autonomy, which is ultimately dependent upon the power of the state, is only technical and not absolute, highlighting that the privileged position of a profession is secured by the political and economic influence of the elite which sponsors it (Freidson, 2001).

It is notable from the literature that professional knowledge and expertise should be addressed as the basic building blocks of professional status. However, knowledge and expertise are not fixed and immutable ideas and practices, and the value of particular knowledge or expertise to powerful elites may change as social conditions and relations change. Thus, the end-state of professionalism is inseparable from 'the process of the professionalisation toward which an occupation may be moving' (Freidson, 1994:15). Therefore, in approaching the theorisation of professionalism, it is appropriate to treat the profession as an 'empirical entity' and elaborate better means of understanding and interpreting it as a concrete, changing, historical and national phenomenon (ibid: 25).

3.3.2. Professionalisation of the academic profession in the West

Studies of the academic profession in Western societies tend to note their particular status within society – e.g. 'the key profession in the modern society' (Perkin, 1987). This idiosyncratic status stems largely from the utility of the professional knowledge and expertise that they have. Clark (1987: 2) illustrates that 'it [the academic profession] trains the members of an increasing number of leading fields outside the academy; its ideas speak to economy and politics, to social order and culture; and its leading scientists produce knowledge and techniques the world-transforming research fields'. The status of the academic profession in modern states is almost unique because academics, as the central arbiters of professional status, have monopolies on advanced degrees and train and credential all other professions, allowing some occupations to enter their gates and refusing the claims of others to obtain formal and advanced training (Brint, 1994; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997). In the analysis of the development of expert labour in American history, Brint notes:

> The key to acceptance as a profession during the period of “collective mobility” was a successful claim to testable expertise on the basis of formal knowledge, combined with the successful claim to social status arising from the conviction of an occupation’s “respectability” and social importance. These are rather vague criteria, and therefore it is not surprising that formal university-level training became the authoritative guide to the boundaries of the professional world. For all intents and purposes, it is the universities that define the professions.
>
> (Brint, 1994: 35)

In many ways, a principal function of university education was the endorsement and (cultural) legitimation of social position (Anderson, 2004). The history of European universities illustrates that, even up to the 20th century, a persistent regime of relations among state, church, society and university in which universities as well as academics enjoyed corporate privilege, was sponsored partly by routinised channels of hereditary and kinship of the local network, and partly by the endowment of governments without strong, direct bureaucratic inspection (Anderson, 2004; Clark, 1987; Mayer, 1981). Until the 1960s, for example, the academic profession in Britain was one of the most stable and self-confident groups, with unusual autonomy rooted in supposedly the age-old traditions and exceptional status of Oxford and Cambridge, a relationship of trust between academic and government officials, and oligarchical control by the leading academics who served on the University Grants Committee and research-granting national bodies (Clark, 1987: 3-4). Regarding the persistence of the old regime, Mayer argues:

> Higher education was aligned with the other hegemonic institutions and like them was a solid pillar of the *ancien regime*. … universities were less locomotives of progress than regenerators and conveyors of the preindustrial and prebourgeois cultural heritage that upheld the established order, and vehicles for the reproduction of the world-view and learning of the old notables.
>
> (Mayer, 1981: 253)

However, the modernisation projects of Western states and the different trajectories they experienced through the processes of different types of state formation I review in this section seem to raise, to some extent, tensions between the long-held relations in the *ancien régime* and new societal contexts which impacted upon the relations. What we have to note here is that these transformations also depend on the degree of continuity and resilience, and therefore construct specific pictures of particular ensembles of the Western states and societies. In this view, reviewing selectively the historical changes as well as legacies of the three European states – England, France and Germany – and their universities will offer signposts through which the particular state-academy relations and their governing practices might be disentangled.

In England, the Northcote-Trevelyan Report in 1853 catalysed a merit-based recruitment system – i.e. introducing civil service exam and university reforms. Universities mediated the state project of modernisation by channelling social mobility towards the new professional elites – i.e. bureaucrats, lawyers, teachers and businessmen – required in the newly industrialising country (Anderson, 1992; 2006). British universities at that time had a central role in stabilising a rapidly industrialising country by providing it with appropriate elites, ‘a new stratum of men blending elements of the aristocracy and the upper middle class, infused through their education with gentlemanly values' (Anderson, 2006: 52). The leading academic professionals in England, - i.e. the dons of Oxford and Cambridge – took on much of the cultural ambience of the old aristocracy possessing the character of "gentlemen" who were more socially responsible than bourgeoisie and thus opposed to the utilitarianism and commercial outlooks of the industrial and merchant classes (Anderson, 2006; Brint, 1994).

In France, the Napoleonic University of 1808 – a highly centralised, secular, national body of a system which reflected the French Enlightenment ideal – opposed the old feudal elite structures of corporate and religious privileges and advocated an open, meritocratic society with common elite whose social position came from an open competition (Anderson, 2004). The new principle of meritocracy was represented by the foundation of elite grandes écoles, notably the Ecole Normale Supérieure and the Ecole Polytechnique (Chevaillier, 2001). Anderson goes further to explain that the '*normalien* spirit of tolerance, rationalism, measured idealism, and literary finesse' became a noted component in French intellectual life, usually expressed politically in liberalism (Anderson, 2004: 46). These values were strengthened by the intense friendships of a small residential college, and after some political vicissitudes in the early 19th century the Ecole Normale was to survive as the spiritual centre of the university, and its ethos continued to bind together lycées and university professors (ibid).

In Germany, the particular legal status of HEIs as 'corporations under public law' developed under the administrative and financial support of the state (the federal and local governments) (Kehm, 1999). The particular settlements on the higher education governance owed much of the fundamental ideals to Wilhelm von Humboldt, calling for the state 'to practice restraint' when it comes to deal with universities and their institutional autonomy (Ertl, 2013: 132). Along with the developments of the institutional governance, 'research-industry' nexus in the period of German state-formation is also worth considering as a historical characteristic of higher education in Germany. The ideal of German research university was then connected to heavy demands on public and private resources (Anderson, 2004). He argues that the connection was promoted since the late 19th century, in which 'Germany was industrialising at a time when science was itself in a period of rapid development' (ibid: 155). In other words, the culmination of the 'second industrial revolution' was inseparable from the transformation of German universities, which highlights the fact that different higher education governing models – i.e. state-authority, academic self-rule, and market principles – might intersect in a particular context, therefore make visible peculiar combinations of the governing principles.

So far, I reviewed the literature dealing with the origins of three higher education governing models and then considered the ways in which those models were embedded in the different contexts of European states for the purpose of suggesting the possibilities of exploring different combinations of these governing models. On the basis of this review, I propose that the proximity of state-academy relations, along with claims to academic professionalism and status may vary in accordance with such epochal changes as modernisation, industrialisation and state-formation. In short, the process-oriented approach enables me to distinguish a clear connection between academy and external authorities (e.g. the state and market) and this clarifies the need for a focus on the connections between state and academy as an effective way of understanding the governing of higher education in SK. In developing a theoretical frame for this enquiry, we also need to consider a new dimension addressing the recent changes in academic professionalism, which are invariably associated with globalisation, the knowledge economy and the spread of neo-liberal ideas.

A considerable number of commentators, attentive to the changing nature of academic work, argue that the impact of globalisation has undermined the traditional autonomy or freedom of academics, putting them under (new) managerial prerogatives, and increasing the precariousness of their work. In this context, the notions of proletarianisation, de-professionalisation and re-stratification have attracted academic attention since the 1980s (see for example Altbach, 2003, 2004; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Welch, 1998; Wilson, 1991). The tighter accountability often measured by quantitative performance indicators encroaches on the collegial modes of control, subordinating the academic profession to more hierarchical management (Welch, 1998). Slaughter & Rhoades (2004: 37) note the growing trend of academic capitalism, whereby universities are involved in the ‘pursuit of market or market-like activities to generate external revenues’. Likewise, Altbach (2003, 2004) summarises the central realities of higher education in the 21st century as massification, accountability, privatisation, and marketisation, shaping universities everywhere and those who work at them.

On the basis of more constructivist viewpoints, a number of researchers sought to illuminate explicitly the nexus between the emergence of (new) managerialism or managerial traditions and neo-liberal ideologies and piloting or managing higher education field in Western societies. Here, Clarke, Gewirtz, & McLaughlin (2000) provide a useful idea in defining 'new managerialism' or 'managerialisation'. As they put it:

> Managerialism – like professionalism – defines a set of expectations, values and beliefs. It is a normative system what counts as valuable knowledge, who knows it, who is empowered to act in what ways as a consequence. Indeed, a central issue in the managerialisation of public services has been the concerted effort to displace or subordinate the claims of professionalism. It can no longer be assumed that 'professionals know best'; rather we are invited to accept that managers 'do the right thing' (Newman, 1998). Like others, we see managerialism both as a 'general ideology' (Pollitt, 1993) that legitimizes and seeks to extend the 'right to manage' and as composed of overlapping, and sometimes competing, discourses that present distinctive versions of 'how to manage'.
>
> (Clarke, Gewirtz, & McLaughlin, 2000: 9)

Drawing on the idea, Deem et al. (2007) suggest that:

> …institutions of higher education (as chartered institutions) have found themselves far from immune to the bracing ideological winds of Managerialism and the distinctive political, organisational, and discursive innovations that it has generated and mobilised. Indeed, UK universities and the higher education system in which they are historically and institutionally embedded have been presented with an escalating series of challenges by the wider ideological, political, and discursive landscape that NM (New Managerialism) has indelibly shaped and sculpted.
>
> (Deem et al., 2007: 25-6)

Regarding the profound shift in the dominant ideology in public sector (including higher education) management, Currie & Vidovich (2009: 446) also stress new managerial practices of 'privatisation, marketisation and instrumentalism' in higher education as key expressions of neo-liberal ideology closely conjoined with the phenomenon of globalisation. Hartley (2010: 785) explains the reasons for emerging new managerial practices by suggesting that a 'certain managerial rhetoric' has developed since Western societies experienced economic crises and audit cultures (see also Apple, 2013: 386). Hartley also argues that the 'normative' or 'commitment' rhetoric in (higher) education reform was 'imported' from management theory as applied in business (ibid: 788). These accounts suggest that the managerialisation of higher education in Western countries is theorised around profound shifts in meaning-making practices in the governing of the academic field, nourished by the spread of neo-liberal ideas in the context of globalisation and the spectre of economic vulnerability.

In keeping with the process-oriented, cultural approach to academic professionalism that I adopt in this thesis, however, some concerns may be raised about applying this 'professionalism-managerialism dialectic' present in the Western (or Anglo-American) academy to the analysis of higher education governance in all contexts. There is a risk of cancelling out the importance of contexts embodied in historical, cultural and social idiosyncrasies. Further, the different contexts of particular nation-states may imply different consequences from the same global pressures. Therefore, an effective alternative in conceptualising academic governance is, again, serious attention to contextualisation. In short, this approach reinforces the need for attention to specific sets of relations and dynamic processes, in re-examining of the three models of higher education governance in terms of the particular time and space of SK.

3.4. Understanding higher education governance in South Korea

The theoretical discussions so far support the development of an alternative theoretical framework for investigating higher education governance in South Korea. The cultural approach to the state and governance questions mainstream Western policy scholarship in two respects: first, it suggests that we need to reconsider the reified and structure-deterministic assumptions embedded in the Western literature; in this way, it offers a new lens to theorise context-specific features of the Korean state and its governing practices, which might open up a new discussion challenging the dominant assumption of 'new governance' literature. The cultural analysis informs my empirical enquiry in several aspects. First, the cultural approach allows me to conceptualise (higher education) governing practices in terms of 'meaning-making' practices, values and discourses. Second, the idea of 'cultural assemblages' provides a conceptual framework incorporating heterogeneous cultural elements of the Korean state into the analysis of governance, by focusing on the processes of (re-)assembling and thus constructing particular configurations. Third, the contextualisation helps to 'disentangle complexity' embedded in such concepts as the state and governing by analysing constitutional structures, institutional settings, policy events, and individual practices, all of which are closely related to particular governing discourses within the Korean academy. Fourth, the cultural perspective therefore highlights the political nature of the governing of higher education, in which different meaning-making practices internalised by (groups of) actors are articulated, legitimised, problematised in the process of discursive struggles.

Accordingly, the purpose of my empirical investigation is to examine to what extent and in what ways the theoretically-elaborated assumption of state-centrality plays out in the governing of higher education. For this, I need to show how the particular governing space of Korean academy has been constructed culturally. The broad investigation will move on to more specific enquiry on the critical incident of suicide and subsequent policy response (the PLP case) in order to identify the dynamic interplay within the particular cultural assemblage of higher education. The transition from theoretical deliberation into empirical investigation implies a need for preliminary discussion of philosophical issues of (social) ontology and epistemology, discussions towards which are deeply related to my methodological choice in this enquiry – a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The key ideas about the concept of 'discourse' and 'text' proposed and applied in CDA methodology, I argue, combine the philosophical perspectives I developed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 with the methodological choices I will make in the following chapter. The details of the linkage will be outlined and discussed in the Chapter 4.

Chapter 4. Research methodology

This chapter presents the methodological approach adopted to investigate the idea of ‘Korean state-ness’. The first section outlines the research questions derived from the theoretical discussion. The overarching research question is expressed as: ‘how does the centrality of the state play out in the governing of higher education in SK?’ The second section discusses an inclusive and reflexive ontology as an appropriate standpoint for the investigation of the peculiarities of the Korean state and academy. The discussion leads to my selection of an interpretive approach, which is consistent with my concern to analyse the meaning-making practices within the governing space of the South Korean academy. The third section explains my choice of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a methodological framework. The key tenets of CDA allow me to understand (governing) discourses as particular types of social practices of meaning-making, attentive to how particular power relations within society are instantiated or realised in the discursive practice of producing, distributing and consuming texts, and thus to analyse how discursive relations are associated with other social elements – social structures, practices and events (Glynos et al., 2009; Fairclough, 1992, 2003; Lemke, 1995; van Dijk, 2001).

My discussion of the overarching methodological strategy is divided into four main phases. The first section presents the sources of the key policy texts collected and analysed in the first and second research phases of this enquiry. Here, the ‘policy text’ comprises a wide range of data sources from White Papers, government reports and legislation to minutes of meetings, a proposal draft, and interview transcripts. The second and third sections deal with the processes of collecting and analysing data – i.e. the selection criteria adopted to collect the policy texts, the strategies employed in selecting and accessing informants, in conducting and recording interviews, and the procedures for analysing data. The final section draws this chapter to a conclusion through re-considering the issues of reflexivity and research ethics which have been raised in conducting the enquiry.

4.1. The research questions

I propose that cultural elements within the Korean state – understood as meaning-making practices – are an essential focus in understanding the particular patterns of governing higher education in SK (Clarke & Fink, 2008; Clarke, 2005; Hall, 1982; Williams, 2011). As I suggested in Chapter 2, the Korean state has developed state-centric traditions in the governing of social fields – including higher education. The Confucian legacy of hierarchical state-society relations persisted in the developmental era, and consequently the modernisation project of higher education was largely dominated by state apparatuses. The authoritarian and interventionist attitudes of the Korean state in piloting higher education may also have generated such counter-hegemonic discourses as democratisation, social justice and fairness and academic freedom within the Korean academy. I suggest that the cultural elements of Korean state-ness were drawn on and circulated as ways of governing potentially contested and competing meanings and it is those cultural resources that may have shaped the governing discourses of the Korean academy. In short, the idea of state-centrality and its probable reflection in governing discourses is a theoretically-informed assumption of this thesis derived from the cultural approach that conceptualises the Korean state as a set of assemblages whose articulation may be illuminated through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). As indicated above, the overarching research question derived from these considerations is:

> How does the centrality of the state play out in the governing of higher education in South Korea?

In order to approach this question through empirical enquiry, two sets of sub-questions are proposed:

First, in relation to the construction of the higher education governing space in South Korea [the focus of Chapter 5]

(1) To what extent and how have higher education governing discourses identified in the Western literature been indigenised in the process of constructing the governing space of higher education in the modernisation of South Korea since 1945?

(2) In this (possible) process of indigenisation, how have the governing discourses been related to such contextual features of the Korean academy as institutional structures, state-academy relations, governing practices and policy events?

(3) What role did the Korean state play in the discursive process of constructing the governing space, and has that role changed since the 1990s, as the literature on neo-liberalism and new governance suggests?

Second, in relation to the discursive relations and changes in the PLP case [the focus of Chapter 6]

(4) To what extent and how are the higher education governing discourses identified in Chapter 5 evidenced in the PLP case?

(5) How do these different discourses interact and how are they mobilised by key policy actors in policy responses to the PLP case?

(6) What types of higher education governing narratives are evidenced in the discursive relations revealed by the policy case and to what extent and how is the assumption of state-centrality supported or challenged through these analyses?

As the primary purpose of this enquiry is exploring the assumption of state-centrality in the governing of higher education in SK through the particular theoretical lens of a cultural approach, investigating the meaning-making practices of the Korean academy through analyses of governing discourses in play mobilised, articulated and contested in the governing space – thus forming different governing narratives – is an appropriate approach to understanding the particularity of the cultural assemblages that make up Korean state-ness. In this regard, I suggest that an interpretive approach works as a useful epistemological lens as it enables me to explore the meaning in actions, statements, utterances, events and practices of the policy actors in relation to wider webs of meaning, traditions and ideologies in which they are located (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003; 2006; 2010; 2011). This is a coherent way of approaching the work of higher education governance within the ontology of social constructivism. The next section begins this methodological discussion with addressing ontological and epistemological assumptions.

4.2. The framework of enquiry

The investigative framework I have selected is different from those of mainstream literature in social and political sciences as well as differing from those conventionally used in education research. I am working with new ideas within cultural analyses of higher education governance that seem to be productive for application to the South Korean case. What I am challenging through this approach is much of the mainstream policy scholarship in the Western and South Korean academy, which remains pre-occupied with institutional analysis, and, as a result, pays very little attention to the field of social relations and practices if, indeed, social and cultural practices and relations are acknowledged at all (Dobbins, 2011; Nagel et al., 2010; H. Shin et al., 2013). At the same time, I am also casting a critical eye on the importation of this orthodoxy and its application as evidenced in dominant analyses of governing issues within the South Korean academy. Pursuing new analytic paths may allow me to re-conceptualise the meaning of higher education governance in the SK context. These new approaches start from the issue of (social) ontology.

4.2.1. Inclusive and reflexive ontology

This research adopts social constructivism as an ontological standpoint. As I stated in section 3.1, this perspective challenges managerial and institutional approaches to the governing of higher education (Byun et al., 2011; Dobbins, 2011; Hwang, 2010; Shattock, 2006). Within these approaches, researching higher education governance largely focuses on studying institutional and organisational structures or the official decision-making of universities. These approaches tend to conceive of higher education governance as a reified entity or a material reality, to focus exclusively on formal structures and institutions, and thus may underplay the contextual features of higher education governance – and the processes of interactions between governing actors within ‘local’ cultural, historical, economic and social settings (Carter, Freeman, & Lawn, 2014).

In contrast, Kauppi (2010: 28) argues for an alternative ontological framework, stating that (political) ‘reality is not natural’, but ‘symbolic, immaterial and virtual’. In this account, he emphasises the intersections ‘between the macro and the micro, institutions and power and actions of individuals and groups in more or less structured social spheres’ (ibid: 28). This standpoint highlights ‘process-oriented, collectivist and interpretivist’ ontological assumptions (Carter, Freeman & Lawn, 2014: 2). In this view, making sense of the governing of higher education is closely associated with uncovering the complex processes of the purposeful political work undertaken by (groups of) people – i.e. mobilising powers, articulating, legitimising and problematising discourses and building relations with other actors (Clarke, 2009; Ozga, 2013; Smith, 2009).

The cultural approach to the Korean state [Chapter 1] works as a theoretical frame that enables me to propose the relevance of a political approach towards the governing of the higher education [as discussed in Chapter 3] as a specific lens exploring the cultural elements of state-centrality in higher education governance. The theoretical perspectives on higher education governance resonate with the inclusive and reflexive social ontology as they conceive of social or political reality as being constructed or becoming real in the processes of the work of governing (Clarke, 2009; Bryman, 2004; Kauppi, 2010). The epistemological concerns emerging from this ontological assumption are related to interpreting and thus making explicit the meanings sedimented in the interdependent cultural resources, considering that the Korean state as a cultural assemblage comprises ideas, rules, individuals and organisations which are temporarily stabilised through interactions, practices and the political work of governing actors (Clarke, 2012). In the next section I will enlarge on my reasons for proposing an interpretive approach as a productive epistemology.

4.2.2. An interpretive approach

As Schutz (1962: 59) puts it, the fundamental viewpoint of interpretivism is that ‘social reality has a specific meaning and relevance structure for the beings living, acting and thinking within it’. What social scientists have to do, therefore, is interpret the actions of those beings and their social world from their point of view (Bryman, 2004: 14). An interpretive approach thus focuses on the relevant ‘meanings, beliefs and preferences of the people that shape actions, practices and institutions, as well as the ways in which they do so’ (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003: 17). As the interpretivists argue that beliefs, languages and discourses are ways in which people make sense of the world, analysing people’s actions or practices as embodiments of beliefs, languages and discourses means that we interpret the interpretations of others (Bevir & Rhodes, 2006). Finlayson & Martin (2006: 159) also suggest that the interpretive approach will help us understand the ways in which ‘multiple actors in the state are engaged in varying, on-going relationships, held together by shared (or opposed) values and meanings’.

Taking an interpretive approach in order to examine the governing of higher education does not ignore the existence of explicit governing elements – i.e. structures, institutions and behaviours. Rather, interpretivism takes a holistic approach by exploring actions in relation to the ‘intentionality of actors’ (Bevir, 2011: 189).

Interpreting higher education governance in this enquiry is thus about understanding and explaining the actions of people (or actors) involved in governing work with reference to their beliefs, ideas, and desires as expressed in discourses. Investigation of the discourses that they mobilise may be achieved through attention to the concepts, ideas and beliefs that they articulate, and examining their relationship to key cultural elements and resources available for them to draw on, rather than focusing exclusively on institutions or structures of higher education governance. Through these investigations, I will locate individual actors within the 'wider webs of meaning' (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003: 3) embedded in the Korean state, which consists of such cultural elements as Confucian traditions, the idea of the developmental state and modernising projects, strong state authority and interventionism in steering academic affairs. I am proposing that those cultural elements have been internalised differentially in the beliefs, values and discourses of policy communities (e.g. MOE officers, UA managers, and PL representatives in the PLP case).

An interpretive account, therefore, seeks to 'bring the people back' into the study of the state, governance and public administration (Bevir & Rhodes, 2010; Bevir, 2011; 193). In relation to understanding and explaining governance, it means that I attend to multiple combinations of governing practices made by governing actors, their governing discourses and processes of their interplay: how each of governing actors framed certain perspectives and values in particular cultural contexts; how they expressed governing ideas and resources differentially in the governing space; how different governing discourses were related to each other in the processes of articulation; and how the interplay between the governing discourses mobilised and articulated by different actors resulted in certain changes in policy. The idea of 'cultural assemblage' is thus a useful conceptual resource, as it allows me to interpret how the cultural elements of the Korean state have impacted upon framing the governing discourses and how they intersected in the governing space.

4.2.3. Interpreting cultural assemblages of the Korean state

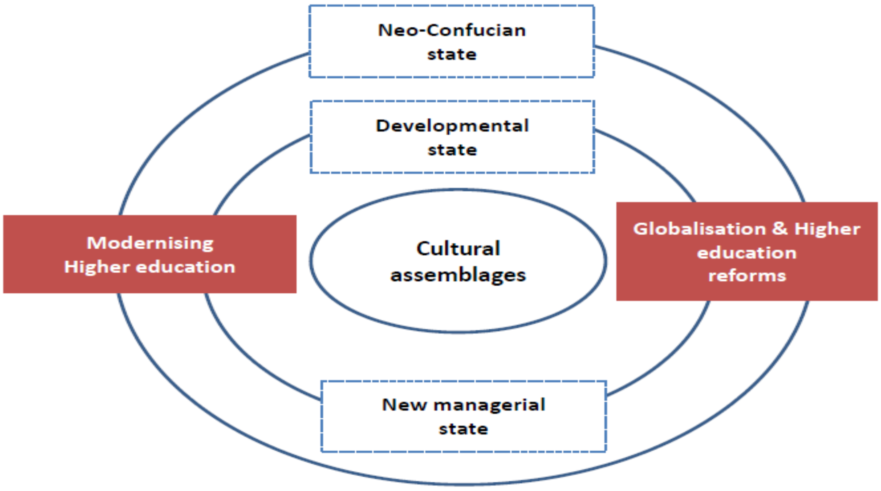
Neo-Confucian state
Developmental state
Modernising Higher education
Cultural assemblages
Globalisation & Higher education reforms
New managerial state

Figure 3. Possible constituents of the cultural assemblage of the Korean state

Figure 3 illustrates in simple form some possible constituents of the cultural assemblage of the Korean state. As discussed in Chapter 2, the historical trajectories of the Korean state are characterised by continuous processes of emulating Western ideas within the legacy of Confucian traditions. The specificities of higher education governance in SK have intersected with the modernising as well as the globalising projects of the Korean state. Neo-Confucianism worked as an influential governing discourse by rationalising hierarchical social orders of Cho-sun dynasty (1392~1910) in which HEI functioned as a state apparatus. The dominance of the state in governing higher education and nested state-academy relations were maintained in the era of the developmental state (1945~1980s) as the Korean state pursued economic development and modernisation of higher education as strong national projects. The hegemonic status of the state seemed to persist into the 1990s as the Korean government employed globalising strategies and thus initiated higher education reforms. While the modernising and globalising projects of the Korean state showed a combination of economic values and authoritarian cultures within the Korean academy, counter-hegemonic discourses may also have arisen and secured some legitimacy in response to dominant ways of governing. The ideas of academic freedom and self-regulation might be understood as important values, raising questions against the authoritarianism developed in the military governments. The demand may be intensified as the political democratisation began to articulate the values of social justice and fairness.

The idea of cultural ‘assemblage’ (Clarke, 2012, 2013; Newman & Clarke, 2009) connects the theoretical resources I have identified in the previous chapters to the methodological framework I will set out in the next section. First, the term ‘assemblage’ highlights certain combinations of different ideas, apparatuses, policies, and politics circulating in the governing space of higher education (Clarke, 2012, 2013). It also attends to the work of ‘governors’ (e.g. state officers and university managers) to secure the controls of values and discourses in the particular historical contexts, thus illuminating processes of the political work of mobilisation and articulation (Grek, 2012; Smith, 2009). The emphasis on cultural resources and their interplay within the cultural assemblage of the Korean state works with the ‘political approach’ to governing I adopted in Chapter 3 (Clarke, 2009; Ozga et al., 2013). In other words, the power relations between governing actors with different perspectives and their interplay through the specific examples and instances of governing work in the governing space provide the focus for this enquiry.

In addition, critical discourse analysis (CDA) combines with the idea of cultural assemblage because CDA assumes that power relations and other socio-cultural elements are inter-related and may be revealed through analysis of discourse, which is 'instantiated' through text – its production, dissemination and consumption (Fairclough, 1992; 2013; Glynos, Howarth, Norval, & Speed, 2009: 19). In short, CDA is proposed in this thesis as an appropriate methodological frame to conduct a cultural analysis of the Korean state and the governing of higher education in SK. In the next section, I will explain the key ideas of discourse in CDA and how they are made use of in this enquiry.

4.3. The methodological framework

A cultural approach to the state and governing work pays attention to the meaning-making practices of governing actors. Thus, analysis of cultural practices is likely to be an analysis of discursive relations of the actors located in particular contexts. Here, the concept of discourse is broadly defined, encompassing a particular perspective or way of apprehension of social practices as ways of enacting worldviews in order to gain dominance, the processes and outcomes of which are invariably associated with the topic of power relations. The next section starts by setting out the methodological framework by attending to the key idea of CDA – discourse as social practice.

4.3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerged as a reaction against formal research paradigms which, the critical discourse analysts argue, are ‘asocial’ and ‘uncritical’ (Dijk, 2001: 352). In general, CDA seeks to investigate social problems – in particular power and especially its abuse, and the related issues of injustice, inequality and political-economic or social change in the globalised and globalising world and societies – by paying attention to the way in which the social and political issues are enacted, reproduced, legitimised and resisted through text and talk (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011; Fairclough, 2010a; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2001, 2013). Here, language is not seen as neutral. Rather, social relations such as power, domination, discrimination and control are manifested in as well as mediated by language use (Wodak, 2001: 2). The term discourse, as Norman Fairclough states, refers to:

> … (1) meaning making as an element of the social process, (2) the language associated with a particular social field or practice (e.g., ‘political discourse’), and (3) a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective (e.g., a ‘neoliberal discourse of globalisation’).
>
> (Fairclough, 2013: 179)

According to Lemke (1995: 6-7), discourse is a social activity of making meanings with language and other symbolic systems in a community, and a specific text is produced in this process. In this view, texts are regarded as ‘the relevant units of language in communication’ (Wodak, 2001: 6) or concrete realisations of abstract forms of knowledge (Lemke, 1995; Wodak, 2013).

Drawing on these definitions, we can clearly understand that that the concepts of ‘discourse’, ‘language’ and ‘text’ and their usage in CDA are different from conventional understandings of these terms. The version of CDA that I am working with in this thesis assumes that a particular configuration of the social world (for example relations of domination and difference) is implicated in a particular linguistic conceptualisation of the world, because, as Fairclough et al. (2011: 358) argue, ‘we do not simply name things, but conceptualise them in language’. Fairclough also argues:

> Discourses not only represent the world as it is (or rather is seen to be), they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions.
>
> (Fairclough, 2003: 124)

This is a core assumption of CDA that imbues the terms ‘discourse’ and ‘text’ with processes of political mobilisation and thus with the power to govern. Drawing on political discourse theory (PDT), Glynos et al. (2009: 11-12) explain the logic of discursive practices. According to their account, ‘fantasmatic logics’ represent the desires that social actors have while ‘political logics’ explain the ways that they articulate discursive elements along the axes of equivalence or difference – as a way of expressing or attempting to achieve these ‘fantasmic logics’. They may link social demands into wider political projects and forces thus achieving equivalence between the two logics, or decouple demands into discrete and more manageable elements – which illustrates the difference axis (ibid).

These features signify that the meanings of texts should not be derived only from the texts themselves. In CDA, discourse is regarded as ‘instantiated’ or ‘realised’ in a specific text (Glynos et al., 2009: 19). Fairclough (1992) suggests a three-dimensional conception of discourse. The three dimensions are: (i) the construction of language itself and how it makes certain ways of shaping language possible; (ii) the way the text is produced, distributed and consumed and how meaning is shaped in this process; (iii) the broader social structures (social, political and economic) and the way power is exerted and ideology works through discursive practices to maintain/restructure power. Figure 4 below illustrates that social practice and text are mediated by ‘discursive practice’, a particular form of social practice determining ‘which orders of discourse are drawn upon, and how, in the production and interpretation of meanings’ (ibid: 71-2). Thus, the analysis of a particular discourse emphasises the ‘processes of text production, distribution and consumption’ (ibid).

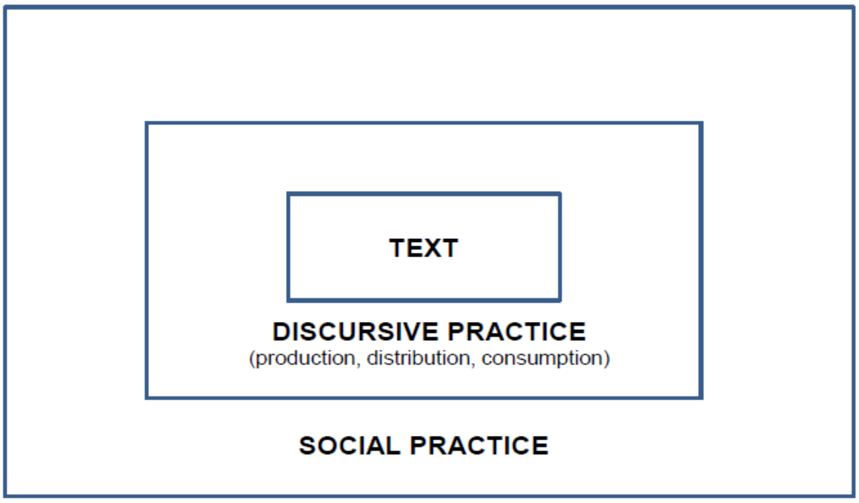

Figure 4. Three-dimensional conception of discourse
Source: Fairclough (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity.

Therefore, from a CDA perspective, the central questions in this enquiry are: how do (more) powerful groups or actors (e.g. the Korean state and MOE officers) seek to control public discourse in the higher education field? How does such (dominant) discourse seek to shape the perspectives and actions of (less) powerful groups or actors (e.g. PL representatives)? How do the less powerful groups of people translate, rework or resist the dominant discourse? What are the social consequences of such control and resistance as discursive practices? The discursive practices within the Korean academy and their relations to other social elements – social structures, practices and events – will be evidenced by analysing processes of text production, distribution and consumption (Fairclough, 1992, 2003).

For example, the text of the 'White Paper on Education Reform in SK' (ERC, 1998) produced by the Education Reform Committee [ERC, a Presidential advisory committee] sought to legitimise the higher education reform agenda of the Korean state, by articulating globalising strategies as essential for national prosperity in the context of globalisation and economic vulnerability. Through analysis of the discursive practices in this text and its circulation and reception, I might conclude that the Korean state sought to control higher education and normalise new managerial techniques imported from Western countries – for example performance management, standardisation and selective funding. On the other hand, the production and distribution of the 'White Paper on the Independence of the University' (PD, 1990) signifies the democratic movement of progressive academics [i.e. Professors for Democracy, PD] resisting long-established authoritarian cultures of the Korean academy by articulating a discourse of the autonomy of the academic community within the Korean context. This may suggest the mobilisation of a counter-hegemonic discourse in pursuit of democratisation and social justice that had been more or less suppressed in the modernising period. Details of methods of text analysis are presented in section 4.4 below.

Working with the principles of CDA, the methodological characteristics of this enquiry are summarised as follows. First, it works with the idea of problematisation. This thesis was initiated from the ‘governing problem’ that was presented to the South Korean academy by the suicide of a PL, and addresses the issue of how this ‘problem’ was defined, its historical antecedents by whom it was defined, and what kinds of solutions were attempted. In this process, it considers the ‘problem’ to be constructed. This means that a range of different empirical phenomena have been brought together and problematised, and my task as a researcher is to try to see ‘how the different solutions to a problem have been constructed; but also how these different solutions result from a specific form of problematisation’ (Foucault, 1997: 118-9).

The second key characteristic of the enquiry is that it is ‘critical’: there are ethical and normative dimensions to this critical stance. The normative element comes from my concern with the social relations in the governance of higher education in SK as relations of domination, which require to be challenged in order to address the social ‘wrongs’ of the Korean academy in its treatment of PLs by attending to their origins as ‘problems’ as well as to the possibilities of overcoming them. Accordingly it explores the power relations – domination, isolation and exclusion – experienced by the PLs and seeks to uncover the workings of dominant power relations. The ethical dimension concerns the values that may be shaping this research, including my own values, alongside the values and identities uncovered in the process of analysis. I say more about this in section 4.5 below.

Finally, this enquiry draws on the CDA tradition of 'trans-disciplinarity', bringing diverse disciplines and theories together to address research problems. To draw on the idea of 'cultural assemblages' [section 1.3] and the 'political approach to the governing' of higher education [section 3.1], I referred to a wide range of theoretical resources from such sources as institutional approaches, political sociology, cultural studies and new governance literature (Bevir & Rhodes, 2010; Clarke, 2009; Hall, 1982; Ozga et al., 2013; Skocpol, 1985; Smith, 2009; Williams, 2009). This is a trans-disciplinary research effort to identify the 'cultural elements' of the Korean state more explicitly in order to develop understanding of the governing problem raised within the Korean academy.

The key concepts of CDA I draw on and the methodological characteristics of this enquiry I identify in this section help me design the framework of empirical investigation in order to answer the research questions proposed earlier in this chapter. The next section deals with the details of the research design.

4.3.2. The framework of research design

Given the key ideas of cultural assemblage and CDA I have taken account of so far, the crucial issues that need to be considered in designing this research are: 'which (governing) problems' are identified in the particular (governing) space; 'who' is engaged in the discursive practices; 'what' do they produce and how do they (inter)act in the process and 'which meanings' are carried in these activities of the governing actors? These questions enable me to decide the appropriate criteria for the selection of text and limit the boundaries of data selection and analysis. Here, the four connected steps that Yanow (2000) presents as an appropriate way of conducting interpretive policy analysis (IPA) offer a firm methodological stance for this enquiry. According to Yanow, analysts must first identify 'human artifacts' (e.g. policy documents, legislative instruments and acts) which form the relevant vehicles of meaning. Second, the researcher should identify 'interpretive communities' (or relevant policy communities) sharing thought, speech, practice and their meanings. Third, the analyst must identify the 'relevant discourses' – the specific meanings being circulated through particular artifacts and their purposes in relation to the policy issue. Finally, the interpreter must locate and specify the 'points of conflict' and their conceptual sources – affective, cognitive, and/or moral – that reflect opposed interpretations by different actors and communities (Yanow, 2000: 22 cited in Glynos et al., 2009: 22).

Applying these logical steps to the design of this research, I categorise the human artifacts as policy documents (e.g. policy plans, recommendations and press releases), actions (e.g. announcements, speeches, demonstrations and interviews) and legislation (e.g. Bills and decrees). All the artifacts constitute relevant text in this enquiry, the meanings of which require to be analysed. Those artifacts (or sources of policy text) are produced, distributed and consumed by different policy communities. In the PLP case, for instance, the 'state officer group' (MOE, PCSC and NA) is identified as a dominant policy community who may share the discourse of state authority and managerialism. Then the 'university manager group' comprises policy actors from university authorities and their academic/administrative staff. They are likely to mobilise the values of academic self-regulation and freedom, and thus may be more or less resistant to government controls. Finally, the ‘academic profession group’ consists of some progressive academics and PLs who pursue the discourses of democratisation and social justice (e.g. the equal treatment of PLS) in the Korean academy. The three interpretive communities sharing and articulating relevant ‘discourses’ are intersecting through producing and distributing artifacts in the particular governing space. The space was and is being constructed alongside the ‘points of conflict’ in this enquiry – the suicide incident of PL and the governing problem of academic status of PLs. The origin of the critical incident and the particular nature of the subsequent policy responses will be interpreted thus understood by these four connected steps.

Research Question	How does the centrality of the state play out in the governing of higher education in South Korea?	
Research Phases	First phase [Chapter 5] Construction of higher education governing space in the modernising era of SK	Second phase [Chapter 6] Discursive relations between governing discourses and discursive changes
Research Methods	Analysis of policy text + Analysis of institutional characteristics	Analysis of PLP text + Analysis of interview text

Table 6. The framework of enquiry

Based upon the methodological frame, I divided this enquiry into two interrelated phases. The first phase identifies the ways in which the higher education governing space has been constructed under the modernising project of the Korean state. The main issue is exploring to what extent the culturally embedded features of the Korean society (or 'Korean State-ness') contributed to the process of indigenisation (or internalisation) (Phillips & Ochs, 2003: 456). The culturally-framed governing discourses are evidenced through analysing the artifacts such as policy documents produced by the different policy communities. The interpretive discourse analysis is corroborated by analysis of the institutional characteristics of the Korean academy. In this process the formal elements of the policy setting of SK – i.e. the Constitution, legal arrangements and the judgments of the CCK – are considered simultaneously.

The second phase moves onto examining the changes and interplay of the indigenised governing discourses within the particular case of PLP. The production, distribution and consumption of policy text by the state officer group, university manager group and academic profession group are selected and analysed and the interview text collected from each of the actors representing the three groups is then also interrogated. The focus is on illuminating discursive relations and their changing features. To paraphrase, I consider the extent to which the text reveals governing discourses that are differentially internalised and thus mobilised and enacted by different policy communities, and whether these are connected to policy events in such a way as to influence policy development. The next section charts the frame of analysis I adopted as underpinned by the key principles of research design.

4.3.3. Analytical frame

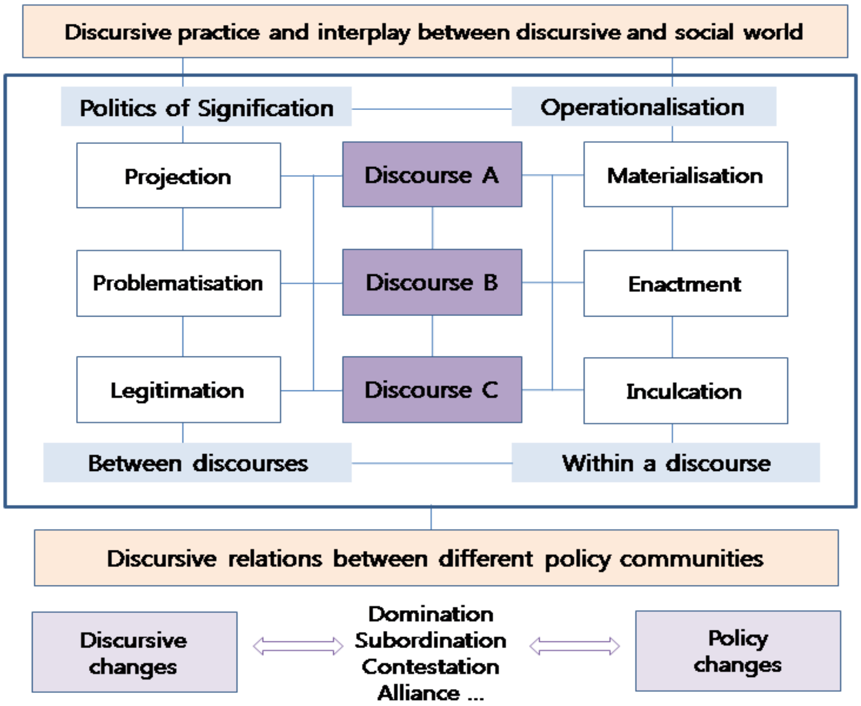
Discursive practice and interplay between discursive and social world
Politics of Signification
Operationalisation
Projection
Discourse A
Materialisation
Problematisation
Discourse B
Enactment
Legitimation
Discourse C
Inculcation
Between discourses
Within a discourse
Discursive relations between different policy communities
Discursive changes
Domination
Subordination
Contestation
Alliance ...
Policy changes

Figure 5. Analytical frame

Figure 5 illustrates the analytical framework of this enquiry. Its underlying assumption is close relations (or associations) between the discursive world (discourses) and social world (structures, practices and events), which is underpinned by the keen recognition that 'discourse and society/culture are mutually constitutive' (Fairclough et al., 2011: 370). Here, the cultural elements of the Korean state as meaning-making practices can be understood as a way of shaping and solidifying discursive relations so that something can be made visible. The large rectangle in the Figure symbolises the higher education governing space as a particular ensemble of the Korean state, and governing discourses (represented as A, B, C) are located at the centre of the discursive and social world. Within this space, different kinds of meaning-making practices by policy actors – i.e. projection, problematisation and legitimisation – characterise the nature of the 'politics of signification' (Hall, 1982). Projection represents the discourses related to an 'imagined future' or desirable circumstances and outcomes. Problematisation means the discursive perspectives and practices related to challenging or criticising the current state of affairs. Finally, legitimisation (normalisation) signifies discursive relations in which a certain discourse is transformed into other social elements (social structures, practices and events). The complexity in the discursive practice multiplies when we consider the possibilities of operationalisation, illuminating the fact that discourses may under certain conditions be operationalised or 'put into practice', which is a discursive process with three aspects: they may be enacted as new ways of (inter)acting, they may be inculcated as new ways of being (individual identities), and they may be physically materialised, e.g. as new ways of organising a certain space (Fairclough, 2003; 2010: 165). The Figure attempts to represent those ideas and their possible interrelationships.

CDA implies that those linguistic and well as political practices of multiple policy communities take place both between discourses (e.g. orders of discourse) and within a discourse (e.g. operationalisation), consequently they saturate culturally a governing space in specific ways (Clarke & Fink, 2008; Fairclough, 2013; Williams, 2011). Therefore, tracing the discursive relations associated with higher education governing discourses means that we highlight particular configurations of social practices which constitute social fields, institutions and organisations (Fairclough, 1992, 2010b, 2013: 179). To draw further on Fairclough (2010b): the analysis traces the ways in which (1) 'different discourses emerge and change' over time (p.19), (2) 'different discourses are brought into dialogue and contestation, through which particular discourses gain prominence or become marginalised' (p.19), (3) 'particular discourses become dominant and hegemonic, thus their recontextualisation within different fields and at different scales' takes place (p.20), (4) and 'discourses are operationalised as strategies and implemented: enacted in changed ways of acting and interacting; inculcated into changed ways of being; materialised into changes in material reality' (p.20). The discursive changes provide insights about interpreting how and why particular combinations of policy communities, human artifacts, and discourses (embedded in the values of the groups and embodied as concrete forms of articulation) generate policy changes in the specific time and space. The next section moves onto detailed procedures collecting data and their analyses.

4.4. Research methods and data analysis

Issues of data selection and access to 'text' are important in CDA. The categorisation of three groups of interpretive policy communities guides me to align a wide range of policy text as three different discursive resources: the policy text articulating state managerialism and interventionism; the policy text mobilising university self-regulation and freedom; and the policy text problematising the authoritarian culture of the Korean academy thus legitimising values of independence and state protection. The 'policy text' therefore comprises a wide range of data sources from White Papers, government reports and legislation to minutes of meetings, a proposal draft, speeches, and interview transcripts. Here, 'genres' of text, which means 'discursive ways of acting and interacting in the course of social events' (Fairclough, 2003: 65), are important criteria for the selection of relevant policy text. I carefully collected different genres of policy text in order to encompass textual resources representing the different discursive (inter)actions conducted by the three policy communities.

4.4.1. Data sources

The first phase

Table 7 below presents key policy texts collected and analysed in the first research phase. The first category, South Korean government publications, refers to text produced by the state apparatuses (MOE, ERC and MEST) to record the history of SK's higher education policies and key reform initiatives. 'Fifty Years of Educational History' (MOE, 1998) was planned, written and compiled by special committees working with renowned professionals in the education sector to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the South Korean government. The authors attempted a reflexive standpoint towards the policies and discourses mobilised by MOE by considering the pros and cons of the modernising trajectory, although the overall attitudes of this publication reveal a developmental viewpoint conceptualising education reform as an important state-level agenda for national prosperity (MOE, 1998: 1-3). 'The White Paper on Education Reform in SK' (ERC, 1998) was produced by the Education Reform Committee [ERC (1994~1997), a Presidential Advisory Committee]. It aimed to chronicle the history of SK's education reforms, paying much attention to those of Young-Sam Kim administration (1993~1998). Both publications clearly illuminate the dominant role of the Korean government in the governing of higher education until mid-1990s. The next three publications (MEST, 2012a; MOE & HRD, 2006; BH, 2013) chart recent higher education reform agendas in the Mu-Hyun Rho (2003~2008) and Myung-Bak Lee (2008~2013) governments.

Policy text (document, legislation, research report, legal judgment, etc.)	
South Korean government	• 50 Years of Education History (MOE, 1998) • White Paper on Education Reform in SK (ERC, 1998) • Education Policy in the Participatory Government (MOE & HRD, 2006) • Powerhouse of Talents, Korea (MEST, 2012a) • White Paper of the Myung-Bak Lee Government (BH, 2013)
South Korean academy	• 60 Years' History of Seoul National University (SNU, 2012) • White Paper on the Independence of University (PD, 1990) • Handbook of the Private School Act (Park & Hwang, 2006)
Domestic & international research institutes	• Understanding Korean Educational Policy (Vol. 1): National Development Strategy and Education Policy (KEDI, 2008a) • Understanding Korean Educational Policy (Vol. 2): Universalisation of Tertiary Education (KEDI, 2008b) • OECD Reviews of Tertiary Education: Korea (Grubb et al., 2009)
Institutional arrangements	• The Constitution of Republic of Korea (ROK, 1987) • Acts - The Higher Education Act (MEST, 2009b, 2012e) - The Public Educational Official Act (MEST, 2009d) - The Private School Act (MEST, 2009c) - The Framework Act on the Development of Human Resource (MOE, 2014) • Decrees - The Presidential Decree on the Appointment of Public Educational Officials (MEST, 2009a) - The Presidential Decree on the Foundation and Operation of University (MOE, 2013b) • Legal Judgments - Judgment from the CCK (CCK, 1992) - Judgment from the SCK (SCK, 2004)

Table 7. Data sources for the first research phase [The analysis is presented in Chapter 5]

The second category, policy texts from the South Korean academy, offers resources about contested discourses within the governing space. ‘Sixty Years’ History of Seoul National University’ (SNU, 2012), the most prestigious national university in SK, contains cases of governing problems in which authoritarian state-university relations encounter demands for guaranteeing academic self-regulation. ‘The White Paper on the Independence of the University’ (PD, 1990) reveals a strong commitment of a group of academic professionals to accomplish academic freedom and independence. They raise questions against the historically embedded practices of authoritarian management of universities in SK, thus offers a source of discursive conflicts in the Korean academy. ‘The Handbook of the Private School Act’ (Park & Hwang, 2006) is also considered as I judge that it offers a disinterested account of the legal cases related to the PSA in a chronological order. The conflicts around the PSA provide me with resources for the analysis of discursive relations between competing policy communities.

The third category, policy texts from domestic and international research institutes, was selected to provide a contrast with the SK government’s official publications (the first category). The two English-language publications from a public educational research institute (KEDI, 2008a, 2008b) sought to introduce the transformation in the education policy of SK to researchers outside the country. In addition, an OECD publication, ‘OECD Reviews of Tertiary Education: Korea’ (Grubb et al., 2009), written by a group of researchers commissioned by OECD, provides an official viewpoint from a transnational organisation with a strong interest in education governance and state-university relations in SK.

The fourth category, relating to the institutional arrangements of the South Korean academy, was selected in order to provide resources on the relationship between a particular governing discourse and concrete organisational structures, institutional settings and policy measures. In other words, the operationalisation (Fairclough, 2003; 2010) of governing discourses is tracked down by analysing the institutional arrangements.

The second phase

In the second phase, I collected data from two sources about the PLP case: data from key policy text and data from interviews text (transcript). First, I periodised the policy process into three episodes in accordance with key policy changes. Then, the selection of key policy texts was made. The texts encompass a wide range of diverse materials that were produced, articulated and consumed by key policy actors – i.e. official government plans and reports, press releases from state apparatuses, proceedings of policy debates, minutes and video clips of public hearings or policy forums, Bills proposed for revising the HEA, survey results, proposals made by UAs and PL unions' representatives, and news articles dealing with the PLP case. In the first stage of analysis, those texts provided information about how the important policy events were constructed and under what circumstances. Then I focused on the discursive framing of the texts, seeking to establish whether different discourses were mobilised by different policy actors. Therefore, the interview text was used to identify the discursive relations between different higher education discourses, exploring how the discursive relations constructed different governing actors which competed throughout the policy process.

Policy text (document, legislation, minutes, press release, video recording, etc.)	
First policy round (2010~11)	• MEST: ‘Supporting plans for PLs’ (MEST, 2010) • PCSC, MEST: ‘Policy debate proceedings’ (Jang, 2010; Kwak, 2010; Lim, 2010) • PCSC: ‘Policy recommendations to the President’ (PCSC, 2010)
	• MEST: ‘Press release on the HEA Bill’ (MEST, 2011) • NA, PL : ‘Minutes of a public hearing about the HEA Bill’ (NA, 2011b) • NA: ‘The HEA approved in the plenary session [‘2011 HEA’]’ (NA, 2011a)
Second policy round (2012)	• KCUE, KUADA, KCCE and KCOU: ‘A proposal draft’ (KCUE et al., 2012) • NA, PL: ‘Proceedings of a policy debate’ (Lim, 2012) • MEST: ‘Proceedings of a public hearing’ (MEST, 2012d) • MEST: ‘Press release: pre-announcement of the decrees’ related to the HEA (MEST, 2012c) • NA: ‘The first postponement Bill’ (Yoo et al., 2012)
Third policy round (2013)	• KCUE: ‘Results of a survey regarding the lecturer system’ (KCUE, 2013a) • KCUE & KUADA: ‘A proposal draft’ about delaying the ‘2011 HEA’ (KUADA. & KCUE., 2013) • NA, MOE, PL, UA: ‘Minutes of a policy forum’ (KIPU, 2013a, 2013b) • MOE: ‘Press release: pre-announcement of the decrees related to the ‘2011 HEA’ (MOE, 2013a) • NA: ‘The second postponement Bill’ (Yoon et al., 2013)

Interview text		
State Officers (9)	• MEST & MOE officers (4) • PSCS officers (2) • NA officers (3)	**Total informants 18**
PL union representatives (2)	• A KIPU representative (1) • A PL union representative of a university (1)	
UA representatives (7)	• KCUE staff (2) • KUADA representative (1) • UA staff (4)	

Table 8. Data sources of the second research phase [The analysis is presented in Chapter 6]

4.4.2. Data collection

Most of the documentary data were collected through the websites of state apparatuses (MOE, MEST, PCSC and NA), UA associations (KCUE and KUADA) and PL unions (KIPU). Some documentary data were obtained through interviewees, who were willing to offer me guidance about what they considered to be appropriate information for this study. I was also able to access some unpublished data (e.g. government internal reports) by utilising my personal networks as a state officer who had previously worked in the Korean government (MEST). The data collected were mainly in electronic file form, not paper. Some policy texts – i.e. minutes of a public hearing held by NA – offered lively speeches and debates made by different policy groups. I also had access to a video recording of a policy forum, which I then transcribed into written text.

Then, I interviewed key policy actors from the three policy communities. As summarised in the Table 8, the informants were 18 in total, encompassing state officers [9 informants from MOE (4), PCSC (2) and NA (3)] and the representatives of university managers [7 informants from KCUE staff (2), KUADA representative (1) and UA personnel staff (4)] and PL unions representatives [2 informants from KIPU and a PL union of a university]. All the interviewees were purposively drawn from the key policy makers and stakeholders who were engaged in the PLP case between 2010 and 2013. Interviewees were chosen on the basis of the information I had available at the beginning of the enquiry, but some interviewees were added during the fieldwork, when it seemed likely that they could give me new insights to the topics under discussion.

My professional experience, knowledge and personal networks as a deputy director of the Ministry of Education in SK were helpful in sampling interviewees and the informants chosen by my judgment were knowledgeable, informative and cooperative in interviewing. However, I also had some difficulty in accessing some representatives of PL unions simply because they knew I worked in the Ministry (MEST) in 2010, when the PL suicide occurred. Because of their hostility to government officers I failed to access some of these anticipated informants. However, I compensated for the shortage of PL interviewees as I could obtain sufficient documentary data (e.g. minutes of public hearings) from official websites and from the video recording of a policy forum referred to earlier and which I transcribed subsequently. The PL union representatives actively articulated their perspectives in the public debates hosted by MEST, PCSC and NA, which were lively and deep enough to display the discursive perspectives and strategies deployed by the representatives.

The interview instrument consists of two sets of questions: the first about ‘policy texts’ which three policy communities produced and distributed; and the second about ‘policy actions’ they did in the PLP case. Detailed questions in the interview instrument were drafted in relation to the findings of the textual analysis in the first and second research phases then elaborated on through pilot interviews with two informants, before the fieldwork was embarked on. Interview questions about a relevant policy text included (1) rationale or purpose of the text, (2) participants producing the text, (3) basic standpoint of the text towards PLP case and (4) processes of text production and distribution. Again, those questions were designed to evidence and interpret discursive practice saturating the PLP case through make explicit the working of three interpretive policy communities – the different governing discourses they articulated, discursive relations they forged, and the outcomes of the interplay appeared in the policy case.

This enquiry approaches the terms governance and policy in terms of competing narratives and discourses, which highlights the process-oriented, political and constructive nature of the governing work (Bevir, 2011; Ozga et al., 2013). Therefore, the policy texts and interview data are seen as uncovering different governing narratives internalised as well as articulated by policy actors. In this regard, 'reading' elite interviews with policy actors such as state officers within the framework of CDA allows this enquiry to explore key policy texts, interviews, speeches and actions with a focus on their inter-discursive features (Fairclough, 1992; Walford, 2011). Through these processes, we are able to understand the ways by which policy actors define problems, reference particular forms of evidence, and produce particular types of 'knowledge' to guide the implementation of policy solutions (Arnott & Ozga, 2010: 339). The next section moves onto more detailed methods of data analyses.

4.4.3. Data analysis

At the first phase of enquiry [Chapter 5], I extracted from the key policy texts three different categories of key words – the projecting category, the problematising category and the normalising category. Those categories were developed from the concept of cultural assemblage, by which I assumed that cultural elements have been elaborated as forms of different governing discourses – e.g. state managerialism (the state officer group), academic self-regulation (the university manager group) and social justice and state protectionism (the academic profession group). The interrelations of the discursive perspectives might be illuminated by attending to the (dialectical) relations of three categories of the key words. This struggle over meaning configures what Hall (1982) calls ‘politics of signification’, in which patterns of linguistic signification are associated with such social issues as power, domination, isolation and equality. To make clear the historical changes in the discursive relations, I divided SK’s modernising era into three historical periods – liberation from Japan and post-war reconstruction (1945~1960), economic development and political democratisation (1961~1980), and globalisation and new managerial reforms (since the 1990s) – in order to access a wider historical backcloth of contextual meanings, so that changes in the governing discourses could be identified against this background.

The three categories were evidenced by identifying inter-textual retentions of key words in a particular period. Here, ‘intertextuality’ means that texts are linked to other texts, both in the past and in the present (Fairclough, 2003). Then, I focused on illuminating the relations between the three categories, which consequently identified the ‘orders of discourse’ in the higher education governing space – for example, the dominance of state managerialism within the Korean academy. Those interpretations were corroborated by analysing the institutional arrangements of the Korean academy thus exploring how the governing discourses were ‘operationalised’ (or put into practice) as concrete structures, policy practices and events (Fairclough, 2003; 2010). Throughout this process, I sought to extract particular sets of governing narratives specific to the Korean academy.

In the second phase of enquiry [Chapter 6], I explored the interplay between different higher education discourses identified in the first phase, with reference to the policy texts I collected. The whole policy process was periodised into three different rounds:

- Round 1 (2010~2011): Defining problems and legislating the HEA [the '2011 HEA']
- Round 2 (2012): Institutionalising PLs' legal status and postponement of the HEA in the NA [the '2012 HEA']
- Round 3 (2013): A loop of debates and another postponement of the HEA [the '2013 HEA']

The analytical focus centres on examining how the 'governing discourses' that policy actors internalised, the 'policy strategies' they enacted and the 'policy texts' they produced were inter-discursively related. Thus, the 'intertextuality' and 'operationalisation' of discourses remain significant criteria of analysis. The analysis of texts reveals keywords, values and attitudes which each policy actor employs, as well as their distribution across different texts. These key words are then classified as clusters of terms reflecting particular governing discourses. Then, the 'orders of discourse' (e.g. dominance, exclusion) and 'operationalisation of discourse' (e.g. enactment, inculcation, and materialisation) are carefully considered by combining interview data collected from policy actors. In this analysis, 'genres' of the policy texts provide a signpost to interpret the nature of different discursive practices. For instance, a genre of 'proposal draft' put forward by PL union representatives can be interpreted as a way of pressing government (MOE) as it was announced right after holding a policy forum with some progressive NA members. On the other hand, a genre of 'press release' made by

MEST/MOE shows government commitment to implement their plans, despite oppositions raised by university managers and PL unions. Analysing the genres of the policy texts, combined with the analyses of key words and their intertextual relations frame the primary methods of analysing data.

4.5. Reflexivity and research ethics

4.5.1. Reflexivity

One of key methodological issues in this research is reflexivity, keeping the researcher distant from a prior expectation or unconscious presupposition that may result in biased judgments (Bourdieu, 1988; Karakayali, 2004) through the obligation to be conscious of one's own assumptions and values, and to continue to scrutinise them as the enquiry proceeds. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1991) discussion of the concept of reflexivity, Karakayali (2004: 352) stresses that it is an epistemological principle which advises researchers, 'to turn their objectifying gaze upon themselves and become aware of the hidden assumptions that structure their research'. Throughout this enquiry, I have been keenly conscious about potential risks which may arise because of the fact that I worked in the Korean government (MOE and MEST) for more than six years. I needed to be aware that my working experiences as a state officer might influence, intentionally or not, how I conceived the thesis topic, and how I understood the evidence that I collected in the course of my enquiry. Therefore, I had to interrogate my assumptions towards the research issues throughout the entire research process. These concerns stem from the awareness that I am a product of the Korean culture that I am studying, and part of the administrative system that I am seeking to examine in relation to the discourses of higher education governance that it creates and circulates.

The reflexivity issue penetrates all the research stages, ranging from setting out the principles of selecting (policy) texts, accessing informants, to collecting, transcribing and analysing data. This was associated with positioning me as a policy researcher interrogating different governing discourses with a strong sense of balance, rather than being located within the identity of policy actor as a state officer working for the Korean government. I made efforts to keep this disinterested attitude firmly in the whole research process. For example, in my selection of key policy texts, I included consciously a wide range of textual resources in order not to over-represent the dominant governing discourses mobilised by the Korean state. Pilot interviews were useful to elaborate the interview instrument by getting useful feedback from informants before going into interviews. In interviewing policy actors I made explicit that I would act as a detached researcher while interviewing them, even though all the informants knew that I was a state officer who was engaged previously in addressing this policy issue. I did not offer my private opinions about the research topic but adopted the role of careful listener to the interviewees, while I tried to explore deeper dimensions of the issues by asking additional questions on the basis of my prior knowledge and experience. These additional questions were examined subsequently by self-assessing whether the questions were ‘leading’ or not. Moreover, I asked for professional judgement from critical commentators (e.g. my main supervisor and co-supervisor) in order to scrutinise whether I exhibited any skewed statements or perspectives in analysing textual and interview data.

At the same time, my position as both a researcher and a Ministry official provided certain advantages, as long as I was careful to subject myself to the same scrutiny as I developed in relation to my interviewees and documentary sources. I was familiar not only with the SK culture but with its manifestation in governing practices in higher education as this was my field of expertise. So I was an insider/outsider throughout this process, and I have attempted to set out my ethical stance in relation to this issue.

Since this research deals with two different languages – English and Korean – the risk of misusing and misunderstanding expressions and meanings may remain. The translation of textual and interview data was done carefully. As the main purpose of this research project is to explore the meaning-making practices using text, I paid serious attention in order not to undercut the contextual meanings that the data deliver. To some extent, these efforts are deemed to reduce the potential sources of bias in this enquiry.

4.5.2. Research ethics

The ethical issues of this enquiry comprised safety of informants and absence of any harm that might follow from their talking to me, consent and privacy of participants, and the confidentiality of the data, as well as my obligation to consider my own values throughout the research. In order to make sure this research is ethically conducted, the guidance of the University of Oxford Research Ethics Committee is followed through the completion of the 'Fieldwork Safety and Risk Assessment form' and a 'CUREC/1A form'. The interviewees received an interview consent form and sample interview questions via email. The interview consent form made explicit the issues of confidentiality of any information. I explained that the interviews would be audio-recorded, that they would last approximately 20~30 minutes, that that interviewees were under no obligation to agree to participate, that they could stop participating at any time without having to give me a reason. I also explained the confidentiality of the data collected from the respondents. I made clear that only I and my supervisors would be able to link an interviewee's identity to his/her interview recording and transcript, that all paper materials relating to the project would be kept in a locked cupboard to which only I have access, that the recordings and all other digital materials would be stored as password-protected documents on a password-protected computer. I made sure that interviewees would not be named in any publication of the results and no one would be able to link any quotations from their interviews to them.

However ethical issues arose while collecting data, probably because this enquiry dealt with a sensitive or serious governing issue in which groups of policy actors with different perspectives were being engaged in policy struggles during the period that I was carrying out interviews in SK. The first related problem I faced was a difficulty of genuine access because of 'self-censorship' by policy elites (Walford, 2011). One of MEST's officers, despite being my colleague, was highly reluctant to give deeper accounts of the issues raised by the questions. The interview took place in his office and he repeatedly emphasised that the time was in a highly sensitive period, which made it difficult for him to articulate all the information he knew. For that reason I could not obtain rich data from him. Rather, I interviewed his predecessors who were more willing to reveal the issues that arose on this matter. Another issue I note is that of power relations between interviewer and interviewee, which may impact upon ‘accessing’ and building up ‘rapport’ with informants (Gleshne & Peshkin, 1992; Walford, 2011). As I stated in the section 4.4.2, some PL representatives refused to be accessed as they knew I was a MEST officer. Their hostility seemed to originate in deeply-rooted distrust towards the Korean government and its officers, which may have made them nervous. This is, I suggest, a strong indicator of the uneven power relations between the state and PL in the South Korean context and the power seemed to circulate from the time of accessing anticipated interviewees, which made it impossible for me to establish supportive and trusting interview relations with potentially important informants.

Chapter 5. The construction of higher education governing space in South Korea

This chapter presents the results of a critical discourse analysis (CDA). The theoretically-informed textual analysis seeks to evidence the governing discourses of the Korean academy and historicise the discursive changes throughout the modern history of SK. As I discussed in Chapter 2, the period which encompasses two interrelated eras – modernisation and globalisation – works as contextual conditions against which higher education governing discourses have been indigenised, each of the trajectories is assumed to have been embodied as governing structures, practices and concrete policy measures. In addition, the discursive interplay reflects the ways in which so-called ‘politics of signification’ (Hall, 1982) saturates the governing space. My aims in this chapter therefore are evidencing and categorising the higher education governing discourses, tracing the changes in discursive relations throughout the period, and then exploring the processes of Koreanisation by which higher education governing space in SK has been constructed, normalised, and problematised. The analysis is designed to uncover cases illuminating ‘orders of higher education governing discourses’, thereby providing insights towards the centrality of the state in higher education governance as a useful focus understanding the particularity of the cultural assemblages in the Korean state.

The following sections are organised according to the temporal order, periodised by reference to its critical junctures. Thus, Korea’s independence from Japanese colonisation (1945), the initiation of the economic development plan by the military government (1961), and the economic recession and IMF bail-out (1997) are addressed as of significance. Section 5.1 (1945~1960) begins the textual analysis with identifying the process through which the governing discourse of ‘state managerialism’ (SM) was normalised, legitimised and operationalised, a process which was then contrasted with the trend of burgeoning ‘academic professionalism’ (AP). Section 5.2 (1961~1980s) moves to the period of economic development and political democratisation in SK, under which state managerialism was consolidated and academic professionalism ramified into ‘state-protectionism’ (legalism) and ‘anti-statism’ (university self-regulation). Within this context, the (legal) status of South Korean academics as public professionals was heightened, while their academic freedom was also undermined by authoritarianism, bringing about contestations in the academic field. Section 5.3 (1990s~present) deals with the era of globalisation and the knowledge economy, in which the Korean government reinforced new managerial reform measures.

Here, I question about the extent to which patterns of higher education governance in SK conform to the arguments of the ‘new governance’ literature in the Anglo-American academy. A critical evaluation might suggest that, unlike in Anglo-American experiences, the higher education reforms mobilised by neo-liberalism in SK might add a new layer of indirect, market-oriented control on the top of direct, bureaucratic state-control of higher education which had been institutionalised in the earlier modernising periods.

5.1. 1945~1960: liberation and post-war reconstruction

During the period 1945~1960, SK experienced independence from Japanese colonisation (August 15, 1945), the division of South and North Koreas, the foundation of the South Korean government (August 15, 1948), the Korean War (June 25, 1950 ~ July 27, 1953) and post-war reconstruction (K. Lee, 1984). In such a context, it is hardly surprising that considerable emphasis was put on establishing a new educational philosophy, founding educational institutions and setting up proper standards. The analysis of key policy texts produced by the Korean government (MOE, 1998), public research institute (KEDI, 2008a) and Seoul National University (SNU, 2012) identify intertextual clusters of key words, which are represented thematically in Table 9.

Categories	Key words
Projecting category	• Independence, reconstruction • ‘*Hong-ik In-gan*’ ideology [devotion to the welfare of mankind] • Education fever
Problematising category	• The Korean War, disorder • Higher education expansion • Low quality • Poor quality academics
Normalising category	• State management • Legalism • Standard, norm • Organising, control

Table 9. Three thematic categories of key words (1945~1960)

In the Table, the key words are divided into three thematic categories, on the basis of which the dialectical relations among different discourses are analysed. Each category represents a process in which governing discourses are formulated, legitimised, struggled over and negotiated within the higher education governing space. Here, what I have called a 'projecting' category of key words represents discourses related to an imagined future or desirable circumstances. The 'problematising' category reflects those key words and discursive practices that are related to challenging the current state of affairs. Finally, the 'normalising' category signifies texts that carry discursive relations in which a certain discourse is transformed into other social elements (social structures, practices and events).

The two publications: 'The 50 Years of Education History: 1948~1998' (MOE, 1998) and 'Education in Korea: 2007-2008' (MOE & HRD, 2008) provide evidence that the new education philosophy after independence was announced in the 1st Constitution [of 'Republic of Korea' (South Korea)] which promised 'equal opportunity for all people, free, compulsory education for the elementary school level, and the adoption of a legal education system' (see also CCK, 2014b). The Ministry publications convey several implications in terms of steering higher education. The new educational mandate sought to transform the closed, exclusive higher education systems of the Japanese colonial era into open, universal ones. The broadened entry routes to higher education, combined with people's strong commitment to education, began to provide legitimate channels of social mobility in the Korean society, which resulted in rapid expansion in educational demand throughout the following decades. The enactment of 'The Special Wartime Measures for Education' and establishment of 'The Temporary

Wartime College Union' in Pusan (May 4, 1951) were examples illustrating the government's efforts to meet the high demand for higher education even during wartime (MOE, 1998). This trend shows the significance of the contextual features that put pressure on the South Korean government as well as on the HEIs to meet the social demand for providing higher education services with high quality. As the Korean War (1950~1953) destroyed higher education facilities and reduced the number of academic staff, degeneration in higher education provision was inevitable. Therefore, the top priority was founding HEIs and supplying well-trained academic professionals. In spite of efforts of the Korean government and universities, the following quotations reflect the gap between society's expectations and the capacity of HEIs in this period:

> It was a period of newly founding higher education. The majority of universities looked poor but students had strong desire to learning and academic professionals were full of passions. Upon independence, the education fever of Korean people was enormous… The quantitative expansion of higher education institutions was unavoidable under the social, political circumstances. It was true that the decline in the quality of higher education was caused by establishing HEIs without strong self-monitoring standards.
>
> (MOE, 1998: 454)

> The loss of key academic staff and personnel resulted in decreasing quality of the academic profession. The 'poor-quality academics' were considered as a serious problem undermining the authority of universities.
>
> (SNU, 2012: 289)

In the post-war reconstruction period, universities and academics were under pressure to guarantee a certain degree of quality without having a deeply-rooted legacy of academic quality, norms and standards. As the government was dealing with a difficult situation, it was open to importing models and practices from elsewhere – especially from Japan and the USA – and its encouragement of the adoption of these practices from abroad inevitably gave it a dominant position in the sector. The discourse of 'state managerialism' (SM) emerged in this particular context, in which a strong initiative of the Korean state was regarded as necessary in order to fulfil the huge societal energy towards (higher) education. The tradition of state interventionism was normalised as well as legitimised in this historical backdrop.

5.1.1. Legitimising state managerialism

My analysis on the process of legitimising SM in this period is based upon exploring dialectical relations among three thematic categories of key words summarised in the Table 9 – projection, problematisation and normalisation. The 'normalising' key words identified in the selected policy texts build the argument that there was an overwhelming and urgent need to establish certain rational criteria or standards in steering higher education by means of legislating important elements in academic affairs. The 1st Constitution of ROK (CCK, 2014b) and The Education Act (1949) emphasised the principle of SM:

The 1st Constitution of ROK (1948)

> [Article 16-2] All educational institutions shall be under the supervision of the state and educational system shall be determined by Act.

The Education Act (1949)

> [Article 6] The state and local government shall found and operate schools and other educational establishments as prescribed by this Act and supervise all the educational institutions.

> [Article 7] All the schools, as public institutions, shall be founded on the basis of the standards prescribed by Acts and Decrees.

The fundamental statutes convey an image of SM by which the South Korean state conceptualised all the educational institutions (including HEIs) as ‘public’, and this conceptualisation was applied even to private universities established by individuals in this period. The principle of ‘legalism’ was justified discursively by the ideological project of strong nationalism combined with anti-communism (KEDI, 2008a). Although the legalism contributed to setting up rational standards thus arguably raising the quality of higher education, it also resulted in institutionalising homogeneous legal frames which contributed to the creation and development of a rather uniform higher education system. The policy texts analysed in this thesis exemplify new legal settings for organising university administration and managing its quality:

- Public Educational Officials Act (PEOA) and its Enforcement Decree (1953)
- Decree on Disciplinary Action of the Public Educational Officials (1953)
- Decree on Qualification of the Public Educational Officials (1953)
- Decree on Qualification of the Academic Profession (1953)
- Public Educational Official Remuneration Regulations (1954)
- Decree on Standards for the Establishment of Universities and Colleges (1955)

(KEDI, 2008a, 2008b; MOE, 1998; SNU, 2012)

The principles forged by the Public Educational Officials Act (PEOA) and other enforcement decrees were basically normative criteria on the legal status of academic professionals for those working in national HEIs – i.e. regulations in relation to qualifications, appointment, salary, leave, training, disciplinary measure, dismissal and official entreaty – lots of which were then applied to those working in private HEIs since the Private School Act (PSA) enacted in 1963. Consequently, for instance, teachers working in the public elementary schools and academic professionals working in the private universities were regulated under similar rules of game established by various Acts, Decrees, Government guidelines and directives. This seems to reflect the historical legacy of Confucian culture of the Korean state, in which higher education was incorporated into the state apparatus and scholars are regarded as state officials. By consolidating the legal status of the academic profession in the following decades, military governments in SK intended to manage the academy within the 'regime of controlled autonomy' [see section 5.2.3].

As an exemplar illustrating the governing measure of the South Korean state for managing universities, the 'Decree on Standards for the Establishment of Universities and Colleges' set up minimum requirements in terms of education facilities and academic professionals, and drove universities to maintain these standards as well (MOE, 1998; SNU, 2012: 292). The Korean government (MOE) normalised the tradition of 'management by input' in that period, by which it began to control fundamental elements which are arguably understood as pertaining to HEIs' self-regulation in the Western academy [for details, see section 5.3]. This particular type of management, stemming from the historical and cultural contexts, persisted and reflected the expansion of higher education in the context of limited public investment that put

HEIs (especially private ones) into a situation of chronic financial vulnerability, which contributed to forming conditions of increased resource dependency on the state sector.

The discursive trajectory was reinforced in the developmental period, which saw the attempt to construct and propagate a dominant discourse of SM, within and against which competing governing discourses associated with ‘academic professionalism’ (AP) have emerged and developed in the Korean academy. Before moving to analysing the discursive changes taking place in the developmental decades, the next section pays attention to the ways in which distinctive constructs of AP in SK have burgeoned in the post-war reconstruction period.

5.1.2. Burgeoning academic professionalism

The constructs generally defining AP in the Western literature and the key words that usually illuminate its features – i.e. autonomy, academic freedom, independence, professional privilege and power – were rarely encountered in the analysis of the higher education policy texts describing the re-construction period in South Korea. The only clear reference was found in the 1st Constitution (1948) which declared the principle of academic freedom. It states in the Article 14 that ‘all citizens shall enjoy the freedom of learning and the arts’ (CCK, 2014b). However it is difficult to argue that the governing discourse of academic freedom, even though it was adopted as a Constitutional principle, occupied a discernible position within the higher education governing space. Its use was rather to create a projected image about the future and then articulated as an overarching principle since 1980s by being combined with discourses of ‘autonomy of university' [The 9th Constitution, 1980] and 'legalism on the academic status and privilege' [The 10th Constitution, 1987] (CCK, 2014a, 2014c).

In the meantime, as I described in the previous section, the legalism on which the education system was established and which was declared in the 1st Constitution (1948) was operationalised as a significant governing discourse, which contributed to setting up the legal structures to protect teachers [including academic professionals] working in all schools [including HEIs]. It is notable from the analysis of the relevant texts that the particular attitudes of the South Korean government to academic professionals and their freedom are more or less double-edged. To paraphrase, the discourses of SM and AP seemed to be entwined closely as mixed governing discourses in the South Korean academy. While the government guaranteed the social and economic standing of the academic profession, it also imposed corresponding duties as well as cooperative roles as public professionals in the projects of state formation as well as modernisation of higher education. This strong inter-dependence has been reinforced as well as problematised, since the military government came into power in 1961.

5.2. 1961~1980s: economic development and political democratisation

From the time when General Jung-Hee Park took political power in 1961, South Korea was ruled by military governments until 1993 (25th February), when the first civilian government was launched with the inauguration of President Young-Sam Kim. The 3rd (1963~1972) and 5th (1981~1987) Republic were founded upon military coups, and the 4th Republic (1972~79) meant the rebirth of dictatorship under the branding of 'Revitalising Reform' (*Yushin* in Korean) (Hwang, 2010; Lee, 1984; Wikipedia, 2013).

The military governments set up plans for economic development and the modernisation project, which were strongly driven by the leadership of the state apparatuses (ibid). At the same time, the sentiment of anti-statism grew in and outside the Korean academy and democratisation movements led by progressive intellectuals, scholars, university students and citizens converged into a pro-democratisation movement in 1987. The adoption of a direct presidential election system in the 9th Constitution (1987) was seen as a clear departure from authoritarianism and the democratising agenda of academic freedom and independence occupied a distinctive position within the academy (C.S. Ahn, 1999: 33-34; PD, 1990). The crystallisation of the higher education governing discourses and their inter-relations is inseparable from these contextual features within the modernisation trajectories. Table 10 summarises the changes in the discursive relations among governing principles.

Categories	**Key words**	
	1960s~1970s	**1980s**
Projecting category	• State formation • Economic development	• Economic development • Democratisation of society
Problematising category	• Low quality, disorder • Corruption and incapability	• Competitiveness • Strong state-control, centralisation • Authoritarianism
Normalising category	• Human remodelling and social renovation (1960s) • Reform and experiment (1970s)	• Specialisation and diversification • Independence, self-regulation • Direct election system • Council of professors

Table 10. Three thematic categories of key words (1960s~1980s)

The projecting keywords represent different forms of ideological steering at the state level that are intended to legitimise various governing practices. The project of normalising and institutionalising a higher education governing discourse, as evidenced in the key policy texts, was underpinned by problematising the current state of affairs with little acknowledgement of any exceptions. Through the application of dialectical-relational analyses it is possible to identify discursive changes by historically tracing the dominance and challenge, continuity and discontinuity, and contestation and negotiation. As the first outstanding feature of this period, the next section outlines the process in which SM was consolidated as a dominant governing discourse of higher education in the developmental period.

5.2.1. Intensifying state managerialism

Under the rule of the Military Junta (1961~1963) and the 3rd Republic (1963~1972) the top priority of education was 'human remodelling' and 'social renovation' and the national ideal of 'systematic change in human behaviour' was emphasised in every school (MOE, 1998: 455). This expression conveys explicitly the government's attitudes, instrumentalising education as an effective tool for attaining national goals by changing human beings systematically. Given this dominant ideology, the status of higher education and the academic profession were inevitably remodelled as a target of national engineering. 'The University Overhaul Proposal (1961)' initiated by the military government illustrates the uses of bureaucratic controls over HEIs.

> It [‘The University Overhaul Proposal’] aimed at overhauling universities having corruptions and disputes, allocating universities regionally and consolidating science/technology education. It set a total quota of university students as 70,000 considering the demand of national human resources… As a result, they reduced the number of 71 4-year universities into 50 and cut down the student number from 91,920 (679 departments) to 66,410 (532 departments)… In the meantime the state authority forcefully implemented the plan and reinforced state supervision and intervention, which undermined the autonomy of universities as well as caused university administrators to lose their mojo seriously.
>
> (MOE, 1998: 466-7)

The quotation also shows MOE’s discursive practices of problematising the quality of HEIs and constructing the images of universities as corrupt and chaotic, through which it sought to justify their interventionist orientations. The enactment of the PSA (1963), which put private universities under the similar bureaucratic controls as national universities, was an exemplar showing government’s distrust towards private universities. As the interview data on the PLP case illustrate, there is still scepticism regarding the degree of academic freedom in SK, on the grounds that they have been weakened by the government’s administrative controls for securing public responsibilities of higher education (Interviews UA#1, UA#3, UA#4). The problem originated in the disparity between the normative ideal as a governing discourse and its real governing practice. In Korean society, the relations between state and academy tend to embody those of vertical order-compliance frameworks in the Confucian state-family model. The key policy texts reflect the persistence of the dominant discourse in governing higher education:

> The National Education Charter was even declared for the mobilisation of national resources and the dissemination of ideologies that advocates them (Dec 5, 1968). Additionally, regulations on private schools were pursued with the enactment of the Private School Act (1963).
>
> (KEDI, 2008a: 36)

> In 1973 the Ministry of Education (MOE) notified ‘The Personnel Management Standard’ to all the universities, which regulates the term of years requiring for the promotion of academics [e.g. lecturer → adjunct professor → associate professor→ full-professor, further description added]. It also restricted the number of academic staff per position.
>
> (SNU, 2012: 296-297)

> Since 1981, the Minister of Education has suggested certain criteria regarding the re-appointment of academic professionals [in the universities] by instructing ‘The Personnel Management Standard’ which stipulates in detail the assessment methods for re-appointment, scope of research performance and its acceptance level, methods of selecting assessors, and universities also have their own guidelines and criteria about assessing re-appointment. Accordingly, academic staff upon expiring their contracts has been re-appointed based on the ‘Personnel Management Standard’ and university guidelines…
>
> (SCK, 2004)

Within these state-centric higher education governing practices, the MOE launched various reform measures. According to a MOE publication analysed, MOE proposed that the 1970s was a period of university reform and experimentation. Its purpose was to escape from uniform education and shift gradually to enhancing the flexibility and autonomy of universities (MOE, 1998). The basic intent was ‘to renew the university as a part of society and overhaul the inefficient elements of the university, enhancing its quality and making the transition to flexible self-regulation’ (ibid: 481). The experimental universities were designed by MOE to propagate the principles of flexibility and autonomy to the other universities. Similarly, the specialisation of universities was intended to allocate the education budget efficiently, specialising strategic roles among universities and encouraging industry-university cooperation. The utilitarian (or pragmatic) approach initiated in 1970s laid the foundation for SK's higher education reform policies pursuing the strategies of 'selection and concentration' throughout the following decades – for example the Brain Korea (BK) 21 Project, University Reform Policy and World Class University (WCU) Project[3].

The aims of MOE's higher education reforms in the 1980s were also enhancing specialisation, diversification, and excellence in quality in the context of hugely increasing demand for higher education. The MOE tried to resolve this by temporarily widening the doors of the university, rather than increasing the volume of public investment. 'The July Thirtieth Education Reform' included measures such as the expansion of the quota for university applicants. The fine-tuning approach has intensified the peculiar relationships between the state and the academic profession that had persisted since the 1960s. However, the power relation was not static, but in the process of constant change, implying that the professionalisation of the academic workforce in that period illustrates shifting power relations within the Korean academy. The next section explores the discursive turn witnessed in the higher education governing space since the 1980s.

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[3] Brain Korea (BK) 21 is a government-funded research project designed to put foundations of research university model in South Korea by supporting doctoral students and post-doctoral researchers. World Class University (WCU) is a government funding project. The South Korean government subsidises programmes that invite globally renowned scholars to South Korean universities in order to encourage joint research with Korean scholars in the academic fields that are important for future growth.

5.2.2. Academic professionalism ‘within’ the state: state-protectionism

From the Ninth Constitution (1980) the legal basis of the status of the academic profession was declared as a Constitutional principle. This states that ‘fundamental matters pertaining to … the status of teachers [including academics] shall be determined by Act’ [Article 31-6] (CCK, 2014c). Nonetheless it is hard to conclude that the governing discourse was newly introduced at that point, as the South Korean government had tried to guarantee the legal status of academic professionals under the principle of ‘legal regulation of the education system’ since the 1950s [for details see 5.1.1]. The notion of ‘controlled autonomy’ signified a continuing practice of the Korean state, in which academics were regarded as elites with a high degree of legitimacy and their professional status was consolidated as that of public professionals. The strong inter-dependence of the state and the academic professionals highlights that an important construct of AP in SK has been a close relationship with the state’s managerial project. Even though the Korean government normalised their commitment to protect academics within the legal frames, the institutional frames as well as authoritative governing patterns through which the particular frames played out could operate as strong constraints on the academic freedom and self-regulation of (private) universities. As a result, a large number of legal disputes regarding the appointment, re-appointment and dismissal of the academic profession took place within the academy. Thus, the judicial apparatuses of the Korean state – the CCK and SCK – set the normative criteria by accumulating legal judgments on the legal cases:

> … the ‘status’ of teachers [‘academics’ included] comprises social treatment, working condition, status guarantee, payment and other material provisions given to them according to social recognition about the importance of their jobs and their performance capabilities.
>
> (CCK, 1991: 417)

> Fundamental matters pertaining to the status of teachers [‘academics’ included] should be regarded as an important element for teachers for educating students with independence, professionalism and neutrality, considering the intention of the Constitution declaring to prescribe the status of teachers as Act. Therefore the fundamental matters which legislators prescribe as Act most of all include the least obligation of protection in order the status of teachers not to be deprived unfairly.
>
> (CCK, 2003: 176)

Here, the ‘Act’ means the formal Act legislated and passed by the National Assembly, a state institution representing the whole nation politically. It clarifies that the matters pertaining to the status of teachers should not be subjected to the decisions of administrative power or entrusted to the principle of private autonomy, considering the importance of teachers’ status to fulfil the fundamental duties of (higher) education (ibid). This particular version of AP reveals how the principle of division of powers in the South Korean state imposes different roles on the legislative (NA), judicial (CCK, SCK) and administrative (MOE) branches of the state in relation to guaranteeing the status of academics. Thus, the concept of academic professionalism as a legal protection has been clearly enmeshed in the practice of academic governance under the collaborative support of three state apparatuses. While this trajectory can be labeled as AP ‘within’ the state, the discourse of self-regulation of HEIs stresses AP ‘against’ the state. The next section moves on to contextualising the other trajectory of AP which contributed to transforming the patterns of higher education governance from an authoritative to democratic one.

5.2.3. Academic professionalism ‘against’ the state: university self-regulation

The dominance of SM throughout the developmental era provoked anti-statist sentiments in and outside the Korean academy, as the government’s interventionist measures undermined the common values of freedom of learning and thought and the independence of the academy. The key policy texts reference the social and historical context of SK in that period, depicting that the ideal of academic independence was seen as the other side of society-wide democratisation (PD, 1987; 1990)[4]. There was nation-wide pro-democratic resistance in 1987, which succeeded in reforming the Constitution (C.S. Ahn, 1999). As a result of the public pressure, the so-called ‘6·29 Democratisation Declaration’ was announced by a leader of the ruling party (Wikipedia, 2013). In the Declaration, he announced publicly acceptance of the nation-wide demand of the Korean people for adoption of a direct presidential election system. With reference to measures for the democratisation of education, the Declaration also listed higher education reforms – for example guaranteeing self-regulation of university operations, and introducing an election system for university presidents and deans (PD, 1990). The policy text delivers explicitly the philosophical and political perspectives of the (progressive) academics taking a lead in the anti-government, pro-democratic movements in this critical juncture of South Korean history. Their attitudes reflected a traditional Marxist problematisation of the relations of capitalist accumulation, social classes and the state in capitalist society. The university (or higher education system) was understood by these critics as an effective instrument for re-producing the relations of domination and subordination within the society:

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[4] South Korean academics in this era noticed that academic freedom and university independence were in close relations with social democratisation and identified that collaborations within academic community were necessary for accomplishing both aims (PD, 1987). PD (Professors for Democracy), a symbolic union of academic professionals in SK, used the term ‘White Paper’ to refer to the publication dealing with the history of democratisation of South Korean academy. In this thesis, it is regarded as a particular conceptualisation of progressive academics to articulate their struggles and accomplishments as with a significant historical meaning. Thus, this is also seen as a useful strategy of meaning-making in the politics of signification in the Korean academy.

> The State is not a neutral institution in capitalist society. The state is the institutional tool legitimising the control by class, and operates as an instrument accomplishing the dominance of the ruling class.
>
> (PD, 1990: 33)

> The University has played a key role in structuring the ruling system of our society by producing the dominant ideology of the ruling class by means of conducting research and teaching, as well as inculcating students with dominant ideology. The reason that university serves the interest of the ruling class is, needless to say, because they are subordinate to the ruling system.
>
> (PD, 1990: 34)

Their arguments were based upon conceptualising relations between state and university authorities as symbiotic, as both of them were exerting 'oppressive and anti-educational powers' over academics and students researching, teaching and learning in the Korean universities (ibid: 36). Consequently, the most important mission for academic professionals in the specific context was to become 'independent from' the managerial controls of state and university authorities (or founders in the case of private universities) in order to fully attain the ideal of academic freedom and self-regulation. The counter-hegemonic project of academic independence was thus a challenging task to be accomplished by collaboration of all the members within the professional community composed of academic staff, administrative staff and university students.

Obviously, it was a strong political commitment for social democratisation which led the academic community to assert, to some extent, its legitimate powers in the internal governance of universities in areas such as academic, personnel and financial administration. The CCK (1992) also identified the notion of ‘independence of education’ and ‘self-regulation (or autonomy) of university’:

> The ‘independence of education’ and ‘self-regulation of university’ as prescribed in the Constitution [Article 31-4] intend to enable university to demonstrate to the full degree its functions of ‘searching truth’ and ‘cultivating ones’ leading characters’ by ruling out the interventions of external forces such as governmental powers against university therefore make the academic community to operate it independently, which is certainly a method of guaranteeing the ‘freedom of learning’ and the ‘Constitutional right’ conferred to university as well.
>
> (CCK, 1992)

In short, the context-specific constructs of academic professionalism in the South Korean academy therefore comprise three dimensions: a ‘defensive’ dimension protecting university operation from the interventions of external forces; an ‘active’ dimension encouraging the members of the academic community to participate in the internal governing processes; and a ‘supportive’ dimension fostering legally the conditions of their professional working [see also 5.2.2]. I am proposing here that those three aspects emerged in relation with different junctures of the modernising period but what is common to all is that they were associated with the dominant discourse of SM to a greater or lesser extent. To paraphrase, the defensive dimension symbolised projected image or imagined future, rather than culturally embedded practice, in the governing of higher education and the CCK and SCK provided cases of judgements identifying the normative trajectory. The discourse was also articulated as a discourse of the ‘independence of the university’ in the midst of nation-wide democratisation in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which resulted in demands for democratic operation of the university through the participation of the academic community. The key policy texts present inter-textually the cases in which the discourse of academic self-regulation was normalised by means of institutionalising the ‘direct election system of university president and dean’ and ‘council of professors’ in the Korean academy since 1987 (MOE, 1998; PD, 1990; SNU, 2012).

‘The White Paper: University Independence’ (PD, 1990: 75) argued that Korean universities have practised ‘administrative opportunism’ or the ‘efficiency first principle’, rather than prioritising the research and teaching of academics. They also stressed that universities were also ‘engulfed by the Ministry of Education (MOE) or school foundations’, letting them operate academic affairs authoritatively and heteronomously. These quotations assumed that the founders of private universities, along with Ministry (of Education) bureaucrats, oppressed academics as well as intervening in academic affairs. From these assumptions the peculiar characteristics of private university authorities (or their foundations) in the governing of higher education are likely to emerge, which are discursively related to the traditional patterns of the state’s managerial controls as well as to academic self-regulation. This means that we need to be attentive to the difference between the ‘independence of (private) universities’ and ‘independence of academics working in the (private) universities’ in the specific context of the Korean academy. To put it differently, the former reflects the contestations between the state and university authorities, while the latter signifies the governing problems between university managers and individual academics working in (private) universities. I suggest that the different lines of contestation offer a useful insight for understanding the tripartite governing relations between the state, university authorities and academic professionals in the Korean academy. The conflicts around the PSA, which will be analysed in the next section, illustrate these particular discursive relations.

5.2.4. Battlefield: the Private School Act since 1963

As I argued in the previous section, the discursive conflicts around the PSA encapsulate varying historical trajectories in which different governing discourses have occupied distinctive positions within the Korean academy. The notion of ‘the business of nurturing talents’ (育英社業, ‘Yug-young Sa-up’ in Korean) presents the contradictory nature of private schools (MOE, 1998). As the Korean state could not afford to meet the exploding demands in education with their limited financial capacities in the early stage of its modernisation, they approved individual donations of property for the purpose of establishing private schools. In the years following the higher education explosion, private schools grew to outnumber public (including national) institutions.

As the legal homogeneity pursued by the SK state, and underpinned by the discourse of SM sought to put these private schools under similar frameworks of control as national universities, private school founders began to demand independence from state intervention for private schools operating their own business. In the meantime, there emerged another layer of contestation in which the authority, the capacity, and the financial integrity of private school foundations were problematised by some academic professionals, who asserted the independence of academics as an effective way of democratising the academy as well as Korean society. This development exemplifies the particularity of the higher education governing space in SK, in which different discourses were contested in the governance of private universities. Within this context, state apparatuses emphasised the ‘public nature’ of private universities and their ‘sound development’, whereas private school foundations claimed ‘self-regulation or independence’ to run their ‘businesses’ without intervention (MOE, 1998: 526-7). On the other hand, academic professionals conceptualised the discourses as principles protecting ‘freedom of academic community’ (PD, 1987, 1990). In the ‘White Paper: University Independence’, Hyun-Jik Shin summarises the inconsistency or contradiction:

> According to the experiences in the past, the state’s supervisory powers have become problematised as they were easily abused [by state apparatuses] thus infringed on the autonomy of private universities. In this regard it is recommendable to reduce the supervisory powers [of MOE]. However, the reduction of state power might cause dominance of education by school foundations, consequently undermine the public nature [of higher education as a social institution for] guaranteeing all the people’s right to be educated fairly. The contradiction emerges here: guaranteeing the autonomy of private schools might result in violating the public nature, while acknowledging state supervision might cause intervening with independence of private schools. Our Private School Act (PSA) shows well the vicious circle of contradiction.
>
> (PD, 1990: 315)

The key policy texts convey that the first round of conflicts among these competing discourses was unleashed in the process of revising the PSA since 1963, while the second round was associated with filing lawsuits in relation with operating private universities – i.e. school foundation, matters regarding property and assets, finance and personnel affairs – many of which reached judicial verdicts by the CCK and SCK. The exemplary quotations below are identified intertextually across the key policy texts, which show how the different discourses have been articulated, contested and negotiated in the particular governing space.

[State’s managerial supervision]

- ‘5·16 Military Regime legislated and promulgated PSA in 1963 to keep the academic operations of private universities in order’ (ERC, 1998: 37).
- The PSA (1963) clarifies that ‘private schools are under the supervision of the state authority’ and also ‘the supervisory authority can order to stop profit-making business run by private school foundations’ (MOE, 1998: 526).
- In 1980, MOE instructed ‘The Plan for Reforming Operation of Private Schools’ to all the private schools and foundations (MOE, 1998: 527).

[Self-regulation of private school foundation]

- The PSA revised in 1990 announced that ‘the right to appoint professors’ were transferred from university presidents and college deans to school foundations and abolished ‘approval system on the property lease’ of the school foundations (MOE, 1998; ERC, 1998; Park & Hwang, 2006).
- The so-called ‘sphere sovereignty’ of school foundations such as authority over personnel affairs, financial management and rule-making (PD, 1990: 316).

[Autonomy of academic community]

- The amended PSA (1990) misinterpreted the concept of ‘autonomy (independence) of private schools’ as ‘autonomy of school foundations’ and transferred the least right of university autonomy to the foundations, thus ignoring the ‘public nature of private universities’ to be guaranteed by this Act and denied the Constitutional principles of ‘autonomy and professionalism of education’ and ‘university autonomy’ (PD, 1990: 326).

In this section, I traced the discursive changes which took place in the developmental era (1960s~1980s) in terms of how a particular higher education governing discourse was formulated as well as legitimised in the historical context and revealed how those discourses were discursively related to each other in these processes. Obviously, the key policy texts provided useful evidence from which 'the politics of signification' (Hall, 1982) among competing governing discourses are uncovered. In addition, they showed the ways in which the 'operationalisation of discourses' took place in that period. In other words, the processes in which SM and AP were operationalised into concrete social structures and practices were also an important element of this analysis. The next section notes the discursive changes which the South Korean academy witnessed since the 1990s, paying much attention to the extent to which the dominant governing discourses of SM were challenged in the turmoil of economic crises and so-called neo-liberal higher education reforms.

5.3. Since the 1990s: globalisation and neo-liberal reform?

Since the 1990s, the South Korean economy has encountered the new challenges of globalisation and the knowledge-based economy. Under these pressures, the Korean government deployed certain policy choices to survive the era of economic vulnerability. Moreover, the economic recession triggered by the financial turmoil in 1997 pushed it harder to request an IMF bailout (P.S. Kim, 2000). In these circumstances, the government set out new plans in which the strategic importance of higher education and National Human Resource Management (NHRD) were heightened.

A series of reform agendas were announced and implemented by four presidents consecutively – i.e. Young-Sam Kim (1993~1998), Dae-Jung Kim (1998~2003), Mu-Hyun Rho (2003~2008) and Myung-Bak Lee (2008~2013).

As I pointed out in Chapter 2, a considerable number of scholars in the Korean academy conceptualise the new trend as ‘neo-liberal education reform’ or ‘new governance’ based upon the techniques of New Public Management (NPM) which arguably shifted the modes of higher education governance in SK from direct, bureaucratic control to indirect, market-oriented control (Byun, 2008; Byun et al, 2011; Park, 2004; Shin, 2011; Shin et al., 2011). However, as I asserted previously, importing certain academic (and also political) theories and concepts that are not indigenous to the systems that have adopted and use these terminologies requires careful assessment of the extent to which they are appropriate to the ‘local’ realities and contexts. Thus, a critical evaluation of the nexus between globalisation and the degree of change in governing patterns of SK is of primary concern in this section. This is, in other words, an assessment of whether or not ‘a discursive turn’ has taken place in the Korean academy since the 1990s, so that the dominant position of the Korean state was displaced by the emergence of multiple agents, thus enabling network forms of coordination and new policy technologies to grow in significance.

From the key policy texts I extracted three thematic categories of key words as presented in Table 11 below, each set of which is regarded as representing significant elements of meaning-making practices within and across the governing discourses. The first, ‘projecting’ key words show that the Korean government has metamorphosed from a ‘developmental’ to a ‘neo-developmental’ apparatus in which higher education was re-conceptualised as a new growth engine. The mobilisation of a globalisation discourse problematised bureaucratic patterns of governing, which were problematised by the Korean government as preventing universities from developing towards ‘world class’ status. Based upon these discursive strategies, the South Korean government legitimised two related policy orientations as essential pre-requisites for enhancing university competitiveness and thus guaranteeing national prosperity in the globalised era: I term the first one the ‘university autonomy’ path; and the second one the ‘university responsibility’ path.

Categories	**Key words**	
Projecting category	• Globalisation & knowledge economy • National competitiveness & prosperity	
Problematising category	• Government regulations & control • Uniformity & homogeneity of university system • Low quality & consumer satisfaction	
Normalising category	Young-Sam Kim (1993~1998)	• University autonomy and social responsibility • ‘Normativsystem’ in establishing HEIs
	Dae-Jung Kim (1998~2003)	• National Human Resource Development (NHRD) • Brain Korea (BK) 21 project
	Mu-Hyun Rho (2003~2008)	• University structural reform • Incorporatisation of national universities
	Myung-Bak Lee (2008~2013)	• World Class University (WCU) project • University reform ‘funnel model’

Table 11. Three thematic categories of key words (since the 1990s)

5.3.1. Globalisation and the metamorphosis of state managerialism

Since 1990s, the Ministry (MOE, MOE & HRD, and MEST) emphasised ‘human capital, knowledge, technology and creativity’ as new engines of national prosperity. The new ideological project of the Korean state, I argue, shows a continuing trajectory in conceptualising higher education as a useful tool or instrument for national development, rather than as a professional domain of Korean society pursuing truth-seeking by means of researching and lecturing. However, this approach also marked a clear departure from previous development strategies, in which higher education played a supportive role in national economic development and industrialisation by providing a skilled workforce. According to this new state project, higher education is a sacred mission nurturing ‘global talents’, and not a mere ‘labour force’ (MOE, 1998b; MEST, 2012). By turning their attention to the globalised knowledge economy, the Korean government began to put higher education at the centre of its new growth initiatives. This tendency is identified explicitly in the policy texts produced and disseminated by the four governments. The Young-Sam Kim administration (1993~1998) presented the ‘New Educational Reform’ from 1995 to 1997, after establishing the Education Reform Committee (ERC) in 1994. The key words of these efforts can be summarised as ‘a strategy of globalisation through education’.

> Without decisive education reform, we cannot stand at the centre of a new civilisation. The efforts towards a top-notch country in the world should begin with reforming education. Information and knowledge is emerging as key engine generating social dynamics. Accordingly, new science, technology, knowledge and cultural creativity are the most critical elements in the future society.
>
> (ERC, 1998: 71-2)

Apparently, the new higher education discourse emphasised ‘consumerism’, in which higher education was re-defined as a product or commodity and the university and the academic profession were reconceptualised as service providers with responsibility to answer the needs of consumers – i.e. students, parents, business sectors and society. President Dae-Jung Kim (1998~2003), taking power in the midst of economic downturn, was under serious pressure to remodel every facet of society (D.-J. Kim, 2008). During his presidency, the government adopted the National Human Resource Development (NHRD) concept. The Ministry of Education was re-established as the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Management (MOE & HRD) and the status of the Minister was elevated to that of Deputy Prime Minister, having power to coordinate NHRD policies within the government. The efforts were geared to form a nation-wide policy network for increasing economic values of human capital. The Basic Human Resource Development Act (MOE, 2014) provides the concept of Human Resource Development (HRD):

[Article 2 (Definition)]

> 2. “Human Resource Development” (HRD) is using activities conducted by national and local governments, educational organisations, research institutes, companies and more to train, distribute, utilise human resources, and form social criteria and networks related to these efforts.

The principle was maintained as a key idea of higher education reform during Mu-Hyun Rho’s administration (2003~2008). The ‘White Paper of the Participatory Government’ (MOE & HRD, 2006) illustrates the government’s commitment to the university reform:

> Just as knowledge and information is the source of value in the 21st century, so excellent talent and creativity is the source of national competitiveness. In order to enter the group of developed country with 20,000 Dollar per-capita GDP, a new growth strategy is centred on people embodying knowledge and technology.… The Ministry announced the 'University Structural Reform Measures' on December 2004. By naming it as 'University Rebirth and National Prosperity', the government identified the close relationship between university competitiveness and national prosperity, encouraging strong structural reforms.
>
> (MOE & HRD, 2006: 123-4)

Through these quotations, we are able to see that the recent administrations in SK were strongly engaged in the mediation or translation of the pressures of globalisation, thus utilising university reform strategies as one of their powerful political agendas. Here, I propose that the dominant discourse driving higher education reforms from 1990s is 'neo-developmental', even though a considerable number of commentators conceptualise it as 'neo-liberal' because key ideas of neo-liberalism and its policy directions were imported into South Korean academy in this period, giving the appearance of strong influence on the framing of higher education governance. From the evidence I offer in this section, however, I argue that the strong commitment of the South Korean government towards economic development and prosperity had persisted in the modernising era (1940s~1980s) and it has been discursively normalised and institutionalised-and thus indigenised-through such neo-liberal ideas as New Public Management (NPM) policy technologies since 1990s. That is the reason I term the 'new' instrumentalisation of higher education mobilised and implemented by the South Korean government as '*neo-developmental*'. In this process, the South Korean government maintained its monopolistic position by legitimising its interventionist practice under the brand of neo-liberalism. This enables me to suggest that the dominant assumption that (Western) nation-states are diminishing in influence in the era of globalisation, neo-liberalism and Europeanisation may not be relevant as a conceptual framework for understanding the realities that the South Korean state and society have experienced since the 1990s.

On the basis of my analysis of the texts I considered in this thesis, I suggest that the complex nature of the 'neo-developmental' project has ramified in two seemingly contrasting directions: one focuses on enhancing university autonomy by means of eliminating government regulations; the other emphasises the responsibility of higher education towards Korean society as a whole, which justified new modes of governing practice – i.e. performance assessment, selective financial support, information disclosure, M&A, and even university closure. The next section presents the ways in which the South Korean government mobilised as well as institutionalised the discourse of university autonomy.

5.3.2. The 'university autonomy' path

The reforms of ERC (1995~1997) were based on the principle that the weakness of the Korean higher education system mainly stemmed from widespread government regulations which restricted the autonomy of universities (ERC, 1998; Grubb et al., 2009; MOE, 1998). Thus, the ERC suggested that the fundamental intent of the reform was to transform the Korean education system '(1) from supplier-oriented to consumer-oriented, (2) from uniform education to diverse and specialised education, (3) from education centred upon regulation and control into education maintained by harmonising autonomy and social responsibility … (6) from low-quality education to high-quality education by means of assessment' (ERC, 1998: 76). As a result, the strict assessment standards of MOE that had been applied in approving the establishment of private HEIs were replaced by a check of minimum requirements – i.e. facilities, teachers and financial conditions – stipulated in the 'Decree on the Foundation and Operation of the University' (ERC, 1998; KEDI, 2008b; MOE, 1998). Along with liberalising the foundation of HEIs from strong government control, ERC also proposed plans to lift restrictions on the student quota in a gradual manner by linking it to the results of assessment of HEIs (ibid). The Ministry's commitment to enhancing university autonomy was articulated explicitly, which is identified in the following quotations produced by different administrations:

- 'The Comprehensive Plan for Promoting Education Liberalisation' in 2000
- 'The University Autonomy Promotion Committee' in 2004
- 'The University Autonomy & Structural Reform Committee' in 2004
- 'The University Autonomy Committee' in 2007
- 'The Three-steps Liberalisation Measures for University Admissions' in 2008

The governing discourse of MOE was enacted and thus materialised by setting up organisations, announcing government plans and implementing those agendas by means of concrete policy measures. The whole set of governing practices reflects two different ideas: 'university autonomy' and 'social responsibility'. The fact that the Ministry tried to pursue both ideals simultaneously under the pressures of the global economy shows to some extent that a discrepancy between the ‘projected’ discourse and ‘practised’ discourse may exist within a governing space. The reason I term the discourse of ‘university autonomy’ as ‘projected’ is, as I suggested in the previous section, because the governing discourse projected an image of the desirable future in the governing of higher education, rather than reflecting historically and culturally embedded practice within the Korean society. Since the 1990s, the autonomy discourse was articulated by MOE (or the Korean academy as a whole), a government apparatus which itself had played a crucial role in suppressing the freedom of HEIs in the developmental era. This might be interpreted as an ongoing strategy of legitimisation mobilised by the South Korean government in the process of coping with new historical and social contexts. In this regard, the autonomy path is liable to be associated with the social responsibility path which has been strongly embedded in the managerial traditions of the Korean state. One exemplary case is the ‘Incorporatisation Policy of National Universities’ which has been driven by three administrations consecutively:

> The government continues to make efforts to enhance the competitiveness of universities to the global level. Even Seoul National University (SNU), the most prestigious university in SK, is not highly recognised in the international arena. To bolster its competitiveness, the National Assembly (NA) passed the ‘Act on the Establishment and Operation of Seoul National University Incorporated’ on December 2010, opening a new chapter in higher education. The Act freed SNU from government restrictions in personnel and budget management, and enabled it to compete with foreign universities through autonomous decision-making and budget execution.
>
> (MEST, 2012: 28)

The discourses of ‘university autonomy’, ‘competitiveness’ and ‘social responsibility’ were and still are mobilised by the Korean state (or government) itself, permeating higher education space as dominant reform discourses and thus normalising diverse policy measures initiated by the Ministry. An important point to be raised here is that the university autonomy in SK might be under the prerogatives of new modes of government control, which was implicitly assumed as a result of the importation of neo-liberal ideology in SK. Considering the possibility of inappropriate knowledge transfer, however, requires critical evaluation of the degree to which the managerial tradition of the Korean government has been maintained as the governing practice in the Korean academy, which then guides us to discussion of the extent to which mainstream Western theories apply in such a different context as the South Korean academy in this globalised and globalising era. The next section focuses on the processes by which SM has been reinforced by utilising new governing techniques since 1990s.

5.3.3. The ‘university responsibility’ path

Along with freeing (private) HEIs from bureaucratic controls, the South Korean government has driven universities in order to make them more ‘competitive’ under the premise that higher education competitiveness was a keyword of national prosperity. The attitudes remind us of the Napoleonic higher education governance model which emphasised that higher education should be answerable to the national community as a whole, and the government had legitimate power to oversee or supervise the operation of HEIs as a guardian of public interest (R. Anderson, 2004; Chevaillier, 2001; Neave, 2003). Since the Young-Sam Kim administration, the national project of the Korean state for guaranteeing the social responsibility of HEIs has adopted new modes of governance which are able to be represented as three inter-related governing tools: the assessment and performance management of HEIs; selective financial support; and university information disclosure. Obviously, this was a new approach in governing higher education as the Ministry began to use the 'carrot' of incentives to support the overall improvement of quality of HEIs. The Brain Korea (BK) 21 project initiated in 1999 by the Ministry was regarded as a milestone of the 'selection and concentration' principle by means of state budget support. 'The White Paper of the Mu-Hyun Rho government' (MOE & HRD, 2006: 131) recorded that the project tried to 'foster the next academic generation – i.e. PhD students, post-doctoral researchers – thus create world-class graduate schools by increasing research outputs'. The Myung-Bak Lee administration also launched the World Class University (WCU) project in 2008, which reaffirmed the dominant discourse:

> An individual professor's creativity and R&D competency can be the key to generating wealth for an entire nation. The purpose of the WCU Initiative is to reform the education and research climate of domestic universities and to produce world-class research universities by inviting foreign academics with the best reputations. The focus is placed on developing new integrated areas of study in basic science and building up the foundation of knowledge-based services and new industry.
>
> (MEST, 2008a: 1-3)

Another noteworthy trend was efforts of the Ministry to reduce unnecessary regulation and instead promote university accountability to the wider society through their disclosure of information. Through adopting the 'University Information Disclosure System', the Ministry exposed the university to the scrutiny of its service consumers:

> Currently, a total of 439 universities across the country have posted 100 detailed data under 64 items in 13 areas including school operation, student, faculty, research, budget & finance, and educational environment on their

> school homepages. MEST collected all the information from these schools and established an information service website called “Higher Education in Korea” (www.academyinfo.go.kr), which offers a wide range of search opportunities such as inter-university comparisons, university-specific collective data, and major indicator-specific school rankings as well as detailed competitive edge information.
>
> (MEST, 2012: 4-5)

The ‘University Structural Reform Policy’ launched in 2004 is a good example in which the Ministry reinforced its new-managerial control over South Korean universities. It consists of three agendas: improving educational conditions (of higher education), creating specialist HEIs by M&A (Mergers & Acquisitions), and selecting as well as supporting universities leading structural reforms. To attain these aims the Ministry set a ‘student/academic ratio’ target, urged universities (national and private alike) to improve the ratio by including it as important indicator of major government funding projects such as BK21, NURI, ACE and WCU (KEDI, 2008b; MEST, 2012b; MOE & HRD, 2006). The ‘Funnel Model on the University Reform’, which was announced in the Myung-Bak Lee administration, shows the consolidation of SM in the South Korean academy. The White Paper of the Myung-Bak Lee government illustrated the managerial discourse as follows:

> The first step is designating HEIs ranking 15% from the bottom in the result of assessment as ‘Universities of Restricted Government Funding (URGF)’. The second step is designating additionally ‘Universities of Restricted Student Loan (URSL)’ among URGF. The third step is designating ‘Universities of Poor Management (UPM)’ among URSL to manage the quality of higher education and enhance the competitiveness of HEIs.
>
> (BH, 2013: 378)

The analysis of the recent trends evidenced in the key texts illuminates that the Korean state's interventionism in higher education persisted but that has evolved into a subtler strategy. Given that the academic field has intensified the ideal of university autonomy, the metamorphosed interventionism may create tensions and conflicts both at individual and organisational levels in the higher education governing space. Moreover, the contestations are likely to multiply, considering the continuing strength of Confucian traditions that envisage academic professionals as elites with a high degree of social recognition. The contradictions and contestations emerging within the South Korean academy are understood more clearly by revisiting the process of indigenising Western higher education governance models [see also Chapter 3]. In the modernising era, the 'state-authority' model was intensified through combination with state-centric traditions of the Korean state, which justified interventionist governing practices of 'state managerialism' (SM). The indigenisation of 'university autonomy' illuminated the paradox of 'academic professionalism' (AP) 'within and against' the state: on the one hand highlighting the active role of the state in protecting 'academic freedom'; on the other opposed to governmental control and insisting on the 'freedom of (private) universities to manage'. The contradictions increased as the Korean government began to mobilise 'market-oriented' discourses from the 1990s under the global spread of neo-liberalism. The discourse of metamorphosed SM, I suggest, created a new condition in which the paradoxes in higher education governance became complicated.

In short, the CDA I conducted in this chapter contextualised key discourses in governing higher education in South Korea by analysing discursive changes associated with them throughout the modern history of SK. The close attention to the discursive processes of indigenising Western governance models offers several implications for understanding the peculiarities of the Korean state as a set of cultural assemblages and also in understanding its governing practices. On the basis of the ‘orders of discourse’ in the Korean academy, I suggest that the Korean state changed from a ‘developmental’ to a ‘neo-developmental’ state, as the Korean state, understood as a group of governing actors, tried to intensify its legitimacy by actively translating and mediating neo-liberal discourses. This is a point of reference in understanding the particular trajectory of the South Korean state and academy which distinguished it from Western states. However, the dominant perspective also generated counter-hegemonic discourses which have also been indigenised in particular ways within the South Korean context. Moreover, the interplay of the governing discourses may uncover the richness that the cultural analysis of the Korean state and governance offers, by paying attention to the contradictions and contestations embedded in the interplay. In this regard, tracing the discursive changes and their relations is a useful analytical means to fulfil this goal. The next chapter therefore treats the PLP as a representative case for theorising the idea of Korean-stateness and governing practices and as reflecting its state-centrality.

Chapter 6. Competing discourses and policy change in the higher education governing space: the part-time lecturer policy case in South Korea

This chapter explores the extent to which and in what ways the results of ‘macro-level’ analyses are also validated in ‘micro-level’ study of the PLP case. The main purpose is to explore how the higher education governing discourses evidenced in Chapter 5 play out within the particular policy case of the part-time lecturer suicide and the policy response to it. As stated in the Introduction, the PLP case was chosen as a focus for this thesis as it offered a case in which the workings of the governing patterns of the South Korean academy could be discerned. It is important, therefore, to trace and analyse discourses in play and changes in those discourses throughout the policy process. The analytical focus is firstly directed to identifying evidence of whether or not key policy actors – i.e. state officers (MEST (MOE)[5], NA and PCSC), representatives of PL unions and university managers – inculcated, articulated, enacted, and resisted particular governing discourses. Then, it is directed towards identifying changes in the discursive relations and the ways in which they attempted to secure particular policy outcomes at each policy phase.

In order to make the arguments more explicit, I periodised the policy process into three rounds. The first round (May, 2010~Dec, 2011) represents a period in which the suicide of a PL was recognised as indicative of a social problem and the Korean state selected the revision of the HEA as a key policy choice to address that problem [‘2011 HEA’] (ESTC, 2011). In the second round (Jan, 2012~Dec, 2012) the efforts of the MEST to institutionalise detailed guidelines of the new ‘lecturer system’ by legislating the decrees related to the ‘2011 HEA’ drew strong political attacks from both PL union representatives and UAs, which led a group of NA members to propose another HEA Bill delaying the enactment of the ‘2011 HEA’ until January 2014. The new HEA was approved in the NA at the end of 2012 [‘2012 HEA’] (Yoo et al., 2012). The third round (Jan, 2013~Dec, 2013) is characterised by recurrent discursive contestations saturating the governing space after the ‘2012 HEA’ was enacted in 2013. In this phase, NA members tried to construct a new way of revising the ‘2011 HEA’, while the MOE took managerial action to put the ‘2011 HEA’ into practice. However, these efforts then met a new phase of the loop as another ‘postponement Bill’ delaying the enactment of the ‘2011 HEA’ until January 2016 was passed at the end of 2013, announcing two more years required to settle these struggles down [‘2013 HEA’] (K. Yoon et al., 2013).

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[5] The name of the government department managing higher education policies and institutions in SK was changed from the MEST (Ministry of Education, Science & Technology) to MOE (Ministry of Education) since the new president (Geun-Hye Park) was inaugurated in February 2013.

The PLP is obviously a *sensitive* and *serious* policy case which provides rich resources about discursive practices and changes within the higher education governing space of SK. The next three sections present the evidence derived from my analysis of the discourses in circulation in the governing space and thus offer ways of understanding how Korean state-ness has played out within the particular space constructed since the suicide incident in 2010.

6.1. Round 1: defining governing problems and revising the Higher Education Act

Dates	Main actors	Policy events
May 2010	PL	Committed suicide
May 2010	President	Commanded MEST to design plans for PLs
Jul 2010	MEST	Announced ‘Plans for supporting PLs’
Oct 2010	PCSC	Reported ‘Plans for improving the institution of PL’ to the President
Mar 2011	MEST	Submitted ‘A Bill of revising the HEA’ to NA
Jun 2011	STIP	Submitted a ‘proposal draft’ opposing the government Bill to NA
Aug 2011	NA	Held a ‘public hearing’ to listen to stake-holders
Dec 2011	NA	Passed the HEA [the ‘2011 HEA’]

Table 12. Key policy events in the first round

The first phase (May, 2010 ~ Dec, 2011) was a period in which the incident of the suicide was recognised as a social problem, which created the demand for government to respond through policy measures – i.e. allocating financial resources and legislating rules. After a PL of a private university committed suicide in May 2010, the media began to report on the ‘dark underside’ of the Korean academy. They uncovered that bribery and corruption were widespread at the stage of recruiting new academic staff. In addition, the media headlines depicted the lives of PLs as, for instance, ‘slaves in the campus' or 'a well-educated poor class' (Bae, 2010; Byun & Kim, 2010; Han, 2010; Lee, 2010).

Given the order from the President at the end of May, MEST set out to make strategic plans and then announced 'Plans for supporting PLs' in July (MEST, 2010). At the same time, PCSC, as a Presidential committee for social cohesion and integration, pursued their own path by incorporating stake-holders into debates about the issue. After a few months' deliberations, they reported policy recommendations to the President in October (PCSC, 2010). In the meantime, the President nominated a vice-Minister of MEST as its new Minister who, as a member of NA, had once taken a leading role in revising the HEA in order to protect the status of PLs in 2007. After his inauguration, MEST accepted the suggestion of PSCS to a large degree, changing its stance towards accommodating PLs' claims (MEST, 2010, 2011; PCSC, 2010). After going through the internal processes of government legislation, MEST submitted a revised Bill of the HEA to NA (Education, Science & Technology Committee, ESTC) in March 2011.

As a state apparatus which had an obligation to deliberate the Bill submitted by MEST, NA set out to consider the appropriateness of the HEA Bill. As the PL unions opposed the government Bill, there were also contestations in the process. For instance, one of PLs' unions that identified themselves as concerned with the 'Status of Teacher for Irregular Professors in (South) Korea' (STIP) submitted a 'Proposal draft' to the NA (June, 2011) and officially requested that MEST and NA halt their deliberations (STIP, 2011). The NA (ESTC) held a 'public hearing' as a way of confronting the opposition by listening to the voices of PLs in August (NA, 2011b). This was a procedure to evaluate the relevance of the government Bill and the debates around the Bill arose about whether it represented an advance or degeneration in the status of PLs. In the midst of these events, the ESTC passed the Bill in November 2011 and the revised HEA was officially ratified at the plenary session of the NA in December 2011 ['2011 HEA'] (ESTC, 2011).

This summary of events shows the government intervening to pass legislation in order to 'fix' a problem. In the debates and struggles around the HEA, a number of discourses were in play. The political contestation seemed to reflect the mobilisation of different resources that drew on the governing discourses in higher education that each of the policy actors believed to be legitimate. In the next section I offer an analysis of these competing discourses: I disentangle and categorise the different governing narratives through presentation of data selected from policy texts and interview transcripts. The 'point of the conflict' (Yanow, 2000) is centred on the concept of the '(legal) status of the academic profession' in SK: it is around this issue of 'status' that competing discursive resources are deployed. I begin this analysis by tracing the policy process, focussing on the varying ideas expressed by different policy actors regarding (legal) status of PLs.

6.1.1. There is no other way but the state

Media attention to the problem of the low status of PLs in the South Korean academy following the suicide created a political space, in which PL representatives were able to make their views known. Along with media coverage, the union leaders had opportunities to participate in public debates provided mainly by MEST and PCSC. My analysis shows that the PL representatives adopted discursive strategies that conceptualised the employment relations between PLs and UAs as ‘public’ relations rather than ‘private’ (individualised, or contractual) relations, thus positioning the Korean government (MEST or MOE) as responsible for rectifying the long-lasting discrimination between full-time and part-time academics in the Korean academy. This particular standpoint rooted its legitimacy in the Constitutional principle of ‘legalism’ relating to the status of academic professionals. As I proposed in Chapter 5, legalism was a discursive choice of the South Korean state in governing higher education as protecting the status of academics was normalised as necessary in the particular historical context [section 5.2.2]. PL representatives articulated the ‘projected’ status of PLs dialectically by problematising their (legal) status. At first, they held the Korean government responsible, by arguing that the Korean government deprived them of the status as academic professionals:

> Originally, (Part-time) lecturers were academic staff. The Article 73 of Education Act (1949) stated that ‘academic staff is one who instructs and educates students directly’ and the Article 75 of the Act stated that ‘academic staff shall be divided into a president or dean, professor, associate professor, lecturer and assistant’, which means lecturers were academic staff… In 1977, (the Korean government) confined the boundary of academic staff until full-time lecturer, thus the legal status of part-time lecturers was deprived. Part-time lecturers were excluded in the boundary of academic staff when the Higher Education Act was enacted in 1997.
>
> (Jang, 2010: 20)

PLs also labelled themselves as ‘irregular education labour’ working in the ‘education companies (universities)’ (Lim, 2010: 41). This viewpoint resonates with the discursive position retained by progressive academics who took the lead in the pro-democratisation movement in the late 1980s, which envisioned higher education as an arena in which ‘capital’ (the UAs) dominated and exploited (academic) ‘labour’, and the Korean state was understood as an institutional tool justifying class domination [section 5.2.3]. The mobilisation of these discursive resources by PL representatives seemed to come from internalisation of the contextual characteristic of AP (e.g. legal protection for academics) in the Korean academy, thus legitimising their strong request for the Korean state to play a direct role by intervening in the contestation between two camps – UAs and PLs. They tried to justify their viewpoint by arguing that the conflicts between ‘capital’ (UAs) and ‘labour’ (PLs) stemmed from the cultural traditions of the Korean academy, in which PLs had been subordinated to UAs (or FTAS[6]) in their individualised, contractual relations. This is illustrated by the argument made by one PL:

> The military government deprived (part-time) lecturers of legal status as academic staff… dramatic increase in the number of universities and lecturers, which means that more than 500 million of university graduates learned from non-academics (legally)… university is a kind of education company… academic labour market has been divided into regular workers versus irregular workers, and academics versus non-academics… (This is) a problem of exploitation by capital, a problem of domination by power in and outside universities, a problem of fascism and discrimination within us.
>
> (Lim, 2010: 41-3)

As I analysed in Chapter 5, the working conditions of full-time academics were protected by homogeneous legal frameworks – i.e. conditions about qualification and employment, payment, contractual period, tenure, pension and insurance, dismissal and appeal. For instance, the HEA classified academic staff into professor, associate professor, assistant professor and full-time lecturer [Article 14-2]. The PEOA and PSA stated in detail about the contents of academic status of FTAS working in national as well as private universities. Moreover, the Constitutional Court accumulated judgments on the legal cases about academic status in SK, clarifying the strong commitment of the Korean state towards guaranteeing academic status (MEST, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c; CCK, 1992). However, the HEA and its Presidential Decree also stated:

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[6] In South Korean academy, employers of PLs may be either university authority or senior academic staff (full-time academics– e.g. professors) in each department and academic discipline.

> **The HEA: Article 17 (Adjunct instructors, etc.)**
>
> A school may have adjunct instructors, emeritus professors and part-time lecturers besides (full-time) academic staff specified in the Article 14-2 upon the Presidential Decree to have them in charge of education or research.
>
> (MEST, 2009b)

> **The Presidential Decree on the HEA: Article 7 (adjunct instructors, etc.)**
>
> A school may have adjunct instructors, emeritus professors, part-time lecturers and invited instructors according to the classification as follows…
>
> 3. Part-time lecturer: ones who are required to operate (university) curriculum
>
> (MOE, 2013c)

A PL representative asserted that the institutional character reflected in sets of rules that established status differentials in turn created divisions within the academic labour market, dividing academic workers into ‘insiders’ (FTAS) and ‘outsiders’(PLs) (Lim, 2010). In these circumstances, where the workforce is constituted through difference, the strategy of the PL representatives in looking to the government to provide legal status for PLs to remedy the state of discrimination and enhance social justice seems inevitable. A PCSC officer characterised this as ‘a standardising agreement’:

> … at least how to recruit… how to guarantee their status… by what criteria and procedures is re-appointment carried out… a sort of standardising agreement? … (Government) should have made that kind of stuff… the realities that irregular professors [PLs] confront are one to one contract relations with university authorities or administrative staff (in universities). That makes them unstable… They have no idea what the one to one contractual relations would be like in the future. They feel extremely uneasy about it. As universities have managed irregular professors like that, (they have) no choice but to distrust universities… That kind of circumstance has been constructed… It’s a situation they are located in.
>
> (Interview, PCSC #2)

An extract from an interview with a PL union leader of a private university also illustrates the reasons why they had to go to the Korean state:

> **Interviewer**: In terms of basic structure of problem solving… you [PLs] don’t seem to consider university authority as a negotiating partner. Do you?
>
> **Interviewee**: Of course not.
>
> **Interviewer**: Why?
>
> **Interviewee**: Because… in the case of the national universities, they guarantee status of PLs based upon acts and decrees. It’s true. However, in private universities, only by collective bargaining are we able to meet university authority (managers)… While carrying on the collective bargaining, we officially request to protect the rights of PLs. For example, in relation with research as well as health support… We make an official request once a year for our well-being. We set into negotiation with it… things related to our pay for lectures, and basic facilities for doing research… however, apart from those things, the university authorities completely exclude certain issues from bargaining elements. For example, we argue for the application of the four basic insurances[7] (to PLs). Workers’

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[7] In South Korea, there are four major social insurance schemes (“SISs”): workers’ compensation insurance (“WCI”) against work-related accidents; health insurance (“HI”) (or disability insurance (“DI”)) against diseases and injuries; pension insurance (“PI”) against serious disability, death, old age, etc.; and finally, employment insurance (“EI”) against unemployment. [available at **http://www.4insure.or.kr/ins4/ptl/eng/guid/SoclInsuLayout.do**, accessed 27 Jan, 2014]

> health insurance scheme should be a core. What the university managers say… this is against the rules [regulations including Acts and Decrees] set by the state.
>
> **Interviewer**: Why is it against the rules?
>
> **Interviewee**: Part-time workers, we [PLs], are not insured by private universities. PLs can't join workers' health insurance scheme. They are not entitled to join it.
>
> **Interviewer**: Because they are not academic staff, legally speaking?
>
> **Interviewee**: Of course, the state gave them academic status. But, it's not what is accepted in the schools [universities]. No matter how much we appeal on this matter, the university authorities never accept this. Accordingly, UA is not what we should fight with. It's reasonable that we try to make bigger (legal) frameworks by Acts and Decrees then go into universities to fight in the working unit.
>
> (Interview, PL#2)

I argue from the data that a social consensus legitimising the intervention of the Korean state was constructed in the first round. There were no other clear voices against the proposition that the 'Korean state should grant PLs legal status as academic staff'. My analysis identified the key words such as 'state', 'provision' and 'legal status' occurred together intertextually (Jang, 2010; Lim, 2010; MEST, 2010, 2011; PCSC, 2010). For instance, the headline of a press release provided by MEST (March, 2011) stated that 'PLs are recognised as academic staff: A new HEA Bill was passed in the Cabinet meeting' (MEST, 2011). In short, attention to intertextuality reveals several implications for understanding the ways the policy problem was defined discursively in that period. First, it was articulated that the low status of PLs mainly stemmed from historical experiences under which the Korean government had 'excluded' PLs from the category of academic staff, which exposed them to exploitative relations with universities. In this context, working relations between UAs and PLs were regarded as 'public' or 'social' issues, rather than private (contractual) ones. Therefore, it was socially justifiable that the Korean state intervened into these relations by adopting policy measures.

Based upon that construction, policy alternatives were crafted in two directions: guaranteeing PLs' legal status and improving their working conditions. However, the methods of selecting policy priorities triggered contestations between policy actors (or policy communities). Even within the state apparatuses, there existed disagreement between MEST and PCSC. Here, discourses of administrative rationality and political rationality are helpful for understanding the discursive differences revealed in the data. At a deeper level, however, the competing discourses in the governing of higher education – i.e. state protection of academics by legislating their status and self-regulation of universities on their affairs – seem to be revealed. The next section addresses these issues in detail.

6.1.2. The discourses of administrative and political rationalities

Although a social consensus was formed supporting the principle that the Korean government should take policy initiatives to address social injustice, there were debates around how much the Korean state should and could do for the status of PLs. The debates seemed to reflect tensions between the discourses of state interventionism and academic self-regulation in selecting a certain policy priority. More specifically, strengthening the legal status of PLs means that the Korean state chooses to govern universities by means of regulating their decisions in a specific way. For instance, MEST might institutionalise rules obliging all the universities to make contracts with PLs for a minimum of one year, or to provide PLs with opportunities for making official appeals in the case of unfair dismissal by the university or department. This is exercising the state's legislative authority in order to protect academic professionals. This governing narrative tends to justify government intervention, as the state is seen as the guardian of the public nature of higher education. On the other hand, those regulations might undermine the autonomy of the university managers in governing of their internal affairs.

My analysis of the interview text suggests that MEST officers mobilised different discursive resources from those of the PCSC officers in the first round. In the interview, a MEST officer used the term 'administrative rationality' by which he uncovers a specific discursive orientation about state-university relations. The interview extracts show how he enacted an identity as a state manager steering higher education in SK, while referencing to university autonomy as a legitimate governing principle:

> …the external conditions of political situations…the demands… we can't ignore those things as government officers. I thought, at that time, we had to do something to solve the problem, suggest something as much as we could. I thought that's a duty of the Ministry (MEST). [However,] there is certainly something we can do and can't… we can't do what universities are supposed to do, in terms of self-regulation of universities… there were massive demands then, for example, guaranteeing the status of PLs, the four basic insurances and increasing salaries… government couldn't guarantee all of those, however, because they claimed as a political interest group and that issue became a serious social problem, the obligation of the central government, I thought then, was making certain kinds of causal relations by which their status was protected… how to say?... I should make certain status of right for them… Although we're going to elevate them to be rightful persons by means of legislation, it doesn't necessarily mean that the Act guarantees them to the full extent… we need to take the least legal action in which universities have the right to decide whether they accept it or not. The task of central government is moulding a general frame, the bowl, in which mutual relations between universities and PLs, the individualised, contractual relations are shaped…
>
> (Interview, MEST #1)

The comments signify the managerial concerns of a MEST officer facing the political pressures from the representatives of PLs. The principle of university autonomy and self-regulation seemed to be of significance for him, thus all the policy alternatives for PLs should work within the principle. This view also emphasises consideration of the administrative capacity of the Korean government and thus supports the making of feasible and attainable alternatives.

On the other hand, PCSC, as a Presidential Committee for social cohesion and integration, prioritised the demands of PLs and within this frame of reference they formed a special committee for PLs, held policy meetings to listen to various voices around this issue, and then submitted policy recommendations to the President in Oct 2010. Its basic direction was stated as follows:

> - Our priority is to resolve a problem of the status of PLs and their job instability in employment into which demand of PLs is converging.
> - We try to improve their working gradually taking budget conditions into consideration.
>
> (PCSC, 2010: 3)

> Before the public hearing, we did lots of policy debates… We called out PL unions several times to listen to their opinions. Then, academic deans in universities… the delegates of KUADA, head and vice-head… we saw them as stake-holders. The director of the University Support Bureau, the director of University Support Division, and its deputy director [MEST]… probably we saw them [MEST officers] as stake-holders… (We) tried to develop (social) consensus. In fact, the core interest group, we thought, was irregular professors, rather than universities… the irregular professors' union.
>
> (Interview, PSCS#2)

The quotations and extracts illustrate a discourse of ‘political rationality’, which was adopted and articulated by PCSC at the early phase of policy process. At the policy debates hosted by PCSC in August 2010, a MEST officer, as a panel of the meeting, clarified that their purpose was not abolishing the PL system itself but reducing the total number of PLs gradually, taking into account the necessity of guaranteeing the principle of ‘flexibility’ in operating university curricula (Kwak, 2010: 51-2). However, PCSC stressed that more ‘fundamental’ measures were required to address the issue of PLs’ legal status (PCSC, 2010: 1-2). After the new Minister was inaugurated in late August, MEST accepted the key ideas of PCSC’s suggestion and set out to revise the HEA.

Although PCSC and MEST agreed to accommodate the demands of PL representatives in this round, there still remained a possibility of discursive contestations between the state apparatuses and PL delegates because there existed a considerable gap between the state’s administrative capacity and the PLs’ demands, which was unlikely to be filled. Since the first round, the tensions between the discourses of administrative and political rationalities continued to develop throughout the policy process. In these contestations, administrative rationality was related to the discourse stressing academic self-rule, while political rationality tended to be associated with strong state protectionism mainly mobilised by PL representatives and progressive NA members. The next section moves on to the conflict, the outcomes of which marked one of the important policy events in the PLP case – approval of the HEA Bill in NA [the ‘2011 HEA’] (Dec 2011).

6.1.3. A step forward? Or degeneration

It took around half a year to reformulate the government HEA Bill. Upon passing the Bill in the Cabinet Meeting, MEST issued a press release, which clearly stated that the Korean government (MEST) sought to grant PLs legal status as academic staff of universities by means of revising the legal institution – the HEA:

> … MEST confirmed a revised Bill of the HEA in the Cabinet Meeting (March 22, 2011), which intended to abolish the institution of 'part-time lecturer', and then add 'lecturer' into the category of 'academic staff' (i.e. professor, associate professor and assistant professor).
>
> (MEST, 2011: 1)

I argue here that the quotation illustrates a type of state managerialism which accepts the demand of PLs to some extent. It assumes that the main 'agent' abolishing the PL system and creating a new lecturer system is the Korean state (MEST), rather than universities as employers of academic staff; its 'purpose' was to guarantee the legal status of PLs as academic staff and its 'method' was an institutionalisation of the new rules of employing lecturers in universities (ibid). Along with guaranteeing legal status, the new government plans included separate strategies for improving the working conditions of PLs and MEST actually allocated more finance for supporting PLs from 2011 (MEST, 2010; 2011). However, granting legal status to PLs meant that MEST drove (private) universities to follow the rules without providing sufficient supportive measures. It was regarded as the 'second best', as a MEST officer admitted in the interview:

> **Interviewee:** It was the second best… we didn't expect it went well. We were aware that there would be cries of pain… the issues that I witnessed then amounted to about 26 kinds… as it [the new lecturer system] was so much different from current framework, we were, sort of, trying to insert it into the cleavage of the current system, after making it wider temporarily… there were so many things that didn't go well with it. Nonetheless, we had no choice but to grant part-time lecturers the status of academic staff… it was the best within the limitations…
>
> **Interviewer:** Did you think like that?
>
> **Interviewee:** Yes, I did.
>
> **Interviewer:** Your bureau director?
>
> **Interviewee:** Yes, I think so.
>
> **Interviewer:** Your Minister?
>
> **Interviewee:** I think so... That's the reason why we went to the National Assembly (NA) to explain this Bill… there was a saying then… this is the way how to start... Even though it looks poor at this moment, it will make advanced change once the legislation is done. I remember we explained like that.
>
> (Interview, MEST #2)

Another MEST officer also emphasised that it was a 'rational' or 'feasible' choice within the given circumstances in which they were situated (Interview, MEST#3). After MEST submitted the Bill to the NA in March 2011, a new round of contestations took place between the 'managerial discourse' promoted by MEST officers and NA members and the 'political discourse' mobilised by PL representatives and some (progressive) NA members. Unlike the managerial discourse, the political discourse envisioned 'equal' legal status between FTAS and PLs as an issue of social justice in the Korean academy, and thus pursued a 'projected' state of equality between full-time academics and PLs by urging state apparatuses (MEST and NA) to take official measures to rectify it. In the first policy phase, for instance, the KIPU (Korea Irregular Professor Union) – an active PL union, articulated the discursive standpoint by making a statement opposing the HEA Bill, organising an anti-Bill demonstration in front of

MEST and NA, visiting MEST to interview the Minister and a member of a progressive party (The Unified Progressive Party: UPP) took the lead in submitting a HEA Bill supporting KIPU's proposal (KIPU, 2010; Kwon et al., 2010).

> (This Bill) intends to provide irregular part-time lecturers who are taking on considerable part of (lectures in) higher education with the same legal status as regular academic staff [FTAS] and to change their name to 'research-lecture professor'.
>
> (Kwon et al., 2010: 2)

For the purpose of deliberating the HEA Bill proposed by the MEST as well as looking for alternative solutions, the NA hosted a public hearing (NA, 2011b). In the public hearing, the head of the legal sub-committee of ESTC, who took the lead in crafting the tentative HEA Bill, expressed a managerial discourse, implying that the Bill would make one step forward in solving this long-lasting problem, while a PL representative mobilised a political discourse by asserting that it meant no more than degeneration:

> **The head of legal sub-committee**: Although we're going to discuss what PLs are expecting and rational directions we will take in the future, the consensus point which the ruling and the opposition parties can reach at this moment is exactly what we've passed at the legal sub-committee. Thus, what I want to ask you [PL representatives] is whether we should pass the Bill in the NA for improving the working conditions of PLs and guaranteeing their legal status within the boundary of our power, otherwise it's better not to pass this Bill. I am wondering about it…
>
> …
>
> **A member of NA:** Anyhow, even though it's not sufficient, do you think the provisional agreement on the Bill [made in the NA] will make a step further, compared to those proposed in the past?
>
> **A delegate of KIPU:** No, it's going backward. Because…
>
> **A member of NA:** In what aspects?
>
> **A delegate of KIPU:** The previous alternative was a matter of being a regular professor or remaining (as a part-time lecturer) without a new strange category of academic between them… which means that this Bill is

> problematic. This act [HEA] is making an ambiguous sort of academic staff who are or aren't academic staff, and then selecting some of PLs and then putting them in this ambiguous status. That's the reason we say there will be considerable structural reform and inevitably massive dismissal [in universities]…
>
> (NA, 2011: 10-15)

The managerial discourse, which was mainly supported by MEST and NA members in the ESTC, projected the issue as an age-old problem and accordingly they had a strong commitment to make feasible or attainable progress within their powers. However, there also existed strong opposition in and outside the NA, which highlights the fact that evaluating the relevance of the Bill was a political game with contingency. A NA officer [chief secretary of a NA member] illustrates the circumstances:

> There was no other voice about solving this problem (in the NA) and as all members shared the principle, then it was a methodological problem of choosing (policy alternatives)… Congressmen in opposition parties who tended to listen to PL unions thus argued what we could hardly accept, which was radical… 'Research-lecture professor (RLP)[8]'… we played tug-of-war a lot. Since creating agreement for a great cause, we did tug-of-war because of different standpoints in detailed issues. Thus, we made a compromise alternative… At first, we should grant them legal status as academics. That's a great cause. That's why ruling and opposition parties made consensus. Then, how about improving their working conditions? Those shouldn't be in the Act. Rather, we should accommodate it by means of policy measures… increasing hourly salary, enhancing welfare supports, etc. Thus we should make two tracks. Opposition party members accept it at the end, as there was a great reason, making them [PLs] as academic staff. I think ruling and opposition parties made a big decision.
>
> (Interview, NA#3)

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[8] This term came from the direct translation of the Korean word '연구강의교수(研究講義教授)' that was proposed by KIPU members as an alternative of part-time lecturer system throughout the policy process.

In the first round, the revision of the HEA was passed in the NA (Dec, 2011) within the atmosphere described in this section, which then witnessed significant discursive changes from 2012. The next section charts the ways in which the discursive changes generated different policy outcomes in the second round.

6.2. Round 2: institutionalising legal status and changing atmosphere

Dates	Main actors	Policy events
Feb ~ Jun 2012	MEST	Collected opinions about the 'institution of lecturer' and drafting enforcement decrees related to the '2011 HEA'.
Jun 2012	KCUE	Formed TFT (Task Force Team)
Jun 2012	NA	Some progressive Congressmen opened a policy debate and called for withdrawing '2011 HEA'
Aug 2012	MEST, KIPU	KIPU members prevented MEST from opening a public hearing.
Aug 2012	MEST	Pre-announced legislation of 5 enforcement decrees related to the new HEA.
Nov 2012	KCUE	KCUE etc. submitted a 'Proposal draft' urging to delay the implementation of the '2011 HEA'
Oct 2012	NA	15 Congressmen proposed a partial revision Bill of the HEA delaying the enactment of the '2011 HEA'.
Nov 2012	NA	The HEA Bill was passed in the plenary session with 1 year of postponing period ['2012 HEA'].

Table 13. Key policy events in the second round

After the ‘2011 HEA’ was passed, MEST set out to take follow-up measures to implement the ‘institution of lecturer’, by collecting opinions from universities as well as drafting enforcement decrees related to the new Act. The issues to be dealt with in the new system encompassed setting up the processes and criteria for (re)appointing lecturers, the qualification standards of lecturers and methods of including lecturers into the indicator of RRAS (Retention Rate of Academic Staff in universities). MEST opened briefing sessions, visited delegates of KUADA (Korean University Academic Deans’ Association) and held meetings with the heads of KCUE (Korean Council for University Education). University authorities also looked for channels to convey their opinions to the government. For instance, KCUE formed a task force team to take on the issue of the lecturer system. KCUE, an association of (private) university presidents, began to make their voice heard with the help of KUADA (MEST, 2012a, 2012c). In the meantime, some members of progressive parties (UDP and UPP) held a policy debate with five labour unions in the education sector (i.e. KPU, KIPU and KTU) in June, in which they argued that the ‘2011 HEA’ should be abolished and an alternative Bill put forward (NA, 2012a).

The second half of 2012 witnessed a clear change in these contestations. After MEST failed to open a public hearing when it was forcefully disrupted by PL delegates, MEST pre-announced the legislation of enforcement decrees to accompany the new HEA. On the other side, however, labour unions and congressmen cooperated in the NA to propose a new Bill postponing the enactment of the ‘2011 HEA’ for 3 years (from Jan, 2013 to Jan, 2016). KCUE and other university associations (e.g. KUADA, KCCE) submitted a ‘Proposal draft’ to MEST and NA, in which they urged that the implementation of the '2011 HEA' should be postponed (KCUE. et al., 2012). In the midst of these developments, the 'postponement Bill' was proposed in October 2012 and passed in November 2012 in the NA, with change in the duration of the postponement from 3 years to 1 year, which meant that all the policy actors – especially NA officers – were under pressure to overhaul the problem again (Yoo et al., 2012). In the next three sections, I will argue that the policy changes at this round were related to interplay between discursive positions mobilised by different policy communities.

6.2.1. The 'institution' of lecturer and nested specification

From the analyses of the documentary texts and interview text I identified the fact that almost all the policy actors referred to the new system as transferring from the 'institution' of part-time lecturer to the 'institution' of lecturer. As noted above, this particular perspective assumes that the policy was intended to redress social discrimination (purpose); thus state authorities (agent) should provide PLs with legal status by institutionalising its detailed constructs – i.e. minimum contract period, procedures of appointing and reappointing, discharge and civil appeals (method). A MEST officer looked back on the period in the interview:

> After the HEA was passed on 31st December (2011), we needed to make enforcement decrees. As the institution of lecturer, instead of the institution of part-time lecturer, came into the HEA, the most important element (of the new system) was at least 1 year (of contract period), other parts such as status protection and improving working conditions were supposed to be substantiated in the enforcement decrees. We just had 1 year to do all of it. (As the '2011 HEA' would be enacted) from 1st January (2013), we had to make the detailed elements about status guarantee. It was important.
>
> (Interview, MEST#3)

As indicated earlier, the legal status of academic professionals, developed in the particular historical context of SK, was drawn on explicitly by labour union representatives as a fundamental axiom legitimising their strategies in discursive struggles (KIPU, 2013; Lim, 2010; 2012). In spite of recognising the limitations in its capacity, the Korean state (MEST and NA) agreed to formulate certain kinds of institutional frameworks for accommodating the request of enhancing social justice in the academic field. Here, the discourses of ‘state protectionism’ and ‘state managerialism’ illuminated a contextual feature of academic professionalism in SK, in which the state’s management of academic affairs is justified as a legitimate governing practice for protecting academic professionals (PLs in this case). The discursive justification of ‘state managerialism’ signifies particular cultural meaning-making practices that reflect the beliefs that the state authority is the most effective source of solutions to social problems. Interview extracts from a PL representative illustrate the strength of this discourse of state responsibility:

> **Interviewer**: As the national universities are state institutes, the government [MEST or MOE] is able to allocate more budgets towards them. How about private universities?
>
> **Interviewee**: In case of private universities, (the government) can use performance indicators. There are lots of performance assessment (and funding) projects. They [MEST or MOE] can steer by means of those indicators. That’s a way. As it has weak compelling force… The second way is putting pressure on universities that cannot attain the legal requirement of RRAS. That’s specified in the Act. Isn’t it? (Universities should) retain full-time academics. They [universities] don’t comply with it.
>
> **Interviewer**: So, in the ‘Decree on the Foundation and Operation of University’ [a Presidential Decree]…?
>
> **Interviewee**: Yes, despite the fact that there are regulations, the government [MEST or MOE] doesn’t do management and supervision. 100% (of RRAS) is the basic…still 60%, 70%... that’s faulty itself. What I am saying is the government [MEST or MOE] should do what it is supposed to do.

(Interview, PL#1)

In the PLP case, the problem was seen as 'the social', rather than 'the academic' at the time of defining the nature of the issue. I proposed in section 6.1 that the relations between university authorities and PLs were conceptualised as similar as those between capital and labour, thus the arguably exploitative relations were not capable of being sorted out within the academy itself. This is, I argue, a case in which penetration of 'the social' into 'the academic' took place in the governing space of the South Korean academy. This particular social construction or meaning-making pattern may stem from the distrust towards the capacity of the Korean academy in steering and governing academic affairs, as I suggested in Chapter 5. Therefore, the emphasis on the state-responsibility as an effective way of protecting (part-time) academics resulted in the development of a standardised design for the institution of lecturer to be applied to all labour relations across the nation collectively (or homogeneously). The new HEA and follow-up measures that MEST tried to push forward in the second round (2012) can be seen as efforts to set some standardised agreements in governing the employment relations of the academy.

The discursive struggles which happened in this period were about forming as well as establishing the new rules of the game, which was called the 'the institution of lecturer'. The fact that the South Korean state selected revising the HEA as the most important policy strategy, I suggest, foregrounds the peculiar pattern of state dominance in the governing of the academic field in SK. More specifically, the Korean state (MEST and NA) adopted the method of 'nested specification' for institutionalising the lecturer system. The '2011 HEA' stated the key principles of the new system, then

Presidential Decrees specified more detailed elements in the status of lecturers – i.e. qualifications and (re-)appointing procedures. Finally, universities set up their own regulations within the boundary of the legal frameworks for employing lecturers. The new HEA shows the hierarchical division of work in steering higher education between the state and the academy.

> **Article 14 (The classification of academic and administrative staff)**
>
> ② Academic staff (in universities), except president and dean, are classified as professor, associate professor, adjunct professor and lecturer.
>
> **Article 14-2 (Lecturer)**
>
> ① Lecturer is … employed by contract, and the contract period should be at least 1 year.
>
> ② Lecturer is not regarded as an academic staff when the 'Public Educational Officials Act' (PEOA), 'Private School Act' (PSA) and 'Private School Staff Pension Act (PSSPA)' are applied to him/her. However, following each regulation [of PEOA and PSA] is simply applied to lecturers working in national, public or private universities, regarding their employment and status protection. …
>
> ③ Besides the main points prescribed in the section 1 and 2, other elements such as the process of appointment and reappointment of lecturer are prescribed in the school [university] regulations (or memorandum), according to the criteria set by enforcement decrees.
>
> (MEST, 2012e)

Here, the Act (set out by MEST and NA) stated the core of the new institution (of lecturer) and then related enforcement decrees (MEST) and school regulations (universities) were supposed to specify the detailed rules of the game by stages. Within the hierarchical relations of nested specifications, universities (university managers or academic communities) tended to work more as practitioners of pre-determined guidelines (or rule-followers), rather than rule-setters or rule-constructors. Another characteristic to be noted is that the institutionalising method was applied to national and private universities equally. The homogeneous application of the new rules in turn generated hostile reactions especially from private universities, which are responsible for the majority of higher education provision in SK. The next section addresses the limitations of the managerial choices of the Korean state, which may trigger the mobilisation of opposition by university authorities and PL representatives for different reasons.

6.2.2. The gap which is not filled up

A MEST officer admitted that the new HEA and enforcement decrees were ‘a compromise proposal’ of the Korean government, which stood between university authorities and PL unions (Interview, MEST#3). The pragmatic viewpoint, embedded within the new HEA, sowed the seeds of other disputes in the second round of the policy process, although it was legitimised discursively as a ‘feasible’ or ‘rational’ choice made by the Korean state in the first round. The contestations began with more energy and determination than before, as MEST set out to draft measures about the new system from the beginning of 2012. A MEST officer depicted the circumstances of the time as follows:

> Although the Act [‘2011 HEA’] was passed, there weren’t enforcement decrees… for example, providing them [PLs] with opportunities of re-appointment or things related to including the lecturers in the indicator of RRAS [Retention Rate of Academic Staff]. Those became specified in the phase of making enforcement decrees. So, at the stage of (making) the Act, universities and lecturers alike didn’t recognise fully how much influence the new Act would have on them…but, as we collected opinions (from university managers and PL representatives), described the directions (of this policy) blah, blah, blah… then they [universities and PLs] realised which impact the policy would make… both camps opposed it alike…because it was the second best that was made by taking a step backward, in the midst of negotiating with both camps. So, they all thought they got the short end of the deal. That was critical… so this policy wasn’t welcomed by UAs and PLs – the most important stake-holders…what they felt as the effects of the policy were discontents… that was one of the big reasons.
>
> (Interview, MEST#3)

Along with putting pressure on MEST by demonstrations against the new HEA, PL delegates built a political alliance with some progressive members in the NA, mainly from UDP and UPP. In the meantime, five labour unions in the education sector opened a policy debate in the NA, with the help of the progressive Congressmen (NA, 2012b). The core of their arguments is that the ‘2011 HEA’ provided PLs with the status of academic staff in name only. In the policy debate, a PL representative pointed out the problem of the new Act. The quotation below identifies again the discourse of ‘state protectionism’ as an effective way of resolving discrimination in the academic field. They expressed strong opposition against the ‘2011 HEA’ as it would create a new ‘irregular’ status category of academic staff in SK and, I argue that this was an important reason for PL activists to disrupt a public hearing on making enforcement decrees related to HEA (Aug, 2012).

> 1. (Government) allocates lecturer into the 'non-tenured track', which is different from 'tenured track' (i.e. professor, associate professor and assistant professor)
> 2. (Government) discriminates between (PLs) as 'lecturer', not as 'professor'
> 3. Nonetheless, (government) includes (PLs) to RRAS, which is going to result in replacing full-time academic staff with irregular professors. (It is) irregularising academic staff [It is making the status of PLs much less secure].
>
> (Lim, 2012: 31)

Although the new government regulations contained in the '2011 HEA' and enforcement decrees were 'highly unsatisfactory' to PL delegates, they were at the same time 'too burdensome' from the university managers' point of view. An interviewee (a university administrative staff member, UA#4) argued that the legal status was more procedural than substantial, which means it focused more on setting up fair and transparent processes in employing and discharging lecturers as well as guaranteeing opportunities for an official petition, rather than improving employment status in substantial terms such as salary, pension, (health) insurance and research grant. Considering the commitment of the Korean government to pushing ahead with the new policy, however, universities unavoidably felt serious burdens in managing academic affairs:

> Basically the frame itself has changed… for instance, open recruitment principle… as (government) gave the status of academic staff (to lecturers), the employment processes for full-time academic staff should be applied equally to them [(part-time) lecturers], or we should re-appoint them according to the criteria (specified in the Act and decrees)… we should make written contracts… problems such as (providing) retirement grant and researching spaces… as these elements, with completely different forms, should be applied (to lecturers) in the same way we are dealing with FTAS, basically the frame itself has changed.
>
> (Interview, UA#1)

The different standpoint between UAs and PLs seem to illuminate a type of discursive conflict between capital (UA) and labour (PL) within the higher education governing space, in which university authorities sought to maximise the principle of efficiency by minimising financial and administrative costs, while PL representatives tried to reform the long-lasting state of discrimination by strongly appealing to the state sector. Besides financial and administrative burdens, UAs also articulated their deep concerns, arguing that the new system might rigidify the operation of university in terms of dealing with personnel affairs. In other words, from the point of view of the UAs, the homogeneous institutionalisation might undermine the flexibility and autonomy of the universities. Intentionally or not, the Appeals Commission for Teachers (ACT), as a state agency founded for protecting teachers' [academics included] rights, has made it difficult for UAs to dismiss academics. This was the other side of state protectionism in SK and it became one of important issues uncovered through this policy case:

> **Interviewee**: the legalism on the status of teachers is coming from this context. We've got the Special Act for Improving Teachers' [academics included] Status (SAITS), which contains the legal basis for an official petition or something like that, the basis for raising an official appeal if there is disadvantage against the teachers' status. So, like the USA, if

> department heads or deans say to somebody, “You’re out!”, if they judge like that, they should accept it and try to move to another university. However, in South Korean sentiment, quantitative assessment… (ACT asks universities to) submit evidence to justify the decision to discharge a member of academic staff. Because we’ve maintained the legalism on the teachers’ status, we don’t recognise the qualitative element. Because, in the personal relations with department heads, even though they dismissed somebody fairly, what is the reason for dismissal?... ACT judges for academics, not for universities.
>
> **Interviewer**: Is the recovery rate high?
>
> **Interviewee**: Nearly. For example, in case of universities with non-tenured track… contract period (with an academic) is over. So they dismiss him/her. Then, ACT bails out this case 100%. Because, contract is not prioritised in this case, rather, assessment… if (Universities) don’t submit the (enough) evidence of quantitative assessment (to ACT), ACT rescues academics, considering the case as personal disadvantage. So, unlike the USA, we don’t acknowledge the evidence of qualitative assessment at all… Lecturers… in the end, the status of lecturers moved into the area in which SAITS grants the status of teachers (after the ‘2011 HEA’ was legislated). We [university managers] are concerned about it because of that reason.
>
> (Interview, UA#6)

The extracts show the reason why universities were defensive about increasing the employment of lecturers after the legislation. The media also began to cover the dangers of the new system by highlighting the cases in which large numbers of university lecturers might be exposed to the possibility of being dismissed (Ahn, 2012; Kim & Kim, 2012; Yoon, 2012). Despite having different discourses on the case, UAs (i.e. KCUE) and PL labour unions (i.e. KIPU) mobilised their political powers to postpone (or abolish more radically) the ‘2011 HEA’ and related decrees, which marked a turnaround in the policy process.

6.2.3. Changing atmosphere in the National Assembly

In April 2012, there was a general election in SK and 300 NA members were directly elected by people all over the nation or nominated by political parties according to the number of ballots they earned in the election. Thus, the 19th National Assembly in SK began their work as all the new NA members stepped into their offices from May 30 (May 30, 2012~May 29, 2016) (Wikipedia, 2014). To the new ESTC members, the contestations around the new lecturer system were also important policy problems. However, the procedures as well as outcomes formulated by their predecessors (the 18th National Assembly) did not seem to be something of their own, as a MEST officer admitted in the interview (Interview, MEST #3). While policy choices of MEST and NA were justified discursively as rational, attainable or feasible in the 18th NA [for details, see section 6.1.3], the attitudes of the 19th NA were overwhelmed by the concerns about the disorder and conflict which would unfold when the new lecturer system was put into practice in the academic field. Minutes from the legal subcommittee of ESTC illustrate the changing atmosphere in the NA:

> **The 2nd vice-Minister of MEST**: The issues being discussed here were the problems which were expected in the same way while we were discussing in the 18th NA. However, as there was no alternative which would satisfy both camps 100%, we [MEST and NA] passed the second best under the consensus of ruling and opposition parties, even though it was not the best, because there was a consensus…
>
> …
>
> **A Congressman**: … let me show this [a 'Proposal draft'] from the delegates of 'KCUE, KUADA, KCCE and KCOU'… KCUE conducted a survey and it said only 1 of 141 universities agreed that it [the new lecturer system] should be put into practice from Jan 1, 2013. Now all the members (of academy) are opposing to the '2011 HEA' and the opposition of PLs seems to be more serious. So, I'm telling you to postpone what was done in the 18th assembly, although it looks abnormal. However, in my opinion, it's

> urgent to make better alternatives for solving the problems of PLs in the 19th assembly, after putting it off for the time being…
>
> …
>
> The most workable way is to begin a new discussion after delaying the implementation for a while. If we push it forward by force now, we don't have any choice but to witness social conflicts coming out here and there. Do we?
>
> (ESTC, 2012: 5-7)

In the quotations the vice-Minister reiterated the managerial discourse which was dominant in the 18th NA. He emphasised that the current HEA was a result of deliberations in the previous National Assembly, which were accompanied by conflicts, negotiations and consensus. He also stressed that it was the second best solution representing pragmatic views. However, we can sense a clear change in the attitudes of the NA in trying to change the direction of the policy in response to strong opposition from UAs and PLs. Immediately before the meeting, 15 NA members jointly submitted a Bill proposing partial revision of the HEA (Oct 31, 2012). The so-called 'postponement Bill' shows intertextuality between policy texts produced by PL representatives and NA members. An interviewee commented about their discursive relations:

> There was no other way... so we began to do demonstrations, then we went into the offices of the National Assembly members. "We cannot go out until you propose (the new HEA Bill abolishing or postponing the '2011 HEA')". We did like that. After a few days we had crashed in the NA, the postponement Bill was proposed. It was exactly the same as we've written. From the intent of the legislation... it was the same one.
>
> (Interview, PL#1)

> … However, the so-called 'PL Act' ['2011 HEA'], despite its intent for improving PLs' working conditions as well as stabilising their (legal) status, has little impact on the improvement of PLs' status, while fixing the

> institution of PLs as well as metamorphosed system of irregular professors thus it is vulnerable to be abused as ways of decreasing regular professors. In addition, the current HEA excludes PLs from benefited from PEOA, PSA and PSSPA thus it is liable to fix the discrimination between academic staff [FTAS and PLs]. Moreover, it is more serious as large number of dismissal cases (in universities) is expected ahead of its [the '2011 HEA'] enactment on Jan 1, 2013.
>
> (Yoo et al., 2012: 1-2)

This is a reiteration of the governing narrative suggested by the delegates of a PL union (KIPU) arguing that it is inevitable for the Korean state (MEST and NA) to regulate universities as well as providing financial grants in order to redress the long-held discrimination in the Korean academy and protect the legal status of PLs as well (Jang, 2010: 20-1; Lim, 2010; 2012). The particular conceptualisation gained political dominance in the late 2012, which, I suggest, resulted in the opening of a new phase of discursive relations. After the postponement Bill was approved in the plenary session of NA at the end of 2012 ['2012 HEA'], all the policy actors witnessed a new round of policy debates, in which the different lines of governing discourses were put on the table again for deliberation. The next section observes the reiteration of the debates within the higher education governing space.

6.3. Round 3: a loop of debates

After the nineteenth assembly postponed the enactment of the '2011 HEA' until January 1, 2014, the policy debates in the third round (Jan, 2013~Dec, 2013) tended to converge on NA. The mission of the NA members was making a better alternative which would satisfy the demands of UAs and PLs at the same time. Since then, as summarised in Table 14 below, delegates from UAs and PL unions adopted the strategy of delivering their opinions to congressmen and getting their political support rather than directly contacting MOE. For instance, KCUE conducted a survey to collect the opinions of all the PLs about the institution of lecturer. On the basis of the results, KCUE and KUADA jointly announced a ‘Proposal draft’ calling for withdrawal of the lecturer system and held meetings with congressmen to recommend revision of the HEA. They argued that the HEA made by MOE didn’t reflect the genuine demands of all PLs (KCUE, 2013a, 2013b; KCUE & KUADA, 2013). On the other side, KIPU members took a leading role in the policy forum held by an UDP member. In the policy forum the head of KIPU argued that the ‘2011 HEA’ should be abolished then alternative legislation would be required (KIPU, 2013a).

Dates	Main actors	Policy events
Apr ~ May 2013	KCUE	Conducted a survey to collect opinions from PLs about the institution of lecturer
July 2013	KCUE, KUADA	Proposed jointly a ‘Proposal draft’ calling for withdrawal of the lecturer system
Aug 2013	NA	An UDP member opened a policy debate
Sep 2013	MOE	Pre-announced the enforcement decrees related to the ‘2011 HEA’
Nov 2013	NA	13 Congressmen jointly proposed a partial revision Bill of HEA postponing the enactment of the ‘2011 HEA’ for 2 years.
Dec 2013	NA	The postponement Bill was approved in the Assembly plenary session [the ‘2013 HEA’]

Table 14. Key policy events in the third round

As the time of enforcement (Jan 1, 2014) approached, however, MOE pre-announced the enforcement decrees related to the '2011 HEA' in September 2013, which included detailed guidelines of the institution such as (re-)appointment procedures and qualification standards of lecturers (MOE, 2013a). Despite their efforts, the 19th assembly failed to develop proper alternatives within the time constraint and 13 NA members jointly submitted a Bill in November 2013, proposing to delay the enactment of the '2011 HEA' for two more years, which was approved in the plenary session on December 31, 2013 (Yoon et al., 2013). From 2014, therefore, all the discursive contestations, which had lasted for four years, returned to their starting point.

The one-year period (2013) witnessed recurrent debates around the institution of lecturer, in which the commitment of MOE to implement the new system was held back by political alliances of opposition by university managers and PL representatives. As stated in the previous section [6.2.2] both camps opposed the new system for different reasons. PL delegates argued that it was insufficient to solve their exploitative circumstances. On the other hand, UA representatives articulated that the government's policy was unachievable or ideal, as it did not fully consider the realities which (private) universities confront. The next section seeks to illuminate particular relations between the Korean state and (private) universities by focusing on the discourse of 'university reality' which gained political legitimacy in the third policy round.

6.3.1. The discourse of ‘university reality’: a properly founded objection?

Through the discourse of ‘university reality’, UA delegates sought to highlight the harsh conditions which Korean universities have confronted in the era of higher education reforms. As I indicated earlier in Chapter 2 and 5, the circumstances have come from the huge expansion of higher education in SK during last decades. Expansion in the numbers of HEIs and their students without proper academic standards has legitimised the intervention of the Korean government as forms of institutionalised regulations, which formulated a distinctive characteristic of relations between the South Korean state and the academy – ‘control without enough support’. On the other hand, the recent trend of a diminishing student population puts (private) universities under chronic threat from the government’s structural reforms, which have been achieved by assessing higher education performance indicators and developing league tables. A MOE officer [director of the University Policy Division] commented in the policy forum held in the NA:

> As you can see from statistics, the student population [A] in the first (or second) year of elementary schools is less than 400,000 currently. The admission quotas of universities [B] are about 560,000~570,000 this year. The elementary school students are supposed to join universities in about 10 years. Given the current university admission quotas are maintained, it will become minus from 2017 or 2018 [A < B], then the gap will amount to over 160,000 after 10 years (in 2023). That’s a calculation based upon (more or less unrealistic) assumption that all the high school graduates would join universities. Arithmetically, the situations in which around 110 schools [universities] should be shut down may happen (in the near future). Thus, we [MOE] are considering this issue quite seriously.
>
> (A MOE officer, NA, 2013)

The comments show a managerial discourse of a state manager overseeing Korean universities as a whole. He was seriously concerned about the changing student population, trying to justify the need for the government's structural reform policy. Here, university reform is conceptualised as a national agenda and the reform policy should be applied to national and private universities across the system. In contrast to this legitimisation of SM, a representative of (private) universities tried to problematise the government's efforts to institutionalise new lecturer system as ideal or unachievable, by arguing that reducing employment quotas of lecturers was an inevitable choice for UAs under the context of harsh government regulations:

> The fundamental problem of this issue [lecturer system] came from, in my opinion, the contradiction between ideal and reality. I think the Act should be doable. Legislation and politics in nature should be a tree rooted in the reality and growing towards an ideal. However, legislation ['2011 HEA'] was based upon an ideal, forming weird situation in which the tree is growing towards the reality. The tree is going to be dead. (Legislation) should be based upon reality thoroughly… Yes, I agree. We can desire ideal circumstances. We are able to ask for them. However, those aren't our realities. University is a reality (we are located in), isn't it? Do you know how miserable of the reality of (South Korean) universities nowadays? Universities are being cut off because of structural reform (driven by MOE). We can't raise students' tuition fees (because of the government's regulations). You know, "Halve Tuition Fees!" That means university entry gets clogged (with regulations). Then they have to do business for income, or raise donations. How many (private) schools [universities] in SK are able to do that?... In university's point of view, driving universities to carry out ideal goals is perceived as regulations. As you know, whether it is in the economic field or an educational one, any regulations are likely to generate by-products. It is our reality in capitalist society.
>
> (The head of KUADA, NA, 2013)

Although the claims of UAs did not emerge for the first time at the third round, the legitimisation or justification of the discourse was used to ascribe the policy failure to the faults of the South Korean government (MOE) in pushing forward the new system without considering universities' financial capacities. The articulation of the discourse of 'university reality' in this phase made a condition in which the delegates of PL unions and UAs called for simultaneously enhanced government financial aid as well as administrative support to break through this policy problem and create better alternatives. The next section moves onto the discursive convergence identified in the third round requesting more government initiatives in the governing of higher education.

6.3.2. Discursive convergence: one who has tied a knot must untie it

	Unions	**Managers**
Legitimising key words	• Attaining 100% of RRAS • Higher education grant system • 'Research-lecture Professor' system (KIPU) • State (or public) management of irregular professors (KPU, PD)	• Attaining 100% of RRAS • Higher education grant system • 'Lecturer Pool' system managed by public organisations (KCUE, KUADA)

Table 15. Discursive convergence into state responsibility

Table 15 illustrates the common ground that union representatives as well as UA managers shared in terms of their views of legitimate directions for addressing the PL problem in the South Korean academy. The key principle which three leading academic unions (KIPU, KPU and PD) articulated was the public nature of (higher) education.

They also problematised the South Korean academy as discriminatory as well as exploitative. In this regard, they argued that the only and effective way to solve the problem was an affirmative action by the state in terms of allocating public funds as well as regulating (private) universities effectively. Therefore, accomplishing 100% of legal requirement of RRAS as well as introducing ‘Higher Education Grant System’ were seen as basic conditions. In addition, three union representatives proposed that the Korean state should reinforce the attitudes of public management towards irregular professors [or PLs]. For instance, KIPU proposed to make a group of professors called ‘research-lecture professor’ (RLP). According to KIPU, RLP is not included in the regular professors’ category (e.g. professor, associate professor and assistant professor) but constitute a group of academic staff whose legal and economic status is protected by the Korean government. KPU and PD suggested changing the authorities managing irregular professors from universities to public organisations [MOE, KRF (Korea Research Foundation) or making the third organisation] (Lim, 2012; Lim, 2010; NA, 2011, 2013; Interview, PL#1). This is, in other words, formulating standardised legal conditions which in turn seek to equalise the legal status of academic staff between FTAS and PLs (ibid).

In a similar vein, UA representatives such as KCUE and KUADA jointly proposed the ‘lecturer pool system’. They also argued that the fundamental duty of the Korean state is fulfilling its financial responsibilities towards HEIs. Therefore, passing the ‘Higher Education Grant Act’ in the NA was articulated as a key alternative to solve this problem. Moreover, they also suggested that a public organisation should be launched to operate as well as manage all the lecturers. The centralised management system was legitimised by them as efficient and desirable (KUADA, 2013a; NA, 2013). Extracts from the interview with an UA staff member illustrate their attitudes emphasising cost-effectiveness and budget constraints on higher education business:

> We said this then. If this [lecturer system] started to help PLs, then [the state] help them directly! There is no reason for universities to be involved in this matter. Things become difficult if universities get involved in it. For instance, national scholarship scheme (for university students)… that is welfare, isn't it? If this [lecturer system] came from the state's concerns about welfare… it's not fair to push universities with no money… then the government should make the third institute and hire directly the lecturers. [It is] in the buffering area… there's no way that university can do… there is no money [to hire lecturers]…
>
> (Interview, UA#2)

So far I have traced the competing discourses and policy changes and how they have been related in the higher education governing space. The governing discourses I identified in Chapter 5 also played out in the PLP case but the discursive standpoints analysed in the Chapter 6 were not the same as the master discourses – i.e. state managerialism and academic professionalism. The primary reason may be that the governing discourses analysed in this chapter came from specific governing problems or 'points of conflict' (Yanow, 2000) constructed around the issue of guaranteeing the (legal) status of PLs. The different discourses stemmed from different answers to the questions emerging in the process of defining the nature of and searching for the alternatives to the governing problem. Consequently, different discourses arise through a variety of meaning-making practices made by the key policy actors (or governing actors) in the midst of responding to the governing issues raised by this case. First, who should be responsible for guaranteeing the status of PLs; second, the degree to which the Korean government could and should protect the status of PLs and third, the desirability and possibility of the Korean government legislating for the status of PLs by institutionalising the constructs of legal status. Through interpreting the responses of policy actors involved in these meaning-making activities, we can identify the discursive resources in play, and thus reveal the peculiar governing relationships between the South Korean state and the academy.

6.4. Higher education governing discourses in play

As presented in this chapter, the governing discourses emerging and competing throughout the PLP case are associated with each other in a complex manner. Therefore, if we attend to the discursive relations illuminating the particularity of the meaning-making practices, we may be able to re-construct different versions of 'governing narratives' (Bevir, 2011; Ozga et al., 2013) mobilised in this policy case. Moreover, particular governing discourses may be associated with particular governing practices within the Korean academy. In this section, I will propose two possible ways to disentangle and thus better understand the complexity of governing discourses mobilised and articulated in the PLP case, by paying attention to the interplay between them.

6.4.1. Managerial and political governing narratives

A basic discourse working in the PLP case is a managerial discourse. In its origin, the managerial discourse is related to the tradition of 'state managerialism' (SM) which is discursively related to ‘academic professionalism’ (AP). In the South Korean context, the discourse of AP is differentially associated with the discourses of ‘academic self-rule’ and ‘state-protectionism’. Both discourses illuminate a set of expectations, values and beliefs – and thus meaning-making patterns – which saturated the higher education governing space. The common ground is that both discourses are closely related to contextual features of the Korean state, as the former signifies academic freedom from the intervention of the authoritarian governments in SK, while the latter stresses enhancing the principle of academic professionalism through strong state protection [see Chapter 5]. Those discourses show different claims proposed in order to answer the questions of who should and how to manage and govern the academic profession in the Korean academy. In the discussions here, however, emphasis is put on the ways of guaranteeing the status of PLs, whose academic status has been arguably discriminated against in these specific historical and cultural contexts. Different governing stories are being narrated and are revealed in the interplay of governing discourses.

The managerial discourse was mobilised by MEST (or MOE) officers and some of NA members (in the 18th NA). As state managers, they seemed to promote a managerial identity, in which they felt a sense of responsibility towards resolving the governing problem of guaranteeing the status of PLs. Facing the political pressures from PL representatives, as a MEST officer enacted in his interview, the managerial actors (governors) chose to revise the HEA and thus provided PLs with the legal status as academics. However, they were also aware of the limited administrative and financial capacities of the Korean government. Moreover, they believed that the principle of academic self-regulation and the flexibility of higher education were also important elements to be considered in deciding the degree of the government intervention in academic affairs. Accordingly, the alternative legislation that MEST (MOE) and NA pursued was one that was do-able, feasible and workable. The pragmatic viewpoint highlights the discourse of administrative (or managerial) rationality, as evidenced in the interviews. The particular governing narrative, mainly articulated by MEST (MOE), persisted throughout the policy case. Although the MEST (MOE) officers recognised the limitations of the policy choice, they tried to implement the '2011 HEA' in a rather authoritarian manner.

The political (or politicised) discourse was mobilised by PL union representatives, some progressive NA members and PCSC officers. PL delegates sought to conceptualise the employment relations between UAs and PLs as 'public' rather than 'private', and thus legitimise the intervention of the Korean state in order to regulate the relations. PCSC officers also supported the demand of PLs by defining employment relations as the problem of discrimination, and they argued that fundamental or radical measures by the government were required to address the problem. The political discourse requested a certain degree of equality between full-time and part-time academics by means of institutionalising the detailed elements of their legal status. However, the pragmatic viewpoint of the managerial discourse was highly unsatisfactory for them, which led them to focus on mobilising political resources and building up alliances – i.e. appealing to progressive members or holding policy forums in the NA. To some extent, their efforts were successful in the discursive practices thus the so-called 'postponement Bill' was approved in the NA at the end of 2012 and 2013 [the '2012 HEA' and '2013 HEA'].

As another type of political discourse, the discourse of ‘university reality’ signified the identification of (private) universities as business administrators pursuing cost-efficiency under the harsh circumstances of university reforms and regulations of MOE without enough financial support. The discursive standpoint mainly mobilised by private university delegates in the policy process tried to problematise the managerial tradition in the Korean academy. The UA delegates criticised the ‘2011 HEA’ arguing that it would undermine the flexibility of university curriculum. They also legitimised their choices of reducing employment quotas upon facing the ‘2011 HEA’ as inevitable under the harsh realities they confront. This was seen as a discursive strategy in order to propose the Korean government move to ‘support without control’, from ‘control without (enough) support’.

However, there also emerged a high degree of convergence in which PL representatives and UA delegates both argued that the Korean government should be responsible for this governing problem by means of institutionalising the status of PLs and allocating more budgets for transforming their status from (private) university employees to public organisations employees. Even the university manager group admitted that it was inevitable for the MEST (or MOE) to enlarge its involvement in order to coordinate this problem of injustice and discrimination effectively. The convergence of governing narratives clearly shows the penetration of ‘the social’ into ‘the academic’ in the particular context of the South Korean academy, which may offer a useful pointer to the need to understand the particularity of the cultural assemblages in operation here – the centrality of the Korean state. In the next section I will move onto different but overlapping issues in the discursive interplay.

6.4.2. Institutionalised and individualised governing practices

The ways different discourses have intersected within the Korean academy generated certain conditions by which the particular orders of discourse were discursively (and sometimes dialectically) related to more concrete, social elements. In other words, this particular intersection interprets explicit policy actions, utterances, events and practices taking place in the PLP case, with reference to their implicit dimensions of meaning-making practices – discourses, inherited beliefs and meanings. To develop that understanding, I propose here that two governing practices – i.e. an ‘institutionalised’ practice and an ‘individualised’ practice – exist as mixed forms of governing higher education. Here, a practice refers to ‘a set of actions that exhibit a pattern, perhaps even a pattern that remains relatively stable across time’ (Bevir, 2011: 189). Accordingly, varying degrees of combining two different patterns in turn illustrate the particularity of the governing space – the assemblages of Korean state in this thesis.

Table 16 below charts two sets of governing practices – ‘institutionalised’ and ‘individualised’ practices. The former is related to the dominant higher education discourse of SM, which was normalised as a way to protect academic professionals. As I proposed in Chapter 5, it justified the intervention of state apparatuses (MOE, NA and CCK) in academic affairs, which resulted in institutionalising the detailed constructs of academic status as forms of legal regulation – i.e. PEOA, HEA, PSA and related decrees. In the PLP case, PL union representatives proposed that the Korean government forge an institutional settlement applied to all the PLs, as they discursively problematised the current employment relations as injustice and discrimination originated in the historical experiences of the Korean academy. Even UA delegates explicitly argued in the third policy round that the Korean government should be responsible for the status of PLs by setting up public institutions, thus managing PLs collectively in those institutions. Those arguments seemed to inculcate and enact the principle of legalism towards the status of the academic profession in SK, which has persisted during the era of modernisation and globalisation.

The Constitutional principles	Legalism on the status of academic professionals [Article 31-6]	University Autonomy and Academic Freedom [Article 31-4]
Governing discourses	State managerialism State protectionism State interventionism	University self-rule Non-interventionism
Governing practice	‘Institutionalised’ practice (homogeneous regulations)	‘Individualised’ practice (1 to 1 contracts)
Legitimising keywords	Equality & homogeneity Social justice	Flexibility Autonomy
Problematising keywords	Rigidity Uniformity	Inequality Exploitation

Table 16. Mixed practices in the governing of higher education

On the other hand, individualised practices stemmed from the ideals of university autonomy and academic freedom. As illustrated in Chapters 2 and 5, the number of (private) universities increased hugely in the modernising era and thus took on an important role in higher education provision. Therefore, preventing state powers from intervening in university affairs has become a significant higher education policy agenda in SK. The discourse of university self-regulation asserts that academic affairs should be put under the decisions of the academic community (school founders, university managers and academic professionals). In this context, discursive contestations between state and academy were generated as the dominant discourse of SM tried to control (private) universities in order to enhance the public nature of higher education. In the PLP case, the managerial discourse of MEST officers supported the necessity for the Korean government to intervene academic affairs at the least degree, which shows that they believed employment relations in universities, in principle, should be governed and managed by the decisions of each department (of university) or UA. This is a discursive standpoint supporting ‘individualised, contract-based practice’ as a projected governing practice.

As I discussed in Chapter 5 and 6, analysing governing discourses is a useful methodology to unfold the complex nature of meaning-making practices saturating a particular governing space. In Chapter 5, I carried out a ‘macro-level’ analysis by historicising higher education governing discourses of SK with reference to key policy texts. In this chapter, I focused more on ‘micro-level’ discourses using the data from the PLP case, through which I was able to evidence two sets of higher education ‘governing discourses’ – managerial discourse and political (or politicised) discourse. Each set of discourses seemed to be differentially related to the ‘master’ discourses identified in the chapter 5. Therefore, through close attention to the inter-discursive relations between discourses I was able to identify different ‘governing narratives’. In addition, the multiple interplay between discourses allowed me to understand different ‘governing practices’ – institutionalised and individualised – embedded in the history of the Korean academy. Therefore, the particular mixture of the governing patterns offers a way to understand the peculiarities of the Korean state in the governing of higher education. In short, the meanings of the centrality of the state in the governing of higher education in South Korea emerge through the interpretations of complex interplay between governing discourses, governing narratives and governing practices.

Conclusion

In chapters 5 and 6, I presented the results of a critical discourse analysis (CDA) I conducted with reference to the policy texts listed in Chapter 4. In conducting this analysis, I drew on theoretical frameworks derived from my evaluation of the relevance or applicability of Western theories – i.e. theories of the state, of (higher education) governance, and of (academic) professionalism and globalisation. Through these discussions, I tried to refine a coherent set of theoretical resources informing the empirical investigation of this thesis. In other words, the concept of cultural assemblages enabled me to explore the ways in which heterogeneous elements of the Korean state were combined in a specific way with reference to the political activities of the governing actors. On the basis of this exploration, I argued that close attention to the activities and relations of the governing actors involved, and scrutinising the ways in which they internalised and mobilised particular discourses as well as the relations between them provided this thesis with an alternative and productive framework for exploring the work of governing higher education within the Korean academy.

I further claim that this approach illustrates, however imperfectly, the strength of a cultural perspective on the state and governance. I have attempted to show how the Korean state, understood as a cultural assemblage, reveals its discursive characteristics and relations through this form of analysis, so that my methodological choices reflect my theoretical framing of the issue or problem under investigation. In this final chapter, I consider the ‘answers’ revealed by the investigation to my research questions, and then offer some reflections on the implications of these findings for the study of higher education governance in South Korea, and – more tentatively – in the field more generally.

The research findings

The centrality of the Korean state, and how this plays out in the governing of higher education is of primary significance in this enquiry. The theoretically informed contextualisation of the issue attempted in this thesis suggests two sets of answers to the research questions. First, in relation to the construction of the higher education governing space in South Korea [the focus of Chapter 5]:

(1) To what extent and how have higher education governing discourses identified in the Western literature been indigenised in the process of constructing the governing space of higher education in the modernisation of South Korea since 1945?

The discourse of 'state managerialism' (SM) was normalised and legitimised in the period of SK's post-war reconstruction (1945~1960) and the authoritarian or interventionist attitudes of the Korean government were consolidated in the period of economic development and modernisation (1960s~1980s). Within the context of the state's developmental projects, the discourse of 'academic professionalism' (AP) also flourished as an ideal principle. Then, it ramified into 'state protectionism' (legalism) and 'anti-statism' (university self-regulation). The 'self-regulation of the (private) university' signifies context-specific discursive contestations in the Korean academy between the Korean government and the university authorities, in which university managers articulated AP in the efforts to problematise state controls [AP 'against' the state], while the 'independence of university academics' highlights that academic professionals requested the government to regulate universities in order to guarantee their legal status against the university authorities [AP 'within' the state]. From this contextualised analysis, I note that the discourses of SM and AP have been indigenised as particular discursive formations, in which SM worked as a basic and dominant discourse in the governing of higher education.

(2) In this (possible) process of indigenisation, how have the governing discourses been related to such contextual features of the Korean academy as institutional structures, state-academy relations, governing practices and policy events?

The particular meaning-making practices saturated and thus constructed the higher education governing space in a specific way. In this process of Koreanisation, the governing discourses were related to contextual features of the Korean academy – for example institutional structures, governing practices and policy events. For instance, the fundamental statutes – i.e. the Constitution (1948) and the Education Act (1949) – and the governing principle of 'legalism' convey an image of SM by which the Korean state conceptualised HEIs as 'public' entities, and academics as 'public professionals'. The dominant discourse was materialised by statutes – e.g. the PEOA and PSA – thus setting up a standardised legal status for academic professionals working in national and private HEIs. Based upon the homogeneous institutional conditions, the Korean government supervised academic affairs by means of policies [e.g. The University

Overhaul Proposal (1961)] and directives [e.g. The Personnel Management Standard (1973)]. Judicial authorities (SCK and CCK) also established normative criteria on the legal status of academics as well as the principle of academic freedom by accumulating legal judgments. In order to protect teachers' [academics included] rights, the Appeals Commission for Teachers (ACT) was founded as a state agency. I propose that the particular ways by which governing discourses, institutional structures, policies and practices were combined – in what I understand as a cultural assemblage of the South Korean state – uncovered the centrality of the Korean state in higher education governance. In this context, the Korean state may be a strong protector of academic professionals, while it may also simultaneously offer a threat to the self-regulation and autonomy of universities.

(3) What role did the Korean state play in the discursive process of constructing the governing space, and has that role changed since the 1990s, as the literature on neo-liberalism and (new) governance suggests?

On the basis of the results of my enquiry, I suggest that the Korean state played two significant roles in the governing of higher education as 'rule-setter' and 'university manager'. First, the discourse of SM and associated institutional conditions were legitimised as establishing certain rational criteria or standards applied to academic affairs. The hierarchical structures of academic norms – from the Acts and Decrees to governmental guidelines – were embedded in dominant governing practices of order-compliance frameworks. In this way, the Korean state apparatuses acted as university managers supervising academic affairs. Legal institutions and centralised administrative practices, in combination, reinforced the conventional ways of academic governance. The dominance of SM in the Korean academy, unlike the propositions of the new governance literature in the Western academy, seemed to have increased since the 1990s as the Korean government began to mobilise globalisation strategies and implemented a set of higher education reform agendas. In this 'neo-developmental' project, market-principles in academic governance – e.g. performance management, selective funding, and university information disclosure – were also articulated by MOE and MEST in order to normalise new developmental strategies of the Korean state in the context of globalisation.

Informed by the analyses of 'master' governing discourses in Chapter 5, I sought to elaborate my discussion in Chapter 6, by evidencing to what extent and in what ways the results of 'macro-level' study are also validated in 'micro-level' analysis of the PLP case. Given the assumptions of this enquiry emphasising that higher education governing discourses exist as (cultural) assemblages, varying elements within the assemblages may be re-assembled or re-constructed differentially according to particular governing problems and issues. My selection of the PLP case was therefore for developing more detailed conceptualisation of the specificities of the Korean state by observing how higher education governing discourses were re-assembled thus played out in the specific governing space, which was constructed after the suicide incident of a part-time academic in 2010. Therefore, in relation to the discursive relations and changes in the PLP case [the focus of Chapter 6]:

(4) To what extent and how are the higher education governing discourses identified in Chapter 5 evidenced in the PLP case?

In the PLP case, the ‘managerial discourse’ articulated by state officers (e.g. MEST, MOE and NA) was associated with the discourse of SM in Chapter 5. The governing actors acknowledged that the Korean state is responsible for guaranteeing the (legal) status of part-time academics. The state-responsibility was more strongly articulated by PL delegates and progressive NA members through their discursive practices, which emphasised that the state’s legal support and management were essential in guaranteeing academic status and professionalism [academic professionalism ‘within’ the state]. I suggest that this is a place wherein managerial and political discourses are intersecting and thus promoting discursive contestations. In the contestations, the actors in state-manager groups tended to position themselves as arbiters of competing interests between university managers and PL representatives, and thus sought (administratively) rational and do-able alternatives. However, the university manager group opposed the government legislation [the ‘2011 HEA’] as it undermined the principles of ‘academic self-rule’ and flexibility in university management [academic professionalism ‘against’ the state].

(5) How do these different discourses interact and how are they mobilised by key policy actors in policy responses to the PLP case?

The governing dynamics become explicit when we trace the interactions between policy communities. In the first round, PL union leaders called for affirmative measures by the

Korean government to redress the long-lasting discrimination in the Korean academy, which was supported discursively by PCSC officers. However, state officers in MEST and NA considered administrative and financial capacities, selecting workable measures [the ‘2011 HEA’]. The dominance of the ‘managerial discourse’ was discernible in that period. From the second phase, the political discourses mobilised by PL union representatives and university managers gained legitimacy. PL unions built up a political alliance with (progressive) NA members in order to put pressure on MEST. University managers articulated the danger of the new institution [the ‘lecturer system’ adopted in the ‘2011 HEA’] by reducing the employment quotas of PLs, which was understood by (progressive) NA officers as chaotic outcomes that the new ‘lecturer’ system would generate. In these circumstances, the dominant position of managerial discourse in the first policy phase gave way to the political alliances between PL unions, university managers and (progressive) NA members, which resulted in passing of the ‘postponement Bill’ [the ‘2012 HEA’]. Another political alliance put more pressure on the Korean government in the third policy round. University managers and PL union leaders jointly articulated that the Korean government should take more fundamental measures to address the issue. The discourses of state-responsibility, effectiveness and inevitability – which formed key elements of ‘state managerialism’– achieved political purchase once more. The second postponement Bill [the ‘2013 HEA’] was passed under these changes in discursive relations.

(6) What types of higher education governing narratives are evidenced in the discursive relations revealed by the policy case and to what extent and how is the assumption of state-centrality supported or challenged through these analyses?

Two kinds of governing narratives can be revealed by these analyses. First, a 'managerial governing narrative' was mobilised by state officers who maintained a sense of duty in managing governing problems. In looking for alternatives, however, they took a pragmatic or eclectic approach from which feasible, do-able and attainable strategies were drawn, as they were also aware that guaranteeing the academic status of PLs could be accomplished only with the cooperation of university authorities who were employing PLs under the prevailing conditions of financial constraint. The revision of the HEA was the second best or administratively rational alternative derived in this context. In terms of constructing the new rules of the game in higher education governing, the particular policy choice thus justified institutionalised, rather than individualised governing practices, a result which I interpret as reflecting the penetration of 'the social' into 'the academic' in academic governance. As the analysis in Chapter 6 demonstrates, [see sections 6.2.1 and 6.4.2], all the governing actors working in the PLP case tended to conceptualise the problem as a 'public' issue of discrimination and inequality, rather than an 'academic' problem which should be dealt with by the academic community autonomously.

The counter-hegemonic viewpoints expressed by PL representatives, university managers, PCSC officers and progressive NA members convey a 'political governing narrative' through which value-seeking or interest-oriented political mobilisations were made visible. PL representatives narrated that there was no other way but the Korean state that could resolve the long-lasting problem. Conceptualising the employment relations of the Korean academy as public rather than individual, they strongly asserted that government legislation was required. Another political group – university managers

– articulated the discourse of ‘university reality’ in the public debates and so pursued problematisation of the ‘2011 HEA’ as unrealistic and failing to reflect the vulnerable financial conditions that South Korean HEIs faced. For them, the only conceivable way for addressing the problem was, again, enlarging state-responsibility. The discursive convergence towards state-centrality in managing academic affairs showed that the political discourse mobilised by PL and university representatives dominated the managerial discourse of state officers in the second and third policy phases.

Revisiting governance: the meaning of state managerialism

The results of this enquiry support the assumption of state-centrality by showing that the Korean state has maintained dominant powers in the governing of the academic field throughout its modern history. In this context, the nature and role of higher education tend to be subordinate to the national project of economic development or modernisation. The instrumental perspective on higher education, despite the emergence of a counter-hegemonic discourse emphasising the need for guaranteeing the freedom of the academic community and their self-regulation, is identified as persistent and thus embedded within the globalising strategies of the Korean government. The orders of discourse in the governing of higher education, I suggest, reflect particular power relations between the Korean state and the academy in which they are closely intertwined in nested types of mutual linkages, under the ties of which specific governing activities and practices are unfolded. My argument, in sum, is that the meaning-making practices revealed by this enquiry and conceiving the state as a ‘rule setter’, ‘university manager’ and ‘problem solver’ are, to a large extent, shared beliefs, expectations and values crystallising and constructing the nature of higher education governance in this specific context.

In considering the significance of these research findings, I suggest that attention needs to be given to my combined usage of the terms ‘state’ and ‘managerialism’, each of which has been differentially developed in the Western literature. These key words tend to represent different trajectories that Western countries have experienced in governing or managing social fields. The former conveys the image of official structure and organisation, bureaucratic coordination and authoritative policy-making which largely reflect institutional perspectives, while the latter stresses the culmination of management techniques pursuing the values of efficiency and effectiveness in public service provision. When it comes to studies of higher education governance, the recent trends of ‘new managerialism’, ‘managerialisation’ and ‘new public management (NPM)’ highlight the shifting nature of academic governance in which the tradition of academic professionalism, self-regulation and autonomy has been subjected to managerial prerogatives. This followed partly from the withdrawal of state sponsorship and the displacement of corporatist state-academy relations by managerial ones, putting HEIs and academics under the pressures of globalisation and the pursuit of the knowledge economy. This framing of developments reflects a Western context and the academic language of its associated scholarship (e.g. new governance) sustains an image of ‘fluctuating’ relations between the state and society, to which the fundamental assumptions and belief systems of higher education governance have been closely related.

The very different sets of assumptions and practices revealed by this enquiry lead me to propose that ‘state managerialism’ is a particular discursive representation of higher education governance in SK. As Clarke (2000: 9) appropriately puts it, ‘managerialism – like professionalism – defines a set of expectations, values and beliefs’. Going back to the definition of governance, this refers to certain ways by which governors steer or pilot a particular polity or its social spheres in the processes of making the rules of the game, exercising (political) powers and resolving conflicts between (groups of) actors (Daly, 2003; Kjaer, 2004; Kooiman, 2003). If we approach the term ‘governance’ more ‘culturally’ on the basis of these considerations, then higher education governance is redefined as ‘a set of expectations, values and beliefs about steering and piloting academic affairs, through the processes of which particular meaning-making patterns around rule-making, power-relations and problem-solving become real and visible’. To put it differently, analysing the cultural assemblages of SK in the governing of higher education means that I am looking for answers to such questions as: (1) who has the legitimate right to govern higher education; (2) who has the proper knowledge to govern higher education; and (3) what are the rational methods to govern higher education? In this conceptualisation, the concept of state-centrality becomes explicit in the narration of different answers from the (groups of) governing actors to these questions, as well as their discursive relations.

From this account, I propose that state-centrality is a key word highlighting the particular meaning-making patterns as well as shared practices in the Korean academy. The state apparatuses of SK intensified their political powers as a legitimate governing agency (supervisor or manager). By setting up standardised criteria governing academic affairs, the institutionalising methods were integrated with interventionist governing practices. The particular cultural assemblage justified the rationality of the state as an effective way to resolve governing problems of the Korean academy, in terms of its moral responsibility and administrative capacity.

Here, the PLP is a representative case illustrating the state-centrality in the governing of higher education in SK. In the process of defining the nature of the governing problem, all the policy communities and actors saw state-responsibility, rather than academy-responsibility as an inevitable way to resolve the problem. Convergence of managerial and political discourses in the PLP case revealed the state to be understood as the legitimate governing agency with appropriate knowledge, effective governing methods and political (or coercive) powers to implement them. The institutionalisation, rather than individualisation, of the new lecturer system thus expressed particular governing practices associated with this discursive convergence. Through these accounts, I argue that the key discursive elements of 'state managerialism' and 'state protectionism' were internalised in the discursive standpoints of governing actors who worked in the PLP case. The cultural elements of the Korean academy worked as basic units of meanings mobilised by different policy actors in the case, interacted in the public debates, and made contingent processes of the policy events.

Rethinking the (Korean) state: governing puzzles in the assemblages

In this thesis, I argued for the idea of state-centrality in understanding higher education governance by evidencing the dynamic interplay of governing discourses and power relations (or ‘orders of discourse’) in this specific policy case. The discourse of ‘state managerialism’ (SM) and its dominant position is understood as illustrating the peculiar nature of governing work in the (cultural) assemblages of the South Korean state. Here, the concepts of state power and authority are not grasped through the depiction of state apparatuses, organisations and their official functions, and thus the reification of the state, as some mainstream policy scholarship tends to do. Rather, the definition of the (Korean) state adopted in this thesis takes various elements – ideologies, values, policies, people, and practices – into consideration by analysing the ways in which the heterogeneous elements are assembled, destabilised and re-assembled in a particular time and space. In doing so, this enquiry puts emphasis on interpreting the meanings involved in political contestations of governing actors internalising, and thus mobilising discourses, in order to secure their control or legitimacy within the governing space. Consequently, tracing historically the processes by which different solutions for governing problems were developed, articulated and contested (or ‘problematisation’) is a productive research framework for explaining the particularity of the governing work in the assemblages.

The key concept of cultural assemblage and the application of the associated ideas in this enquiry offer approaches to theorising the South Korean state through illumination of historical trajectories in which the Korean state has indigenised different kinds of external pressure from transnational contexts – i.e. modernisation and globalisation. In this new theorisation, the Korean state is regarded as ‘an important but not unitary group of actors’ borrowing, mediating and translating external conditions, and therefore indigenising Western ideas in particular ways. In other words, the governing work of competing political groups (e.g. the university manager and academic profession groups), their relations with the dominant group, and the outcomes of the interplay are also considered as significant elements crystalising Korean state-ness at a historical moment. Therefore, conceptualising the state as a complex and shifting assemblage means that, in this thesis, I am also attentive to contradictions and paradoxes emerging from the processes of (re-)assembling the Korean state. I suggest that the Korean state does not exist as an objective entity, but as 'an imagined or desired entity' which is differentially internalised by governing actors. The concept of state-centrality is thus derived from a shared set of beliefs, values and expectations among policy actors, which is concretised as specific material realities – apparatuses, structures, organisations, and events – as outcomes of their discursive contestations.

Revisiting governance puzzles arising in this enquiry may be helpful in order to illuminate the contradictions and paradoxes embedded in the governing of the South Korean academy. As I analysed in Chapter 5, indigenising Western higher education governance models resulted in the construction of specific forms of 'academic professionalism' (AP): AP 'within' and 'against' the state. The co-existence of seemingly contradictory discourses highlighted the fact that two forms of managerialism were in play: 'state managerialism' which legitimised governmental interventions in academic affairs as inevitable for protection of the status of academic professionals effectively; while 'university managerialism' challenged the hegemonic discourse by asserting the 'freedom of (private) universities to manage'. The legal disputes around the PSA showed how the contradictions in the 'indigenised' governing discourses took place in the contested terrain of the higher education governing space.

In this space, every single actor is likely to be exposed to troubled situations. In the analyses in Chapter 6, state officers tended to inculcate a strong sense of duty as university managers, while they referred to the discourse of university autonomy as a golden rule. University managers insisted on the projected image of self-regulation, while they admitted it was desirable that the Korean state should be responsible in order to resolve the problem they faced. PL union leaders retained hostility towards the state and university authorities alike, however they supported institutionalised interventions by the Korean state in the employment relations of universities and academics.

The governing paradoxes unfolded through this enquiry convey the nature of ‘complexity’ and ‘fluidity’ enmeshed in the concept of the (South Korean) state as ‘cultural practice’ or ‘cultural assemblages’. The post-foundational historicisation implemented by critical discourse analysis (CDA) leads me to conceive the idea of state-centrality in the governing of higher education in South Korea as a state of temporary settlements, which needs to be presented with careful attention to the possibility of more contestations and contradictions. This is, I suggest, one of the strengths that the cultural analysis to the state and governing can offer through this investigation.

New governance? Challenges from cultural analysis

The arguments I have made so far foreground the necessity of reconsidering the assumptions embedded in mainstream policy scholarship in the Western and South Korean academy. The spread of new governance literature underpinned by neo-liberal ideas and its importation to the Korean academy rested on knowledge claims about their transformative nature in public policy making and governance – i.e. the emergence of new governing agencies, technologies, as well as the decline of sovereign territorial states. These new governing patterns have been justified within the contexts of globalisation as reflecting a worldwide political, economic and social project – namely a ‘transnational cultural environment’ or a ‘world culture’ (Meyer, 2009). However, the culturally-oriented historicisation of higher education governance in SK represented in this thesis may possibly contribute to some revision of the extent to which it is assumed that such developments ‘transfer’ into historical and cultural contexts such as the South Korean state and academy, as Steiner-Khamsi has argued, with reference to other, non-Western geo-political policy contexts, which enables us to draw attention to the ‘local meaning, adaptation, and recontextualisation of reforms that had been transferred or imported’ (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012: 4).

This thesis therefore implies that the processes and outcomes of globalisation should be understood from the perspective of so-called ‘recipients’ and not solely from the point of view of the ‘providers’. In this view, the Common World Educational Culture (CWEC) thesis propagated by the Stanford scholars (Meyer & Ramirez, 2012; Meyer, 2009) and policy convergence theories based upon policy borrowing (or transfer) may be open to criticism of the kind levelled by Dale (2000) in their lack of attention to variation based on cultural resources in certain geo-political contexts in responding to the globalising project. This attention to cultural practices and resources may, I suggest, enable more nuanced and less over-deterministic views of globalisation and, perhaps, help to question some of the a-social, culture-blind views contained in ‘global’ institutionalist scholarship.

Despite my commitment to the implications of the theoretical and methodological frameworks I adopted in this enquiry, I must also acknowledge the limitations of these approaches. It is a requirement of social research that the researcher maintains a reflexive gaze on the processes and assumptions of their research in order to maintain constant efforts to be open to alternative possibilities and to be alert to one's own conditioning and possible bias. As the topic of this research project emerged out of my professional experiences as a state officer in the South Korean government, maintaining a self-conscious and self-critical gaze was the most challenging principle throughout the research project, from identifying the research questions, developing theoretical and methodological frameworks, to collecting and analysing data. My awareness of this obligation, as reflected in my theoretical and methodological choices, contributes, I hope, to providing reassurance that I have taken these responsibilities seriously.

With these possibilities and limitations in mind, I propose that this thesis may offer new academic pathways through which global phenomena in education are able to be understood and positioned within cultural contexts, and understood through an appreciation of the importance of cultural resources to governing work. Such approaches may reveal aspects of (higher education) governance under the pressures of globalisation which have been rather neglected within the frameworks of mainstream Western literature. A renewed interest in cultural perspectives is apparent in the aftermath of growing criticism or comparative, neo-institutionalist 'world-society' models (Meyer, 2009; Meyer & Ramirez, 2012; Ramirez, 2006). Scholars are seeking new forms of analysis and investigation that increasingly seek to avoid the assumptions of world-level standardisation and global governance models that result from forms of investigation such as large scale quantitative surveys ‘commensurate with the ‘globo’-logic they involve’ (Schriewer, 2014: 97). I hope that this thesis makes a modest contribution to developing alternative theoretical and methodological tools in the field of international comparative studies in education policy research.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: CUREC approval letter

RE: CUREC Hoonhui Cho (D.Phil)
Nigel Fancourt
To:
Cc:

15 May 2013 13:41

Dear Hoonhui Cho

Application Approval

Title: The Centrality of the State in the Governing of Higher Education in South Korea: A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The above application has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants.

I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly, approval has been granted.

If your research involves participants whose ability to give free and informed consent is in question (this includes those under 18 and vulnerable adults), then it is advisable to read the following NSPCC professional reporting requirements for cases of suspected abuse

http://www.nspcc.org.uk/Inform/research/questions/reporting_child_abuse_wda74908.html

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application you should submit details to research.office@education.ox.ac.uk for consideration.

Good luck with your research study.

Yours sincerely,

MLT course leader
Department of Education
15 Norham Gardens, Oxford OX2 6PY
www.education.ox.ac.uk

Appendix 2: Sample interview questions

[State officers, university staff and part-time lecturer union representatives]

1. Starter

Name, background, position in organisation and experience or role in PLP case

2. Questions related to the ‘policy texts’

2.1. What was the rationale or purpose of the text?

2.2. When and how was it produced?

2.3. Who participated in the production of the text?

2.4. What was the basic standpoint of the text regarding PLP case?

2.5. How it has been consumed or disseminated in the PLP process?

3. Questions related to the ‘policy Actions’

3.1. What was your basic standpoint about PLP?

3.2. Which role did you play in the PLP process?

3.3. What were the relations like with other policy actors or participants?

3.4. Who was or were the most influential in the PLP process?

Appendix 3: A list of interviewees

Group	**Interviewee No**	**Position**
MEST	MEST#1	[redacted]
	MEST#2	[redacted]
	MEST#3	[redacted]
	MEST#4	[redacted]
PCSC	PCSC#1	[redacted]
	PCSC#2	[redacted]
NA	NA#1	[redacted]
	NA#2	[redacted]
	NA#3	[redacted]
PL	PL#1	[redacted]
	PL#2	[redacted]
UA	UA#1	[redacted]
	UA#2	[redacted]
	UA#3	[redacted]
	UA#4	[redacted]
	UA#5	[redacted]
	UA#6	[redacted]
	UA#7	[redacted]

Appendix 4: An exemplar of interview transcription

Interviewee: 그 당시 상황은 [redacted] 입장에서 봤을 때 어차피 우리나라의 경우에 [redacted] 수행하는 정책적 여건이나 방향에 있어서는 정치, 정치 상황이라는 외부요인, 요구 그런 걸 전혀 무시할 순 없지. 그것에 대해서 [redacted] [redacted] 차원에서는 뭔가 해결을 해 주어야 하고 할 수 있는 범위까지는 제시를 해 주어야 한다... 이런 생각을 가지고 있었어요. 그걸 해 주어야 하는 [redacted] 책무성(responsibility)이 있다 이런 생각이 있었어요. 그래서 분명히 할 수 있는 것이 있고 할 수 없는 것이 있으니까... 대학의 자율성 차원에서 대학이 할 일을 [redacted] 차원에서 할 수는 없지만 그 상황에 있어서 시간강사들의 신분을 보장해 달라 아니면 4대보험을 해 달라 아니면 시간강사들의 봉급을 높여 달라 뭐 이런 요구사항들이 엄청 많았는데 그걸 정부가 담보를 해서 해 줄 수는 없다고 생각했어요 그때는. 그렇지만 그 사람들이 정치적 세력이 되어서 요구하고 그것이 사회문제화 되었기 때문에 [redacted]에서 할 일은... 그때 상황에서 내가 생각했어요... 이 사람들이 법을 통해서 신분보장을 받을 수 있는 그 관계성... 뭐랄까... 권리자의 위치는 만들어 주어야 할 것이 아닌가... 권리자의 위치는 만들어 주되 그 법이 만들어졌다고 해서 그 사람들을 법이 보장하는 것은 아니고.. 대학이 그 사람들의 권리를 수용할 지 안 할지는 대학이 권한을 가질 수 있도록 **최소한의 법적조치**는 강구를 해 주어야 한다. 대학하고 시간강사의 상호관계, 개별적 계약관계가 형성될 수 있는 전반적인 틀, 그릇을 제시해

주는 것이 중앙부처의 일이 아니겠냐... 그런 맥락에서 일을 시작했고 그런 논지로 법 조항을 제시를 하고 그런거죠.

The circumstances at that period… anyhow, the external conditions of political situations…the demands… we can't ignore those things as government officers. I thought, at that time, we had to do something to solve the problem, suggest something as much as we could. I thought that's a duty of the Ministry (of Education, Science and Technology). [However,] there is certainly something we can do and can't… we can't do what universities are supposed to do, in terms of self-regulation of universities… there were massive demands then, for example, guaranteeing status of PLs, 4basic insurances and increasing salaries… government couldn't guarantee all of those, however, because they claimed as a political interest group and that issue became a serious social problem, the obligation of the central government, I thought then, was making certain kinds of causal relations by which their status were protected… how to say?... I should make certain status of right for them… Although we're going to elevate them to be rightful persons by means of legislation, it doesn't necessarily mean that the Act guarantees them to the full extent… we need to take the least legal action in which universities have the right to decide whether they accept it or not. The task of central government is moulding a general frame, the bowl, in which mutual relations between universities and PLs, the individualised, contractual relations are shaped…I set out work in this regard then.

Interviewer: 그게 사회통합위원회로 가면서 좀 바뀐 측면이 있는 것 같아요. 그게 처음에 [redacted]

[redacted], 근데 사회통합위원회에서 시간강사들 중재조정을 하면서 그때 거기에 (교육과학기술부가) 일원으로서 참여하신 모양새가 있었잖아요 [redacted] [redacted] 그 때 당시에는 어떠셨어요.

The perspective, I assume, changed as it moves onto PCSC. They seemed to have different ideas. They tried to coordinate in the middle of MEST and PL unions…. You, [redacted] had an idea about the issue. Then, You joined the meetings…. You and [redacted] joined them? How was it?

Interviewee: 그때 사회통합위원회가 당시에 정부측하고 시간강사들 중재조정 역할을 했는데 사회통합이라는 이름하에 그때 당시에 사회통합위원회 고건 위원장이나 이런 사람들은 현재상황에 대해서 교육부가 어떤 stance 를 가지고 어떻게 조치를 취해 나갈 것인지에 대해 방향을 발표해 달라. 그런 요구사항이었어요. 그래서 이런 정도까지는 할 수 있고 이런 정도는 할 수 없다. 뭐 그건 **행정적합리성**(administrative rationality) 맥락에서 시간강사 대책에 대해서 교육부가 할 수 있는 것의 범위내용 이런 것들을 발표를 했죠.

Interviewer: 그게 기본계획 안에 들어있었고 그게 **처우개선**(improving working conditions)이랑 **지위보장**(status guarantee, protection) 이게 두개가 갔는데 저는 이제 **교원의 지위를 부여한다 부여한다 부여한다(providing PLs with legal status)** 마치 고등교육법을 고치면 교원의 지위가 부여되는 것처럼 다들 받아들이고 있는 그런 경향이 있는 것같아요. [redacted]. 고등교육법에 강사라는 타이틀을 달아놓으면 자동적으로

교원이 되는 것처럼 인식을 시간강사도 그렇고 일반인들도 그런 인식을 가지고 있다는 느낌을 받았는데…

Interviewee: 일반적으로 시간강사라는 단체도 실제 자기들의 신분을 법적으로 보호받고 해야 한다는 목소리는 있었지만 구체적으로 법리현상 차원에서 구체적으로 어떻게 규정을 해야만 자기들이 보호를 받는지에 대해서 자기들도 모르고 있었다.

In general, PL unions articulated their voices and claims, saying their legal status should be protected. But, they didn't have any ideas about how to make legislation in order to realise or accomplish what they wanted.

막연하게 매년 한 학기 인생, 한시적인 신분적 지위보다는 보다 더 **항구적인지위**(eternal, legal status)를 보장받아야 한다는 것만 강했지 그걸 어떻게 구체적으로 실현해야 할 지에 대해서는 별개의 문제였다구 (The problem of how to attain their goals was a different matter [They didn't know how to do it])…

Interviewer: 그거를 교육부(MEST/MOE)가 **가이드라인**(guideline)을 어느정도 제시를 해 주었어야 하는 상황이었지요. 적당한선에서.

Interviewee: 일단 워낙 시간강사 협회에서 요구하는 사항들이 신분적 안정을 할 수 있도록 **법적인 이름**(legal name [as academic staff or regular professor])… 이런거에 굉장히 집착하더라구… 그래서 가시적으로… 요구사항이 그렇다면 들어줄 수 있다. **시간강사라는 말을 없애줄 수 는 있다**(We can abolish the name of Part-time Lecturer, if you request like that). 그래서 시간강사라는 이름이

없어진 거야(That's how the name of part-time lecturer was abolished [legally]). 그렇지만 시간강사라는 말을 없애지만 강사의 **신분적안정성**(the stability of their status).. 그 사람들을 몇 개월 몇 년을 임용할지는 대학이 알아서 하는 거다…

Interviewer: [redacted]. 교원의 지위는 대학이 교원이건 시간강사건 임용하는 순간 비로소 정해지는 것이지 정부가 일률적으로 정하는 것은 아니다. 그런 말씀을 하셨던 것 같은데.

Interviewee: 그래서만든거야. 대학의 교원은 기간을 정해서 임용해야 한다. 이런 **큰 원칙, 큰 임용기준(**big principle, legal framework for employment) 이런 것만 제시해야지 몇 년을 임용해라 어떻게 임용해라까지는 할 수 없는 것 아니야.

Interviewer: [redacted]. 강사법도 사실은 여러가지로 나왔는데 1 년 임용해라 월급은 얼마를 줘라 그런데 대학 입장에서는 따를 만 한 이유도 전혀 없고 굉장히 자유로운 재량이 대학에게부여된 상황이니까… 정부는 강제할 수 있는 방법도 없고… 교원확보율 어쩌구 한다고 해도… 고용을 줄여버리면 되니까.. 그래서 지금 유예법안까지 간 거 아닌가 하는 생각이 들어요.

Interviewee: 내가 지금 기억하기로는 **시간강사협회**(PL unions) 사람들이 **근시안적**(myopic)으로 당장 근시안적 문제만 해결해 달라고 해서 정부는 그걸 들어준거라고. **그 법**(the HEA)을 통해서… 그런데 그것을 실제로 적용해보니까 적용해보고 시뮬레이션을 해보니까 자기들에게 불리해져 버리더라 이거야. 신분안전 보장이 길어지면 길어질수록 총량 시간강사가 줄어들잖아. 실제로 그런 일이 일어나잖아. 그래서 지금 그게 **유예**(postponement)된거야. 대표적으로… 신분안정은 몇 사람만 확보하지 **다수의 사람은 자리를 없애고 길거리로 나 앉을 판이니까**(majority of PLs are exposed to serious job instability)… 그래서 그게 내가 봐서는 제도로서 포함시켜 줄 게 있고 안 할게 있는 것 같은데… 특히 시간강사 관련해서 **법제화**(legislation, institutionalisation)하는 경우에, **고등교육의 탄력성**(flexibility of higher education)이 엄청 없어져버리는거야 **탄력성**(flexibility)이 …

Interviewer: 이걸 모든 대학에 시행령 형식으로 적용해버리니까?

Interviewee: 학문에 있어서 고정적이냐 그렇지 않다(Academic disciplines are changing constantly. They are not static). 전임교수가 맡아야 할 과목이 있는 반면에 새로운 과목도 나오고 있고 새로운 과목이 나오거나 실험에서 적용할 과목 이런 것들이 있는데 그것은 한번 해보고 필요없으면 안 해야 될 필요성도 있는데 그런 **고등교육의 탄력성과**(the flexibility of higher education) 관련해서 전혀 움직일 수 가 없게 만들어 버리는거야… 기간을 2 년을 해버린다던지… 시간강사를 임용을 해 버리면 … 그리고 내가 봐서 이 시간강사 **이 문제의 적용범위**에 있어서 **인문사회**(human and social sciences)나

교양 영역에 있어서나 문제가 되지 자연과학(natural science)이나 공학(engineering)에 있어서는 전혀 문제가 되지않아… 이공학이나 자연과학에서 배출된 박사들이 직업대체성을 가지고 있다고 거기는 … 내가 시간강사가 아니더라도 먹고 살수가 있는거야… 대기업연구소에도 취직할 수 도 있고 … 그런 커리어패스가 많다는 거야. 그런데 인문사회쪽에는 박사를 받고 나서 가는 패스웨이가 전혀 없어. 대체할 길이 없다고. 그러니까 [redacted] 교수 티칭잡(teaching job)으로만 한 가지 목표로만 잡고있으니까 그런 인문사회 분야에서만 문제라니까…