

**Re-conceptualizing ‘educational policy transfer’:
An analysis of the Soviet and US influence on educational reforms
in the two Koreas (1945-1959)**

Sun Kim

Green Templeton College

Thesis submitted to the University of Oxford for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Michaelmas Term 2014-2015

Sun Kim (Green Templeton College, Michaelmas Term 2014-2015)

Re-conceptualizing 'educational policy transfer': An analysis of the Soviet and US influence on educational reforms in the two Koreas (1945-1959)

Abstract

The purpose of this comparative and historical study is to consider a reconceptualization of the notion of educational policy transfer, based on an analysis of how the reforms made during the Soviet and US military occupation in the two Koreas influenced the educational development of North and South Korea from 1945 to 1959. The conceptual framework for the research drew on a definition of 'policy' as a comprehensive concept comprising of policy process and practice 'on the ground,' and going beyond a rigid definition of it as a formally recorded and proclaimed statement by a government. This concept of policy enabled me to analyze the process and practice of the educational reforms from a multi-dimensional perspective, incorporating the beliefs of local actors and the bureaucracy of domestic institutions. For this purpose, historical sources including South Korean, North Korean and US government documents, magazines, newspapers, teachers' resumé and guides and the memoirs and diaries of important policy-makers were analyzed; historical documentation was complemented by expert interviews with eleven South and North Korean policy-makers and academics.

In South Korea, educational reforms were implemented to promote liberal democratic ideals in the education system. Curricular and systemic changes were made to teach democratic procedures and concepts, such as the introduction of the subject social studies, the establishment of a single-track school system, and the introduction of a student-centered pedagogy to primary schools. In North Korea, a socialist-communist ideology, along with an attraction to the Soviet Union as a model state to follow, was extensively promoted through a series of educational reforms as political indoctrination intensified in the adult education and school curricula. In both contexts, the localization of the reforms was affected by cultural and social factors unique to Korea: the authoritarian legacy of Confucianism and Japanese colonization, and the nationalism that had been fostered for the purpose of state-formation.

The Korean case indicates that the state-centric, linear and static view of educational policy transfer should be replaced by a new conceptualization which includes the complex web of decision-making and implementation processes that involve negotiations and compromises among various politicians and administrators who are driven by national as well as personal interests and goals. For example, although the educational reforms in the two Koreas were developed by Soviet and US military in order to maximize their long-term security interests in the Korean peninsula, the key actors who implemented the reforms were Korean policy-makers, who had been appointed to key positions of the educational administrations through the bureaucratic politics between the military authorities and the Korean polity. Although the overall objective of the educational reforms was to extend the ideological influences of the Soviet Union and the USA in the Korean peninsula, specific programs and policies for the reforms depended on the Korean policy-makers' understanding and interpretations of different ideologies.

Table of Contents

Note on Names and Romanization	vii
Glossary of Acronyms.....	viii
List of Tables and Figures	ix
<u>Chapter 1. Introduction to the Thesis</u>	1
Statement of Purpose and Research Questions	1
Background and Context.....	2
Traditional Confucian education during the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910)	2
Indigenous efforts for educational reform and Christian mission schools (late 19 th century to early 20 th century).....	4
Education in Korea under Japanese colonial government (1910-1945).....	7
The division of Korea: a critical historical juncture for educational development	9
Problem Statement	10
Research Approach	11
Rationale and Significance.....	12
Organization of the Thesis	13
<u>Chapter 2. Policy Transfer and Globalization.....</u>	15
Policy Borrowing and Transfer	16
Early Models of Policy Transfer/Borrowing	17
Critiques and New-Conceptualization.....	21
Questions about Globalization and Transfer.....	29
What to Compare?.....	33
Military Occupation and the Socialization of Elites	36
Bureaucratic Politics	39
Ideology.....	41
<u>Chapter 3. Modern Education and State Formation in the Two Koreas.....</u>	47
The Debate on ‘Modern’ Education.....	48
State Formation and Nationalism.....	53
The Christian Influence on Modern Education and Nationalism in Korea.....	57
<u>Chapter 4. Research Methodology</u>	66

Research Questions	66
Rationale for the Research Approach.....	68
Data Collection.....	70
Historical documentation.....	70
Interviews	74
Data Analysis	77
Historical documentation.....	77
Interviews	80
Issues of Trustworthiness	84
Ethical Concern	87
<u>Chapter 5. Context of Reform: the Cold War and the Korean Peninsula.....</u>	89
The Context of International Politics	89
The origin of the Cold War.....	89
Impact of the Cold War on the Korean peninsula	91
The Context of Korean Domestic Politics.....	95
Arrival of the US military and political strife in South Korea	95
Arrival of the Soviet military and domination of the Communist Party and Kim Il Sung in North Korea	101
<u>Chapter 6. Actors of Reforms: Selection and Control of Key Decision-Makers.....</u>	108
The Establishment of Civil Administration and Bureaucracy	108
The Formation of Educational Administrations in the Two Koreas	116
<u>Chapter 7. Actors' Roles and Motivations for Reforms</u>	133
The Characteristics of Korean Nationalism	133
Cultural nationalism and the “Minjok Kaejoron”	136
The Communist nationalist movement and the North Korean revolution.....	138
Two democracies in the two Koreas.....	139
Adoption of Liberal Democratic and Socialist-Communist Education by Korean Decision- Makers.....	142
The influence of John Dewey in South Korean education	149
Soviet ideology in North Korean education	154
<u>Chapter 8. The Practice of Educational Reforms ‘On the Ground’</u>	162
Adult education	162

South Korea	162
North Korea	165
The School System.....	171
South Korea	171
North Korea	174
Educational Administration.....	179
South Korea	179
North Korea	183
Curricular Changes.....	187
South Korea	187
North Korea	191
Teacher Training	197
South Korea	197
North Korea	204
Higher Education.....	209
South Korea	209
North Korea	219
<u>Chapter 9. Re-conceptualization of Educational Policy Transfer</u>	230
Multiple Levels of Actors	231
Security and political interests of international actors.....	233
Bureaucratic politics of domestic actors.....	234
Re-interpretation of ideologies by individual actors	234
Forces of Localization.....	236
<u>Chapter 10. Conclusion</u>	241
The Political Contexts for Educational Reforms.....	241
Actors and Their Roles in Educational Policy Transfer.....	242
Individual Actors' Motivation and Re-interpretation of Ideologies.....	243
The Practice of Educational Policy Transfer 'on the Ground'	245
Re-conceptualization of Educational Policy Transfer.....	247
Final Reflections	248
List of References.....	251
Appendices.....	297

The Procedure for Data Collection in Databases	298
Interview Protocol	301
Three Categories of Interviewees	307

Note on Names and Romanization

The Romanization of Korean names and terms follows the McCune-Reischauer system except those whose spellings have become widely known, as in the cases of Kim Il Sung and Syngman Rhee. Japanese names and terms follow the Hepburn system and are indicated with macrons for long vowels except for frequently used words like Tokyo. Korean and Japanese names are indicated in the Korean and Japanese convention: surname first and given name following. Russian names and terms follow the Library of Congress system.

Glossary of Acronyms

CPKI (Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence, *Chosŏn kŏn'guk chunbi wiwŏnhoe*)

KCP (Korean Communist Party, *Chosŏn kongsandang*)

KDP (Korea Democratic Party, *Hanmindang or Han'guk minju dang*)

KPDR (Korean People's Democratic Republic)

KPG (Korean Provisional Government, *Sanghae imsi chŏngbu*)

KPR (Korean People's Republic, *Chosŏn inmin konghwaguk*)

NKB (North Korean Bureau *Puk chosŏn pun'guk*)

NKPPC (North Korean Provisional People's Committee, *Puk chosŏn imsi inmin wiwŏnhoe*)

SCA (Soviet Civil Administration)

SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers)

SMCSP (Security Maintenance Committee for South P'yŏngan Province, *P'yŏngannamdo ch'ian yuji wiwŏnhoe*)

SPCPK (South P'yŏngan branch of the Committee for Preparation of Korean Independence, *Pyŏngannamdo kŏn'guk chunpi wiwŏnhoe*)

USAMGIK (US Army Military Government in Korea)

List of Tables and Figures

- Table 3-1.** Examples of Christian Missionary Schools in Korea
- Table 3-2.** Number of Junior Colleges and Students during the Japanese colonial rule
- Table 4-1** Example of Descriptive and Interpretive Codes
- Table 5-1.** Administrative officers in the original Seoul Preparatory Committee
- Table 5-2.** Four major groups in post-liberation Korean politics
- Table 5-3.** Members of the Committee for Preparation of Korean Independence in North Korea
- Table 5-4.** People’s Committee in each province of North Korea
- Table 6-1** Korean administrative officers in South Korea in 1947
- Table 6-2** Administrative officers in North Korea in 1947
- Table 6-3** Members of the Korean Committee on Education in South Korea
- Table 6-4** The National Committee on Educational Planning in South Korea
- Table 6-5** Korean members of the National Committee on Educational Planning (1st Bureau, Bureau of educational ideal)
- Table 6-6** Korean members of the National Committee on Educational Planning (2nd Bureau, Bureau of Education System)
- Table 6-7** Korean members of the National Committee on Educational Planning (3rd Bureau, Bureau of Educational Administration)
- Table 6-8** Backgrounds of staff in the Bureau of Education in North Korea
- Table 8-1.** Literacy trends in South Korea
- Table 8-2.** Pattern of Illiteracy Eradication by Province for the Year, 1947-1948
- Table 8-3.** Number of textbooks distributed from 15 August 1945 through June 1948
- Table 8-4.** The increase in the number of population in each school under the USAMGIK
- Table 8-5.** Seminar on Democratic Education

Table 8-6. Backgrounds of teachers in North Hamgyŏng Province in 1949

Table 8-7. Progress in Higher Education

Table 8-8. Higher educational institutions in South Korea, 1948

Table 8-9. Statistical Table on South Korean Students in United States in 1948

Table 8-10. Cadre (officer or *kanpu*) training schools in main sectors in 1948

Table 8-11. College level schools in North Korea, 1949

Table 8-12. North Korean students in the Soviet and Soviet-aligned countries

Figure 2-1. Continuum of Policy Transfer

Figure 8-1. School System in South Korea (1949-1950)

Figure 8-2. School System in North Korea after Liberation

Figure 9-1. Key Elements in the Process of Educational Policy Transfer

Figure 9-2. Elements of Localization

Chapter 1.

Introduction to the Thesis

Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

This research, through a comparative historical study of the process and practice of the educational reforms made by the Soviet and the US military governments in the two Koreas, aims to consider a re-conceptualization of educational policy transfer by uncovering the complex reality behind the term. It does so by investigating the impact of the educational reforms made by the Soviet and the US military on the educational development of the two Koreas from 1945 to 1959. It is expected that a systematic comparison of the political contexts faced by North and South Korea and the features and process of educational policy transfer from the Soviet Union and the USA to North Korea and South Korea respectively will challenge the assumption of the simple imposition of a set of policies by one country to the other and ultimately help to re-conceptualize educational policy transfer in the light of these new findings. With this purpose in mind, I devised the following main research question:

How did the reforms made by the Soviet and US military governments in the two Koreas influence the educational development of North Korea and South Korea respectively from 1945 to 1959?

Then, in order to operationalize this main research question, I developed the following subsidiary research questions:

1. What were the domestic and international political contexts at the time of the educational reforms introduced by the Soviet and US military governments?
2. Who were the actors involved in the educational reforms during the Soviet and US military regimes and what were their roles?

3. What were the actors' motivations to promote the reforms and how did their beliefs in the ideologies of the Soviet Union and the USA influence the process of the reforms?
4. How were the reforms implemented and localized 'on the ground' in North Korea and South Korea during and after the Soviet and US military regimes?

Background and Context

This section provides a historical background of Korean education in order to trace the educational culture in Korea before the arrival of the Soviet and US military governments in 1945. The description of the Korean education before 1945 includes traditional, Confucian education of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), Koreans' indigenous efforts for educational reform and Christian mission education during the late 19th and early 20th century, and Japanese colonial education (1910-1945). This will be followed by a brief description of the cultural and historical characteristics of Korean education on which the two separate education systems of North and South Korea would be founded during the respective military regimes.

Traditional Confucian education during the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910)

Korean traditional education was deeply rooted in the Chinese civilization, since China was a reservoir of philosophy, culture and religion in East Asia at the time: "the society of East Asia had all stemmed from ancient China and developed within the Chinese culture area, the area most influenced by the civilization of ancient China" (Fairbank, 1968: 1). Confucianism, in particular, had the single most important impact on Korean society as well as its education. Confucianism is known to have been introduced into Korea through China as early as the first century B.C. Confucianism triumphed in Korea when the Chosŏn dynasty adopted it as its hegemonic ideology and political orthodoxy. With the founding of the Chosŏn dynasty, Neo-Confucianism, which developed from 960 to 1269 during the Song dynasty in China, became the key cultural element which transformed society. Although

Confucianism was not completely new to people in Chosŏn, Neo-Confucianism,¹ after its adoption as the political ideology of a new dynasty, began to have a significant impact on the lives of the people (Deuchler, 1992).

Education during the Chosŏn dynasty was far more comprehensive than in the preceding dynasty, owing to the fusion between education and Confucian ideals (Choo, 1961). In the Confucian tradition, the objective of education is primarily “to produce a moral person” (*junzi*, a Confucian gentleman), with the standards of morality defined according to the vision of Neo-Confucianism. The basic guide was the Family Rites of Zhuxi (*Zhuxi jiali*), and thus education became, by and large, a means of “transmitting knowledge and a sense of honourable family tradition from one generation to the next” (Lee et al., 2000: 34). In particular, Confucianism took “the family as the most fundamental social unit” and Confucian society was a large family community in which civilized people sustained their human relationships by virtue of benevolence (*ren*) and the privileges of etiquette (*li*) (Bell, 2008: 64).

As a result of this philosophical foundation, neo-Confucianism enhanced and sustained the socio-political status quo in Korean society (Pak, 2000: 509). The founding elites or the ruling class of the new dynasty, who were called *Sadaebu* or *Yangban*, were not new “in terms of its social background - it was rooted in the traditional aristocracy - but it was new as far as its ideological training was concerned” (Deuchler, 1992: 126). Furthermore, the adaptation of Confucian social tenets changed the hierarchical order between sexes, differentiating “the proper functioning of the human order” between men and women. In the Confucian view, women’s social status was inferior to men, represented by father, husband, and even son. Most importantly, women should remain in the inner or domestic spheres throughout their lives (Deuchler, 1992: 231). Accordingly, women were not permitted to sit the civil service examination, and thus were unable to engage in public service and scholarship (Lee et al., 2000: 46).

The Chosŏn dynasty developed a meritocratic system by implementing a civil service

1 Neo-Confucianism contains both religious and philosophical elements, but it is difficult to define it as one or the other. Tu Wei-Ming explains that Neo-Confucianism has a form of philosophizing that was similar to religious commitment, so he defines Neo-Confucianism as religio-philosophy (Tu, 1978:84).

examination. The state civil service examination was highly competitive, as a design to produce Confucian elites. Although the civil service examination system was first introduced during the late Koryŏ dynasty, the Chosŏn dynasty consolidated this examination “as a means of ensuring ideological conformity and a channel of recruiting capable officials” (Yi S. M. 1981: 4-6). Although historians have not come to agreement as to whether the civil service examination was open to members of the commoner class or not, its main function was to allocate official positions among the members of the aristocratic (*Yangban*) class (Ch’oe 1974, 1987; Watanabe, 1969). The Confucian education system was deeply rooted in the civil service examination by which high ranking public officials or courtiers in the government were selected. This examination enabled the Chosŏn dynasty to formulate an institutionalized system of stratification. On the basis of the Confucian ideal of meritocracy, “a series of highly competitive examinations served as the means of selection for prestigious government positions” (Seth, 2005: 5). In other words, education in traditional Korean society was regarded “both as a means of self-cultivation and as a way to achieve status and power” (Seth, 2005: 5). Thus, traditional Korean education enabled the Chosŏn dynasty to sustain “the highly intellectual and cultural standards” of civil society and governance. The education “extended to the same higher level of sophisticated scholarly and spiritual learning with the other types of institutions” (Lee S. H., 1989: 88). However, due to its highly structured and segregated nature, formal education was generally only accessible to male and the upper echelons of society, the scholar-official class called *Yangban*.

Indigenous efforts for educational reform and Christian mission schools (late 19th century to early 20th century)

A sense of nationalism in Korea began to develop in the late 19th century in response to the threats imposed on the traditional Chosŏn Dynasty, and evolved rapidly during the 20th century. Until the 19th century, the Chosŏn dynasty was governed domestically and sustained peace internationally (Palais, 1975). In the meantime, Japan opened Korea’s door through the Treaty of Kanghwa in February 1876. King Kojong and his reform-minded advisers, such as Kim Yun-sik, Kim Hong-jip, and Ŏ Yun-jung, pursued new policies based on the principle of “Eastern morality and Western technology” (*Tongdo Sŏgi*) for “national prosperity and military strength” (*Puguk Kangbyŏng*) by implementing administrative and military reforms.

With the need for ‘modern’ technology, new schools, such as the Wŏnsan Academy (1883), the Translation School (*Tongmunhak*, 1883), and the Royal English School (*Yukyŏnggongwŏn*, 1886) were established in Korea. The School of Classical Study (*Kyŏnghakwŏn*, 1887) and the Military School (*Yŏnmukongwŏn*, 1888) followed suit.

Furthermore, a group of moderate reformers, including Kim Hong-jip, started the first state-initiated movement toward a ‘modern’² educational reform, which culminated in the Kabo Reform of 1894 (*Kabo Gaehyŏk*) (Chŏng et al., 1999). In the following year, King Kojong promulgated the *Edict on Education to Build the State* (*Kyoyuk ipguk josŏ*), which proclaimed that “the security of the court rests on the education of the people as does the strength and prosperity of our country” (*Kojong sillok*, 2 February 1895). The Kabo Reform envisioned that through the new education system, the Chosŏn Dynasty would achieve a new society and state, in which educational opportunities are open to people from all social status. Following this reform, the traditional civil service examination based on Confucian classics was abolished and new textbooks, including mathematics, international relations, and Chinese and Korean languages, were published and began to be taught in schools.

While the indigenous efforts for modern education in Korea rose towards the end of the 19th century, Christian missionaries, especially those sent from the Presbyterian congregations in the USA, helped to spread the zeal for educational reform by their extensive educational and medical work in the country. After the opening of Korea in 1876, Protestant missionaries took a lesson from a series of persecutions which Catholic priests and converts had received in Korea so, from the beginning, the Protestant mission was oriented to promoting educational and medical works as an indirect way to share the gospel with the Korean people (Park, 2000; Lee, 2002a).³ The Protestant mission began when the first American missionary, Horace Allen, landed in Korea in 1884 (Park, 2000). The impression of Korean traditional education by Protestant missionaries was as follows:

² There is a long-standing debate in Korean scholarship about what constitutes the modern education and the origin of modern schools in the Korean context. I will consider this debate in depth in Chapter 3 for critical review of ‘modern education in Korea’.

³ Lee (2000; 2002a: 51) argues that Protestantism differed from Catholicism in its initial mission approach in that Protestantism “tried to harmonize with Confucian sociopolitical orders and other traditional Korean religious culture” while actively promoting medical and educational works to win the minds and hearts of Korean people.

The subject of educational work in Korea is somewhat limited in that the native schools are few in kind and very similar...In all of these [native] schools the Chinese language only is taught, there being no schools for teaching the native language...There are no schools whatever for the education of girls (The Korean Repository vol.1, 1892: 37).

Under these circumstances, the Protestant missionaries began missionary work by founding Christian schools with the motivation of teaching Western science and technology as well as introducing biblical principles to Koreans (Kim, 1979; Lee, 2002a). Ironically, in 1884, a domestic political coup d'état, called *Kapsin Chǒng-byǒn* or *Kapsin coup*, opened a great opportunity for the Protestant missionaries to extend their medical and educational work in Korea (Kim, 1979). As a result, on 10 April 1885 the Royal hospital called Kwanghyewǒn⁴ (House of Extended Grace) was established by Allen, and the Kwanghyewǒn became the forerunner of the Severance Union Medical College, which has extensively introduced Western medicine and technology to Koreans (Lee, 2000: 100). Furthermore, in the following year, on 8 June 1886, Henry Appenzeller, another American missionary, established the Paejae Methodist School for boys. The curricula of Christian schools offered both religious and liberal education, including Bible, English, science, math, history, and other practical subjects⁵ (Lee, 2002a; Son, 1985). Most Christian mission schools were founded around this time, and, since then, Christian schools became increasingly popular among Korean students (Chǒng et al., 1999). Johns also described that “at least four million children and young people are turning early to the new education...a wide-spread movement for the new learning in Korea amounting practically to an educational revolution” (Johns, 1910: 4-5).

The most distinctive aspect of the education introduced by Christian missionaries was the educational opportunity given to women. For example, under the guidance of Mrs. Mary F. Scranton, the Methodist missionaries established Ewha School, which became the

4 Kwanghyewǒn changed its name to Chejungwǒn (Universal Helpfulness) on 26 April in the same year.

⁵ Bishop, a British traveler and writer at the time, described the curricula of Paejae School as follows: “Undoubtedly the establishment which has exercised and is exercising the most powerful educational, moral, and intellectual influence in Korea is the PaiChai College [Paejae College]. . . . It has a Chinese-En-mun [Korean letters] department, for the teaching of the Chinese classics, Sheffield’s Universal History, etc., a small theological department, and an English department, in which reading, grammar, composition, spelling, history, geography, arithmetic, and the elements of chemistry and natural philosophy are taught.” (Bishop, 1897: 388–389)

first private school for women in Korea (Bishop, 1897, Underwood, 1926; Grayson, 1985; Manabu, 2010).⁶ The missionaries' efforts for women's education in Korea intended to pave the way for the evangelistic missions in Korean society (Lee, 1989). In an article entitled "What shall we teach in our girls' schools?" in Korea Depository vol. 1, Rothweiler stated the purpose of girls' schools in Korea as follows:

Why we have girls' schools. It may be answered, to rescue girls from a life of want, vice and ignorance...what especially do we want to fit them for? We answer: To be helpmeets in building up and maintaining true homes, to be teachers of day schools, assistants in our boarding schools, to be nurses or assistants in medical work, in a word to fit them to help their sisters in Korea (The Korea Repository vol. 1, 1892: 89).

In addition to the establishment of Ewha School, many Korean women educated in missionaries' schools organized an educational movement to teach the rest of uneducated Korean women in rural and poor areas (Jayasuriya, 1983). For example, the YWCA (Young Womens Christian Association) and the Korean Women's Educational Association opened night schools throughout the country to teach the Korean language and English and to prepare young girls for higher educational institutes (Hahn, 1998). However, the Japanese annexation in 1910 brought about mixed responses from Christian missionaries and resulted in the alteration of the educational works previously sown by the Christian missionaries due to the colonization policy (Manabu, 2010).

Education in Korea under Japanese colonial government (1910-1945)

After Japan won the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) in the Korean peninsula, it began to exercise both *de jure* and *de facto* control of Korea. Japanese intervention in Korean educational matters became more visible and the Ministry of Education proclaimed a series of educational ordinances and regulations in accordance with Japanese imperial agendas. Itō Hirobumi announced Imperial School Ordinance No. 23 for common schools on 27 August 1906 to alter a Korean education system. Itō intended to control the Korean education

⁶ The educational goals of the Ewha School were stated as follows: "A girl's school in Korea is something more than a school. It is an evangelistic centre which attracts to it Korean women from the region round about...The aim of the school is to give a thorough Christian education and to make them better Korean women" (The Korea Repository vol.3, 1896: 307, 310).

systematically by dispatching a Japanese superintendent to every common and secondary school. Ordinance No. 23 shortened the length of primary schooling from six to four years and made the Ministry of Education and Office of the Resident-General prescribe all textbooks. Moreover, the Japanese language was added to the curricula of common schools (*fusū gakkō*), and closeness to Japan (*rinpo*) was emphasized in geography and history (Bang, 1972:128-129). The Resident-General declared the imperial ordinance on Korean education on 26 August 1908, introducing a centralized education system under which all private schools and academic institutions were required to register with the Ministry of Education.

Furthermore, the education system and curricula during the Japanese colonial period reflected segregated and unequal characteristics of educational policy for Koreans (Caprio, 2009: 98). According to *the Chosen Educational Ordinance and Various Attendant Regulations*, the curricula for higher common schools heavily emphasized the subject of the national language (Japanese) continuously from the beginning to the end of the schooling, and also stressed the subject of morals (*shushin*), which emphasized loyalty to a Japanese emperor (Government General of Chosen, 1912:50). With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Japanese government strengthened the assimilation policy by implementing the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement (*kokumin seishin sōdōin undō*). The term, as used by the Japanese, was Kōminka movement, which literally meant “to transform the colonial peoples into imperial subjects” (Chou, 1996: 41). As a result of the Movement, the 1938 Educational Ordinance eliminated at least a noticeable distinction between elementary schools for Koreans and for Japanese by merging the common schools (*futsu gakkō*) to national schools (*kokumin gakkō*). However, an amendment was made in order to introduce military training to all Korean secondary schools in accordance with the Laws Concerning Army Special Volunteers (Henderson, 1968: 104; Michinori 1943: 12). As a result, from 1939 to 1945, some 800,000 Korean youth were drafted into the Japanese Army, and another 250,000 Koreans went to Japan chiefly as labourers in mines and, in the process, the educational institutes in Korea became chief instruments to widen the conscription for the war.

In evaluating the education in Korea under Japanese colonial rule, some scholars argue that the Japanese made an important contribution to Korean education, as indicated by

the noticeable expansion of elementary education (Passin, 1965; Glazer, 1976). For example, although the chief aim of the education was Japanization, schools in rural areas enabled Korean students to receive general and vocational education, including training for skilled workers (McGinn et al. 1980: 82). However, others beg to differ, arguing that Korean education under the Japanese colonial rule was merely a process of denationalization and brainwashing, which created bitter resentment among the Koreans. For example, the number of private schools decreased dramatically and the opportunities to progress beyond primary education were severely restricted for Koreans (Oh and Kim, 2000: 77-79). In other words, in their view, Japanese colonial education itself was not for Koreans, but for the Japanese state to which Koreans became involuntarily subject. Despite the differences of opinions, as McGinn et al. (1980: 84) argue, the Japanese left behind “a set of academic traditions and practices,” which influence the Korean education system even today.

The division of Korea: a critical historical juncture for educational development

The above description of Korean education history before 1945 indicates several dominant characteristics of Korean education. The intensive focus on examination, rote-learning, and philosophical and intellectual exercises had already been strongly ingrained in Korean culture, especially due to the Confucian educational tradition which lasted for six hundred years. Although Christian missionaries extensively introduced ‘new’ education incorporating Western, scientific knowledge to Koreans and, based upon their democratic ideals, expanded educational opportunities for women and poor people, the conservative and authoritarian characteristics of education in Korea intensified with Japanese colonization as the Japanese used schools as a means to implement their imperial agendas. Japanese colonial education had a lasting impact on Korean education by imprinting an authoritarian legacy in the structure, policies and administration of the education system as well as in the hearts and minds of teachers and students.

In 1945 Korea was divided into two Koreas, followed by three years of military occupation by the Soviet Union and the USA in North and South Korea respectively during the onset of the Cold War when the ideological battles were the most acute. It was within this authoritarian educational environment and culture in which the two Koreas were created and

the socialist-communist Soviet Union and the liberal democratic USA introduced their own ideologies and morals into the Korean education system. Because of the divergence of ideologies of the two occupying powers, North and South Korea underwent very different trajectories of educational development with the large-scale reforms conducted by the Soviet and the US military governments in the two Koreas. Although the military regimes lasted only three years, they had major impacts on the education systems of North and South Korea (Ham, 1984; Ch'oe, 1987; Kang, 1991; Puk Chosŏn Nodongdang, 1995).

Problem Statement

Although the two Koreas experienced similar formative years of military occupation up to 1948, there has been an imbalance in terms of scholarly and media attention to their education systems. Education in South Korea has been highlighted in recent years because of its remarkable economic success (Sorensen, 1994; McGinn et al., 1980; Lee, 2001). By contrast, the education system of North Korea has been relatively neglected by scholars, partly due to the closed nature of the North Korean society and government in its past and present forms. However, the education system of a country cannot be judged or evaluated solely on the basis of its contribution to the economic achievements of the country. Thus, after my preliminary study on the education systems of the two Koreas during the MSc research, I came to ask the following questions: Should the education system of North Korea be judged solely or primarily on the basis of its economic impact on its society and people? If not, what were the non-economic impacts or factors that mattered in the establishment of the education system of North Korea and how did the military occupation by the Soviet Union influence the education system of North Korea? I applied the same questions to South Korea as I came to think about the long-term impact of the Soviet and US military regimes on the Korean society and people during their formative years, which resulted in two separate nation-states with radically different ideological, philosophical and cultural outlooks. It was within this context that I decided to examine the formative years of North and South Korea from a comparative, historical angle: in particular how the educational reforms made during the Soviet and US military regimes influenced the establishment and development of the separate education systems of the two Koreas.

Furthermore, due to the nature of military occupation, one might assume that large-

scale reforms made by the Soviet and the US military governments in the two Koreas had been cases of the simple imposition of a set of policies by the two superpowers into the two Koreas. For example, Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) argue that coercive transfer occurs when an organization, a country or supranational body imposes policy adoption or implementation on the other organization or country. Cases of coercive transfer were widely recognized by scholars through other names such as “external inducement” (Ikenberry, 1990) and “penetration” (Bennett, 1991). However, this assumption needs to be tested by a detailed analysis of decision-making processes to their implementation, as experienced by Korean actors and the public and localized on the ground. In particular, the concept of educational policy transfer may be revised by including the relationship between political contexts and educational policy-making, the effects of educational policy transfer on educational reform and development, and the roles and motivations of actors in the process of educational policy transfer. The empirical findings from the Korean case, with analysis based on a robust conceptual framework, may yield critical insights to help in re-conceptualizing educational policy transfer.

Research Approach

This research is a comparative historical study which generated qualitative data. Historical, archival studies were the main research method, complemented by expert interviews. I studied archival materials from libraries and governmental institutions in South Korea, the USA and Japan and conducted expert interviews with 11 professors, policy-makers and individuals who had been educated in North and South Korea during 1945-1959. As key sources for investigation, I collected North and South Korean, US and Soviet governmental documents and publications on Korean education systems, Korean educational history and educational policy transfer. In order to incorporate aspects of implementation and localization of educational policy transfer, I also analyzed other archival materials such as the letters and reports of policy-makers who were involved with the educational reforms, the resumés and autobiographies of teachers, textbooks and teachers’ guides. A critical review of the relevant literature helped me to develop the conceptual framework and the two data collection methods.

Rationale and Significance

There are three rationales in carrying out this research, which in turn help to place this research in a larger context of educational research and policy. First, the research is interdisciplinary and combines theories from politics, history and educational studies, analysing the educational phenomena from multiple perspectives. This is in line with the point raised by Weiss (1995: 137):

People in the field of education have a tendency to think that their experiences are unique. Because of special mission, content, institutions and history of education, we concentrate on those things that set us apart from other fields. When we worry about whether educational research is having appropriate influence on educational policy, we generally limit our attention to conditions inside education. By placing education within this larger context, perhaps we can gain new insights.

In doing so, this research seeks to provide new insights into educational research and policy by applying theories from public policy, international relations, and history to the discourses of educational policy transfer in comparative education. In particular, theories from public policy and international relations can shed light on a broader interplay between globalization and domestic politics – how a globalizing force is translated into domestic political discourse and bureaucracy. Utilizing theories from different disciplines, this research tries to complement the weaknesses of each theory and give a robust theoretical foundation to analyze the proposed topic of educational reforms in the two Koreas and examine the concept of educational policy transfer.

Second, this research aims to promote mutual understanding between Western and Korean academics and policy-makers by providing critical insights into the practice, policy and public understanding of educational development in the local contexts of the two Koreas. As noted before, this research concerns the educational reforms made by the two superpowers during the Cold War in relation to the two Koreas. Brown (1999: 19) suggests “to carefully trial and evaluate any suggested translation of practice from one country to another,” and this point is particularly relevant between countries of very different cultural and ideological

traditions and ‘unbalanced’ power. In this regard, the study of the educational reforms made by the Soviet and the US military in the two Koreas can also make a contribution to educational research and policy by providing insights which help us to understand the process and practice of certain policies imposed by other countries, as translated and localized ‘on the ground.’ In doing so, this research aims to examine the concept and nature of policy transfer by incorporating different levels of analysis including domestic bureaucratic politics, actors (or agents) of transfer, and their ideas and beliefs.

A final rationale for this research was drawn from my personal motivation to explore the differences between North and South Korean education and understand how these differences came about. To find an answer, a natural course of action for me was to trace back to the origin of the problems - about how the division of the two Koreas started and how the divided Koreas developed education in the process of state formation. Furthermore, in choosing a historical approach to deal with this question, I took into account the point made by Durant and Durant (2012: 3) in their book, *The Lessons of History*: “The present is the past rolled up for action, and the past is the present unrolled for understanding.” Through the study of educational histories experienced by North and South Korea after the division by the Soviet Union and the USA, I hope to gather insights for understanding the present that concerns the educational differences of the two Koreas and to find my own small place in preparing actions for the future to bridge the differences.

Organization of the Thesis

The first four chapters of the thesis provide a historical, theoretical and methodological background for this research. Chapter 2 reviews and criticizes the relevant studies related to educational policy transfer and establishes a conceptual framework for this research by utilizing theories of military occupation, bureaucratic politics and ideology. Chapter 3 provides a literature review on Korean scholarship, examining the literature of modern education, state formation, and Christian influence on education in Korea in an attempt to illustrate the perspectives of Korean scholars on this topic, not only on the historical and cultural characteristics but also on theoretical and methodological issues. Chapter 4 explains the research design and methodology, adopting historical documentation

and expert interviews as two main research methods.

The next four chapters present the findings of the study. Chapter 5 focuses on the political contexts that surrounded the reforms made during the Soviet and US military regimes, analyzing the Cold War dynamics in the Far Eastern region and the Korean peninsula and the nature of the Soviet and US military regimes in North Korea and South Korea respectively. Chapter 6 identifies the actors who were involved in the reforms and investigates their roles by looking into how Korean decision-makers were selected by the two superpowers in the respective educational administrations of the Soviet and the US military governments in order to carry out the educational policy transfer from the two superpowers into the two Koreas. Chapter 7 expands the theme of actors, this time investigating the motivations of the key decision-makers in the educational administrations to implement the reforms in the two Koreas, both of which were undergoing a critical stage of state formation during the period, 1945-1959. Chapter 8 concerns the process and practice of the reforms in order to investigate how the educational policy transfer is localized 'on the ground,' examining the reforms made in the areas of adult education, teacher training, curricular changes, school system, educational administration and higher education.

Chapter 9 draws theoretical implications from the findings of the Korean cases for a broader discourse and debate on educational policy transfer, and re-considers the conceptualization of educational policy transfer, based on the Korean case. A conclusion chapter summarizes the findings and indicates the contribution of the research to the theoretical discourses on educational policy transfer.

Chapter 2.

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework: Policy Transfer and Globalization

Introduction

This critical review explores the ways in which the concept of policy transfer has been used by scholars in educational studies and political science, and the critiques and challenges received by the concept in recent years. This review aims to draw conceptual elements of policy transfer that are culturally and empirically fit for the contexts of the two Koreas. The concept of ‘policy transfer’ also influences the choice regarding the overall meaning of ‘policy’ that is applied in this research so the definition of policy employed by this research will be explicated at the end of this chapter. In light of this, the literature on policy transfer/borrowing in various fields of comparative enquiry including comparative education, public policy, comparative politics and sociology was reviewed in order to critically engage with the concept of educational policy transfer. The critical review covers literature from various disciplines since the literature on policy transfer in non-educational disciplines such as comparative politics deals more extensively with ‘extreme’ conditions and relations of countries such as colonization and military occupation in both international and domestic arena. This is in line with Steiner-Khamsi’s call to establish linkages between comparative education and policy studies. In particular, she (2012a: 4) argues that “interaction between the two fields is mutually beneficial, and helps to compensate for some of the conceptual shortcomings of research traditions in each.” This point was also shared in Morris’ (2013) critique of scholars in comparative education engaging with educational policy transfer/borrowing debate that such debate can benefit from related theories in political science and comparative policy studies.

Moreover, the recent debate on globalization in comparative education was reviewed in order to reflect the conceptual shift from transfer/borrowing to convergence/diffusion in comparative education. This recent conceptual shift coincided with a methodological innovation in comparative education, and, for this purpose, new conceptual tools developed by Carney (2009) and Cowen (2009) were reviewed in detail to yield methodological insights

for this research. The critical review on policy transfer/borrowing, globalization, and methodological innovation in comparative education yielded three aspects of policy transfer that need to be scrutinized to analyze the educational reforms conducted by the Soviet and US military in the two Koreas: (i) military occupation, (ii) bureaucratic politics and (iii) ideology. In particular, the review of literature on military occupation helped me to assess the broad interplay between military power and domestic politics; literature on bureaucratic politics informed me to identify the main actors of the educational reforms; and literature on ideology helped me to assess the actors' roles and motivations in promoting the reforms.

To conduct this literature review, I used multiple information sources, including books, dissertations, Internet resources, professional journals and periodicals. I accessed these through Seoul National University Library, Yonsei University Library, Incheon National University Library, ChungAng University Library, National Library of Korea, South Korean Library of Congress, Korea Education and Research Information Service (KERIS), DataBase Periodical Information Academic (DBpia), and Korean Studies Information Service (KISS), Google Scholar, and Search Oxford Libraries Online (SOLO). I selected key words for my search from my main research question, and used my knowledge in comparative education and educational development to identify key themes in educational studies and political science and to choose related words for expanded searches. After identifying the key words, I entered North and South Korea, in addition to the key words, in order to find relevant literature on the topic, which was specifically focused on Korea. Throughout the review, I tried to identify patterns in particular lines of the literature as and when they became apparent. Also, I did not delimit a time frame to conduct this search since, because my research attempts to analyze the concept of educational policy transfer from a broad historical development, an arbitrary time frame might have precluded the review of relevant material.

Policy Borrowing and Transfer⁷

⁷ The two terms, policy borrowing and policy transfer, are used interchangeably in educational fields (see Steiner-Khamsi (2012a) and Eta (2015)). The term, educational policy borrowing, is originated from educational studies so scholars in comparative education use this term more extensively (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012a). Whereas policy borrowing mostly focuses on the voluntary cases, policy transfer deals with both coercive and voluntary cases. Since this research is concerned with the intersection

Early Models of Policy Transfer/Borrowing

Before reviewing the ‘policy transfer/borrowing’ debate, it is important to clarify the meaning of policy transfer in light of other expressions since with the surge of literature on the issue, the term ‘transfer’ has often been confused with diffusion, convergence and learning. First, transfer differs from diffusion in that the latter necessitates a single origin or source, usually a national government, and a common, social system within geographical and ideological proximity (Berry and Berry, 1999; Stone, 2004). The policy-diffusion literature was first developed in the USA in an attempt to analyse the process of policy diffusion across the federal system. In contrast, the transfer literature focuses on “decision-making dynamics internal to political systems and to address the role of agency in transfer processes...with the contested politics of who gets what policy” (Stone, 2004: 547). Second, policy transfer distinguishes itself from policy convergence. According to convergence theory, the globalizing force of regional and international organizations and standards leads different countries to conform to similar social, economic and political patterns through “the institutional isomorphism” (Stone, 2001: 5). In contrast, transfer emphasizes “the logic of choice in selection of policy ideas, the interpretation of circumstances or environment and (bounded) rationality in imitation, copying and modification by decision-makers” (Stone, 2004: 547). Lastly, transfer differs from “lesson-drawing” (Rose, 1993) in that lesson-drawing is “a deliberate attempt to adjust the goals or techniques of policy in the light of past experiences and new information,” and “learning is indicated when policy changes as the result of such a process” (Hall, 1990: 5). When faced with dissatisfaction in current policy measures, policy-makers attempt to draw lessons by spending more time on the problematic issues, looking at the past experiences, records or experiences of his/her peers, and even contacting policy-makers in other countries (Rose, 1991). In this sense, the process of lesson-drawing is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for policy transfer.

The seminal work that pertains to the nature of policy transfer, which brought heated

between international and domestic political influence and educational development, and also deals with a coercive case, it will use the term, ‘educational policy transfer’ instead of ‘educational policy borrowing’ in order to draw insights from and contribute to both educational studies and politics.

debates among public policy and comparative politics scholars was that of Dolowitz and Marsh (1996). Dolowitz and Marsh (1996: 357) define 'policy transfer' as "the process by which actors borrow policies developed in one setting to develop programs and policies within another." According to this view, policy transfer becomes the process in which country A adopts a policy from country B either by force or voluntarily, and, in the process, policy-makers of country A can draw lessons from policies or experiences of country B in making reforms of their own government or institutions. In particular, Dolowitz and Marsh's (2000) model on 'policy transfer' attempts to link the mechanism of transfer with the decision maker's rational capacity and is applied in broader discourses of international politics. According to the continuum in Figure 2-1, on the far left lies a lesson-drawing process of policy-makers with perfect rationality. The decision-maker thinks, "Where country X is today, we hope to be tomorrow. Their present is meant to become our future." Based on this speculation, s/he combines "empirical evidence about how and why a program works in country X, with hypotheses about its likely success or failure in country Y" (Rose, 1991: 23). In the middle ground, voluntary transfer is situated and this process occurs when the decision-maker is dissatisfied with existing domestic policy and engages with policy transfer abroad in order to see how other countries have solved similar problems and to seek ideas for innovation. The voluntary transfer usually occurs during a state of crisis such as a change in political values and the policy environment.

Figure 2-1. Continuum of Policy Transfer (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000)

forming and reforming educational policies at local, national and international levels. Scholars such as Schriewer (1990) and Steiner-Khamsi (2007) argue that in making and reforming their educational policies, states first resort to their own past experiences or experiences of other sectors of government before borrowing from other states. Only when they exhaust their own capacity, do states look for the experiences of other states (Schriewer, 1990). This process is called externalization, and is also restricted and modified by different contextual elements affected by domestic politics and bureaucratic procedure (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Phillips, 2009). In particular, Steiner-Khamsi (2007) argues that externalization occurs mainly for two purposes. Policy-makers cite cross-national analysis in order to justify and frame their own policy proposals. Or, they ‘selectively’ borrow some features of an effective educational system ranked high in international evaluation. According to this view, the impact of educational policy transfer is limited in that it mainly remains in the level of policy ‘text’ or ‘discourse’ (Ball, 1993), and even the externalizing potential heavily depends on the socio-logic of local political needs.

According to these models, the politics of educational change comes into play in two levels. The first level is a globalizing force for educational change. Then, it comes down to the second level - a domestic political contexts and actors, which also affect externalizing potential for educational policy transfer. For the first level of analysis concerning the international political contexts which promote such transfer, most scholars agree that the consideration of international political contexts is significant in discussing varying conditions of educational policy transfer. In order to investigate the political contexts that pertain to the dynamics of educational policy borrowing, Phillips’s (2009) ‘spectrum of educational policy transfer’ presents different kinds of policy transfer, specifically focusing on the educational field. For the second level of analysis which pertains to the domestic political contexts and actors, scholars propose different measures to assess as to how these domestic contexts and actors are incorporated into the analysis of educational policy transfer. For instance, Phillips (2004) illustrates the examples of domestic contexts which stimulate cross-national attraction - political change; internal dissatisfaction with educational provision felt by parents, students and administrators; negative evaluation from international organizations such as PISA results; and international/globalizing pressure such as the Bologna Process. Also, contextual interactions affect the stage and process of policy development and the prospect for policy

implementation. Based on this analysis, Phillips and Ochs (2003) provide an analytical model to assess the process of educational policy transfer into four stages: (i) cross-national attraction, (ii) decision-making, (iii) implementation, and (iv) internalization.

However, the Phillips and Ochs (2003) and Dolowitz and Marsh's (2000) models on 'policy transfer or borrowing,' although acknowledging the need to analyse both international and domestic contexts, have the following problems. These models are unidirectional and the level of analysis primarily remains at the nation-state. In many cases, policy transfer occurs in a number of national contexts, in a form of amalgamation. Also, in order for the transfer to occur according to prescribed stages, a fundamental assumption is necessary - that the transfer is promoted by a perfectly rational decision-maker or an institutional actor who oversees and manages the whole transfer process. However, this assumption is very difficult to hold in reality.

Critiques and New-Conceptualization

The issues of domestic political and educational dynamics (e.g. what constitute the domestic political and educational dynamics and to what extent these domestic dynamics affect the process of educational policy transfer) have engendered heated debates among education scholars and political scientists on the nature of policy transfer. Some of them argue that the concept of policy transfer should incorporate more extensively the localization and indigenization process of the policies that are imposed or adopted from other countries, thereby insisting that the term, 'transfer,' needs to be changed into 'translation' or 'transformation' (Johnson and Hagström, 2005; Cowen, 2006; Prince, 2009; Freeman, 2009; Peck, 2011; Clarke et al., 2015).

To provide a more fundamental conceptualization of policy transfer, McCann and Ward (2012: 325) indicate "the distinction between the rational-formalist tradition of work on policy transfer, rooted in political science, and social-constructivist approaches emerging across other social science disciplines." In other words, scholars in the social-constructivist approaches challenge the assumption held by 'transfer' theorists (i.e. a 'state-centric' view of a linear, mechanical transplantation of one policy from country A to country B), and propose to widen and deepen analytical foci by incorporating wider socio-cultural factors of different

localities (Clarke et al., 2015). In particular, Clarke et al. (2015: 35) argue that the notion of translation better captures the multiplicity of policies in that it includes various ‘turns’ in policy studies including “the ‘interpretive’, ‘constructionist/constructivist’, ‘linguistic’, ‘cultural’ and ‘discursive’ turns.” In a nutshell, the critiques of early models of policy transfer/borrowing cover the following four areas: agency of transfer, time of transfer, influence of cultural heritage, and the extent of shape-shifting in the process of transfer.

Firstly, agency of transfer has been given an increasing analytical scrutiny in recent years by scholars in both educational studies and political science. For example, Stone (2004) argues that the agents of transfer involve more than nation-states, and include international organizations and non-state actors such as trans-national think tanks. Accordingly, the agents of transfer are diversified by the increasing participation of international organizations and transnational actors. At the same time, the roles of local actors in translating and transforming the borrowed policies, so as to fit them to their local settings and contexts, have received an increasing scholarly attention in recent years. For example, Gardiner (2015), having conducted in-depth interviews with local Albanian experts who contributed to the educational reforms in the post-communist Albania, introduces the concept of ‘in-between’ actors who act as a bridge between international organizations and local and national institutions. Based on this Albanian case, Gardiner (2015: 289) argues that the conceptual focus on ‘in-between’ actors enables a “meso-scopic perspective” that incorporates both global and local forces in the analysis of policy transfer process. Steiner-Khamisi’s (2012a: 10) argument is in line with this point in that the focus on local agency provides an essential tool to analyse the local policy settings that deem essential to understand “the agency, rationale, and impact, of policy transfer.”

The emphasis on multi-faceted and resistant aspects of local actors and contexts is also shared by Rappleye, Imoto and Horiguchi (2011) who suggest taking a fresh method to analyse the varied responses of the local actors. In particular, they propose to take a ‘thick description’ approach to describe and investigate “the lived worlds” of the actors participating in the educational policy transfer but also “the structural constraints” that surround the operation of the reforms. This approach, they believe, would help replace the static and linear understanding of educational policy transfer with one that reflects the more discordant and complex reality of the transfer. In fact, many Korean scholars focused on analysing the roles

and backgrounds of local actors in enabling policy transfer from the USA to South Korea, especially during the US military regime when the transfer was the most active due to the nature of the regime (Lee S. Y., 2011; An, 2009; Yi, G. S., 1992; Han and Kim, 1990; Han, 1986). In particular, much of the Korean literature produced on this topic since the 1980s includes at least a section, if not more, that focuses on the agency of Korean actors in making educational reforms during the US occupation era (Kim, Y. I., 1994; Kim, I. H., 1994, Lee, K. H. 1990, Chōng et al., 1999, Han and Kim, 2001). This trend signifies an increasing awareness, among Korean scholars, of local actors and contexts in analyzing the process and practice of educational policy transfer from the USA to South Korea.

However, despite the increasing awareness of the roles of Korean actors, their perspectives on these actors' roles and motivations are similar. For example, they use the same term, 'leading Korean education power' (*Hankuk Kyoyuk Chudo Seryōk*) to refer to the group of Korean administrators and leaders who were affiliated with the US military government (Lee S. Y., 2011; An, 2009; Lee K. H., 1990; Yi, G. S., 1992; Lee K. H., 1983). These scholars share a negative view of the Korean actors, arguing that the Koreans decided to join or support the US military government to maintain their elite status within the Korean society and this matched the US aspirations to assimilate the Korean elites. However, such a simplistic characterization of a group of people, without giving any due thought to the complexity of political and social circumstances facing them at the time and both the external and inner struggles they had to get through, puts one in danger of 'stigmatizing' historical figures as well as historical moments as simply positive or negative. More in-depth focus on agency and actors will bring out the details of their lives and beliefs, and negate a simplistic categorization of phenomena and figures based on a certain theoretical perspective.

The second line of critique towards the static models of educational policy transfer focuses on the issues of 'time,' arguing that the period from the time of transfer to that of adoption and implementation 'on the ground' should be considered in order to assess how much impact the initial transfer from the foreign countries or organizations can create 'on the ground.' For example, Dussage-Laguna (2013: 686-687) argues that the process of policy transfer takes a long period of time and thus the agents/agency at the time of the policy transfer are often changed into different persons or institutions at the time of implementation:

“As a result, the borrowing process ultimately produces something rather different from the original, and not simply an “edited” copy, a functional adaptation, or a culturally/institutionally fitted version.” This is in line with Steiner-Khami’s recent (2012b) theoretical model on ‘educational policy borrowing,’ which was based on the study of Mongolian teacher salary reform. She expands her theoretical framework on educational policy borrowing by adding the ‘notion of time change,’ and argues that policy under international or foreign pressures is adopted and adapted to the local contexts only when it “resonates” with the particular local context. Moreover, the borrowed policy has to go through a continuous process of re-interpretation and re-translation ‘over time’ for its implementation on the ground. Accordingly, the concepts of reception (why certain policies were ‘selectively’ borrowed by policy-makers for their reforms) and translation (the local adaptations of imported policies) need to be included to understand the localization process of the borrowed policies over time (Steiner-Khami, 2012b).

The transformative process in which the borrowed policies change ‘over time’ is also recognized by several Korean scholars who have analyzed cases of Soviet educational policy transfer to North Korea. In particular, Kim K. S. (2011) insists that the establishment of the education system be viewed in light of “the power of society in transforming citizens’ personalities and the unique characteristics of a societal system” and that future research should focus on “analyzing the complex mechanisms behind the formation process of a society, education and personalities of citizens in North Korea” (Kim K. S., 1999). In a similar vein, several studies were conducted, focusing on the formation of a North Korean state and the contributions which the education system made to the establishment of the people and culture of Democratic People’s Republic of Korea in the post-war period (Sin, 2001, 2003, 2005; Yi H. K., 1999, 2000; Cho, 2003). For example, the analysis by Yi H. K. (1999, 2000) of war-procured documents on North Korean education by the US military (e.g. teachers’ resumes and individual schools’ plenary meeting records) illustrates how the intensive communist education of North Korea produced the ideological transformations of its citizens into ‘Socialist Men.’

Another important line of critique of the linear model of policy transfer/borrowing concerns the continuity of cultural heritage⁹ in resisting the transfer and/or changing the shape of the transferred policy. For example, Tan's (2015) analysis of cultural scripts for teaching in China highlights the importance of philosophical or core beliefs which lay the foundations of a country's culture and national identity, and the continuing influences of these beliefs and cultural heritage in mediating educational policy transfer and its local adaptation in the country. Accordingly, the epistemological foundation of a country (i.e. dominant worldview) should be considered as an essential element in assessing the process of transfer (Tan, 2015). Cho's (2014) analysis on higher education reform in South Korea also highlights the importance of cultural practices and resources in mediating the global convergence pressures into the local contexts of South Korea. Instead of adopting state-centered and society-centered approaches to governance that are mostly based on Western conceptions of state and society, Cho (2014: 223) proposes a culturally based definition of higher education governance that is specific to the culture and history of South Korea: "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." Such a fluid and complex understanding of governance enables him to investigate the process of globalization and convergence from "the perspective of so-called 'recipients' and not solely from the point of view of the 'providers'" and take a "more nuanced and less over-deterministic views of globalization" (Cho, 2014: 228).

Similarly, Schwinn (2012) also emphasizes the importance of the social and cultural heritage of countries and societies in shaping and influencing the forms of modern institutions as well as the lifestyles of actors within the societies. In particular, the forms and functions of modern institutions, although established under foreign or international pressures, are determined primarily in accordance with the cultural norms and values of particular countries, which constitute the overall worldview of a country or society. It is so mainly because these norms and values give sources of legitimation in implementing such 'modern' institutions

⁹ Different scholars propose different terms for cultural heritage: 'cultural traits' for Inglehart and Baker (2000: 22), 'cultural legacy' for Schwinn (2012: 534), 'civilizational patterns' for Hamilton (1994: 184). I will use the term, 'cultural heritage', since it is broader in meaning than legacy which generally connotes inheritance left to a person, and emphasizes the element left from the 'past,' a meaning that cannot be captured well by terms such as 'traits' or 'patterns.'

within a country (Schwinn, 2012). To give an example, Schwinn (2012) makes a comparison of the developments of capitalist markets and social policy institutions in the countries of Confucian heritage. He (2012: 536) argues that whereas the capitalist market and personal work ethics promoted by Confucianism such as “industriousness, discipline, desire to be educated and eagerness for promotion” match well, such legitimation process is lacking in the field of social policy. Confucian values do not put social policy at the centre of political discourse and enactment and the core concepts of social policy depend on the concept of justice that has been formed out of Christian heritage (Schwinn, 2012).

The final line of critique of the linear model of policy transfer/borrowing centres on the issues of shape-shifting in the process of transfer. Peck and Theodore (2001: 9) challenge the literalism that is inherent in the discourse of ‘policy transfer’ theorists, arguing that the implicit literalism indicates the transplantation of fully packaged, “off-the-shelf policies,” from country A to country B, whereas in reality the process is “much more complex, selective, and multilateral.” This issue is particularly important since the transfer involves not only the movement of people, but also the flow of ideas and the conceptions about societies (Cowen, 2009b: 318). The notion of ‘shape-shifting,’ that occurs in the process of transfer was captured in Cowen (2009b: 317)’s famous phrase - “as it moves, it morphs” - signifying the travelling and transforming of reforms, ideas and social phenomena internationally. This phrase essentially summarizes the *theoretical problematic* with which he challenges other scholars in comparative education: to investigate “what happens as ideas and practices move or flow across boundaries and then how they undergo change or transformation in their new settings” (Larsen, 2010: 8). The extent and process of shape-shifting are again captured by scholars who focus on the cases that involve the transfers of liberal educational policies into the countries of authoritarian cultures (Soltys, 2015; Tomusk, 2011; Han and Kim, 1990). These scholars point out the unanticipated problems encountered when liberal educational policies from abroad enter into the countries of authoritarian cultures. In particular, Han and Kim (1990: 145) argue that the transfer of ‘democratic education’ by the US military government, after “connected and synthesized with Korean paternalistic authoritarianism,” intensified a bureaucratic, statist education system in South Korea. This was the case since the elements of the democratic education were selected and manipulated by the US military authorities and

Korean administrators, whose main purpose of the transfer was the maintenance of their power bases in the Korean peninsula.

Thus, Johnson and Hagström (2005: 370) propose to replace the concept of ‘policy transfer’ with “an imitation process where meaning is constructed by temporally and spatially disembedding policy ideas from their previous context and using them as a model for altered political structures in a new context.” This new conceptualization is closely related with newly coined expressions such as ‘policy assemblages, mobilities and mutations’ (McCann and Ward, 2012). For example, policy assemblage is driven by both human and non-human actors such as “texts, practices and experts travelling on often transnational networks” (Prince, 2010: 9). In particular, Clarke et al. (2015) argue that policies are ‘assembled’ from heterogeneous elements such as people, objects (e.g. guidance documents, computers), places (e.g. officially defined territories, buildings), and different types of texts (e.g. manifestoes, media commentaries). Furthermore, the process of assemblage involves different kinds of work, as illustrated in the following:

The types of labour include: the cultural work of imagination – the problematizing, appropriation or borrowing of other policy framings, discourses and themes; the political work of articulation – vocalizing or ventriloquizing different perspectives, building alliances, and aligning interests and constituencies; the organizational work of coordination – crafting the discourses, techniques and technologies that try to ensure implementation, compliance and commitment; and, not least for our purposes, the work of translating – giving the policy life and meaning as it moves from context to context (Clarke et al., 2015: 32).

In this respect, the notion of ‘policy assemblage’ is closely related to the process of translation in that it acknowledges “the interrelation of discourse and agency” (Newton, 1996: 731), “messiness and complexity of policy processes” (Shore and Wright, 2011: 8), and ultimately pushes our attention to “a battle between competing interpretations vying for supremacy” (Johnson and Hagström, 2005: 375). In other words, the process of translation involves the local adaptation of imported reforms and renders insights to analyse the political dynamics within the process including not only “what gets transferred” but also “who gets to translate and who the losers and winners are within the travels of a particular policy” (Clarke et al., 2015: 48). The notion of shape-shifting and mobility had already been considered by Cowen (2006: 256) who divided the process into three categories of ‘transfer’, ‘translation’ and

‘transformation,’ as follows:

- (a) Transfer is the movement of an educational idea or practice in supra-national or trans-national or inter-national space: the ‘space-gate’ moment, with its politics of attraction and so on;
- (b) Translation is the shape-shifting of educational institutions or the re-interpretation of educational ideas which routinely occurs with the transfer in space: ‘the chameleon process’; and
- (c) Transformations are the metamorphoses which the compression of social and economic power into education in the new context imposes on the initial translation: that is, a range of transformations which cover both the indigenisation and the extinction of the translated form.

In summary, the critiques of the concept of ‘policy transfer’ can be summarized in the following areas. Firstly, the critiques challenge the state-centric view which assumes that actors of policy transfer are composed of a single, rational actor. Thus, the revised concept of educational policy transfer should take into account the multi-lateral actors of the transfer including government institutions, politicians, bureaucrats and president and the conflicts of interests and in-fights that happen among them in making decisions to ‘borrow’ policies. Another critique concerns meaning-making in interpreting and adopting the values and norms that are engrained within a borrowed policy. The process of adopting, implementing and localizing the ‘borrowed’ policies on the ground takes a long time which can span more than a decade, and the original intention or meaning of the ‘borrowed’ policy is easily altered in the process of transfer. Thus, the concept of ‘policy transfer’ needs to be refined in order to incorporate a mechanism to understand what constitutes the values and norms that are inherent in a set of policies and how they are ‘translated’ and ‘transformed’ in the process of implementation and localization. Finally, the critiques again turn the attention back to the significance of contexts in analysing ‘policy transfer,’ as continuously pointed out by previous scholars. In particular, what constitutes the cultural heritage of a country and how the cultural elements influence the process and practice of policy transfer need to be analysed. In other words, only by considering the unique cultural heritage that a country in question possesses, one can then assess the *unique* trajectory of borrowed policies to be adopted and localized on the ground.

Questions about Globalization and Transfer

In the emerging literature of comparative education in recent years, even scholars who engaged in the ‘transfer/borrowing’ debate, use other terms such as ‘convergence’ or ‘diffusion’ more extensively and explicitly (Schwinn, 2012; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012b; Takayama, 2012; Schulte, 2012). These terms are more linked with the globalization debate. This trend reflects the widening influence of international organizations such as OECD and the World Bank in educational areas and the subsequent spread of their implicit educational visions, tools and agendas globally. However, it also indicates a serious reflection by scholars in comparative education of the conceptual discussions that arose out of policy transfer/borrowing debate. The conceptual insights from the debate added the urgency and necessity to build a new vocabulary and conceptual network to engage with and frame the emerging educational dynamics in international arena. This shift in the choice of terms employed by scholars in comparative education, therefore, signifies a deeper conceptual shift from the one that focused on the relations between one country and another to that focusing on the nexus between the global and the local. In particular, these scholars highlight the responses, resistances and adaptations of various societies, people, cultures, and nation-states, to converging pressures from increasingly powerful international organizations and their propagating ideas and institutions.

In fact, the conceptual shift from transfer (borrowing/lending) to globalization (convergence/diffusion) among scholars in comparative education intensified, in part as some of them began to press for opposing voice to the educational convergence model set forth by scholars¹⁰ such as Meyer and Ramirez. In particular, the ‘convergence’ scholars argue that mass schooling managed and controlled by nation-states has become a globally shared institution, and educational contents, purpose and organization of nation-states are currently undergoing *isomorphism* under the increasing transnational pressures that extend beyond the grip of national policy-makers and politicians (Ramirez and Meyer, 2000; Ramirez, 2003; Baker and LeTendre, 2005). For them, the global convergence towards the singular institution

¹⁰ They are often referred to as ‘world culture’ or ‘neo-institutionalist’ theorists for their recognition of a shared world culture among countries globally, which also affects the increasing adoption of common institutions (i.e. visions, ideas) on “a set of rules for behaviour and social roles to be played in particular sector of life” by the countries (Baker and LeTendre, 2005: 9).

of mass schooling is again motivated by shared understanding among developing and developed countries. This again includes the beliefs that economic development at a national level is best achieved by training young individuals who in turn become to form the “educated elite” of the state (Meyer et al., 1977: 255), and also that development is measurable by indicators such as gross national product, school enrolment and literacy rates (Fiala and Lanford, 1987). In their eyes, globalization in educational areas is *real* in that mass schooling under state control for its economic competitiveness is disseminated across globe “to standardize national education arrangements at an increasing rate” (Silova, 2012: 238). Interestingly, the arguments that are held by the convergence model seem to share a common assumption with the linear, state-centric models of policy transfer that was criticized in the previous section. For example, the convergence model assumes the uni-directional ‘transfer’ of mass schooling across the borders of nation-states worldwide and the unifying responses of nation-states (over time) to this global trend. However, this linear, state-centric assumption of transfer has been heavily criticized by scholars in both educational and political studies. Therefore, the assumptions held by the convergence model and, in particular, what constitute the converging pressures, need to be unpacked for a closer look at the influences of globalization on nation-states and their local settings.

For this purpose, scholars in comparative education (Rappleye, 2009; Silova, 2012; Schriewer, 2012) argue that the underlying notions of such a convergence model are based on concepts of Western origin such as progress, modernity and rationality. Thus, if the model holds, the process of global convergence in educational areas essentially becomes a process of Westernization since globalization facilitates the convergence towards “a single model of global education whose roots lie in the West” (Rappleye, 2009: 15). This point is shared by Silova (2012: 239, 240) in her critique towards such theories that their “focus is always on ‘big stories’ and dominant paradigms... a world dominated by ‘global norms’ or reason, rationality and progress.” Thus, Schwinn¹¹ (2012: 537) concludes that such globalization

¹¹ Schwinn (2012) takes a slightly different approach from these scholars. For him, the main problem of the convergence model originates from the universalistic approach of sociological theories in general. In particular, he argues that the modernist and universalistic approach of sociological theories during the 19th and 20th centuries, such as Karl Marx’s, has influenced and shaped the universalistic tendency of today’s sociological theories that address globalization and world society. That is why this universalistic tendency is still repeated by current theories including those that are proposed by

process that merely reflects the Western values is bound to be *limited* in that “many values and cultural principles arose historically *prior to*, and *not as a result of*, modernization.” For him, it is the historical, cultural heritage of a society that shapes its modern institutions and structures, and thus “cultural legacies will play a role in deciding on the possibilities of responding to global influences and challenges” (Schwinn, 2012: 537).

Likewise, Takayama (2012) sees the *limited* effects of globalization on the local ground in his analysis of Japan and Australia’s responses to the global diffusion of national standardized testing. In particular, he (2012) argues that the new elements of reforms introduced by structural changes and innovations under global convergence pressures are not automatically adopted in local settings but had to survive the test of existing institutional structures and patterns in the countries. The resilience of internal conditions of education system towards globalizing pressures is again pointed out by Kim K. S. (2005) who evaluated the impacts of globalization – especially, international pressures for liberalization and decentralization – in the context of South Korean education reform from 1993 to 2003. He (2005) argues that such reform measures under globalization pressures had *limited* impacts on South Korea due to its statist political economy and the vested interests of its huge bureaucratic machines such as the centralized Ministry of Education, which were developed throughout a previous rule of military dictatorship.

However, both Schwinn (2012) and Takayama (2012) deny the dichotomy of *real vs. limited* effects¹² of globalization but attempt to bridge the two perspectives between global convergence/diffusion and local divergence/variations. Firstly, Schwinn (2012: 525) argues that the global convergence and the local divergence should be viewed as “reciprocal constitution” rather than contradictory trends to each other. This position is shared by Takayama (2011, 2012) who argues that global convergence and national divergence occur *simultaneously* rather than either side dominating the process of globalization. For example, based on his analysis of Japanese education reforms, Takayama (2011) argues that the globalization was both *real* in that Japanese educational restructuring during the 1990s was

Ramirez, Meyer and Baker and LeTendre.

¹² Willis and Rappleye (2011) used the expression, ‘*realities*,’ to illustrate the ‘real’ impacts of globalization on the local ground, and ‘*imaginings*,’ to explain the ‘limited’ impacts of globalization, in their analysis of Japanese educational reforms.

conducted under the guidance of the OECD's 'best governance practice' and *limited* in that Japanese domestic politicians and policy-makers mainly used examples from abroad, such as PISA results, to achieve their own political and administrative agendas. Also, such dichotomy between *real* and *limited* impacts of globalization comes from different foci of analysis employed by different scholars and studies. For example, whereas scholars who focus on *real* impacts of globalization may focus on what has been done and localized on the ground, scholars engaging with *limited* influences of globalization may concentrate their analyses within public debates, policy document and discourses.

Then, what does this debate on *real vs. limited* impacts of globalization mean for the concept of policy transfer? As this debate indicates, in comparative education, one of the most controversial issues regarding globalization centres on the roles of global educational pressures in forming and reforming educational policies at local, national and international levels: in particular, how much impact such global pressures make on local educational reforms, and what variations, divergences and resistances are created on the ground in reaction to such global pressures. In this respect, the comparative educationalists' responses to the globalization debate highlight the local political contexts, actors and cultures which also affect 'shape-shifting' of values, ideas, forms and contents of transferred policies on the local ground. This again defies the unidirectional, mechanical adoption of policies from the other – be that a country, an international organization, a global institution and pressure - in which the level of analysis primarily remains in nation-state.

Instead, the newly emerging voice among comparative educationalists acknowledges that in many cases, education reforms, although imposed or influenced by global pressures, occur in a number of national and local contexts and in a form of amalgamation. Thus, transfers that are involved in the reform process are promoted under a complex and intricate decision-making process and dramatic in-fights within governmental actors and between external political parties and stakeholders, rather than controlled by a perfectly rational decision-maker or an institutional actor who oversees and manages the whole transfer process. Furthermore, not only the external conditions under international and domestic pressures but also the cultural heritage of the country as well as the agency of local actors determine the unique trajectory of implementing education reforms on the ground. My research, then,

attempts to reflect the recent conceptual shift towards a much more nuanced and complex analytical approach towards globalization and this move again raises the necessity to question and challenge the conventional methodology of comparative education itself.

What to Compare?

The development towards a new conceptual framework and vocabulary in comparative education necessitates a methodological re-thinking of the discipline: “the very question of comparison itself” (Carney, 2009: 66-67). The theoretical advancement in comparative education in a way challenges the traditional methodology of comparative education: the practice of comparing nation-states as fundamental units of analysis, a point which was raised by Carney (2009) in his comparative study of Denmark, Nepal and China. In challenging the state-centric ‘unit ideas’ that dominate the methodology of ‘traditional’ comparative education (Cowen, 2009a: 1285), Carney posits the following questions:

How might we approach the field while acknowledging that phenomena are increasingly deterritorialized and recognizing the centrality of the state and nation in mediating how globalization is localized? How can we comparatively study policy as global vision and text as well as local negotiation and enactment?

In answering the questions, Carney (2009: 79) borrows the concept of ‘scapes’ from Appadurai (1996)¹³ and uses the term ‘policyscapes’ which are “transnational in character and have at their core a particular constellation of visions, values and ideology.” The adoption of ‘policyscapes’ as a conceptual tool is aimed to investigate the fundamental elements of globalization in educational areas – especially how the dissemination of “policy ideas and pedagogical practices across different national school systems” is conducted in the process (Carney, 2009: 68). In analysing the educational reforms in the three countries, he notes that the primary ideology behind the ‘policyscapes’ that currently dominates globalization in educational areas is liberalism. He also investigates how the global visions shaped by this

¹³ Among the various types of ‘scapes’ that can be defined, what Carney (2009) finds the most relevant to the study of comparative education is the notion of ‘ideoscapes,’ which are “composed of elements of the Enlightenment worldview, which consists of a chain of ideas, terms, and images, including freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation, and the master term democracy” (Appadurai, 1996: 36). Willis and Rappleye (2011: 31) compare Appadurai’s notion of ‘scapes’ with ‘landscapes,’ indicating that such notion represents the “fluid, and irregular shapes” that reflect the nature of complicated interactions and realities involved in the process of educational policy transfer.

dominant liberal (or neo-liberal) ideology interacts with local actors ('heroes and agents' as he termed) and bureaucratic machines ('technologies of administration' as he termed, borrowing from Foucault (1978)'s term).¹⁴

Carney's new conceptual tool, 'policyscapes,' enables him to take a methodological innovation in comparing three countries: the comparison of educational reforms conducted in the three countries, each of which was affected by the neo-liberal agendas by respective international organizations or donor countries, is not confined to national boundaries but inclusive of bureaucratic and individual levels. In particular, how the responsible individuals within the respective bureaucratic machines mobilize their resources and networks to pursue reform agendas in accordance with their local political and educational needs is illustrated in detail - including 'local' divergences, variations, resistances towards the imposed 'global visions' of neo-liberal ideology. Therefore, he audaciously claims that his approach "aimed to break away from the modernist certainty of so much comparative thinking, and to destabilize if not de-centre the (static) nation state and coherent subject on which most comparative education remains based" (Carney, 2010: 8).

In order to utilize the newly created concept into comparative analysis, Carney (2009: 69) pays particular attention to Cowen's notion of 'transitologies,' which Cowen (2009a: 1287) defined as "the processes, within a period of 10 years or so, of the more or less simultaneous destruction and reconstruction of political visions of the future; the state apparatuses (police, army, bureaucracies, political institutions); the economic and social stratification system(s); and the deliberate reform and restructuring of the education system." The focus on such societies or time periods that were characterised by radical changes and conflicts provides a useful historical perspective - as opposed to a comparative enquiry "exploring the implementation of apparently coherent reform on systems that are assumed to be rational and stable" - since these 'transitologies' can illuminate the interrelations of "politics, history and culture across localities" and the methodological connections between comparative study and

¹⁴ Foucault (1993: 203) explains the concept of government with the notion of 'versatile equilibrium,' which connotes the "contact point where the individuals are driven by others is tied to the way they conduct themselves." For Foucault, government operates by two kinds of techniques: techniques of domination and techniques of the self. Thus, the technology of governance "is not a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself" (Foucault, 1993: 204).

“macrosociological change” (Carney, 2009: 70). Likewise, Willis and Rappleye (2011) note that the notion of transitologies helps to break the fixed boundaries of transfers happening mainly between nation-states, and thus liberates the borders of transfers beyond this traditional unit idea. Cowen does so by acknowledging multiple borders of transfers along political, socio-economic, historical, psychological and individual levels (Willis and Rappleye, 2011). Finally, the transfers along these multiple borders occur *simultaneously*, a point which has already been argued by Takayama and Schwinn in the previous section.

In fact, Cowen’s invention of the concept ‘transitologies’ comes from his deep concern about the new direction that comparative education as a field of scholarly enquiry should move. For this purpose, he directs our attention back to what has already been done: in particular, “what do we already ‘know’ but had not noticed we know?” (Cowen, 2009b: 324) Since radical changes and intense conflicts enable not only the attraction to transfer but also the enactment of translation and transformation of values, ideas and visions of societies, the cases of ‘transitologies’ can provide new insights for the concept of transfer itself. As he pointed out, there are crucial differences among “transfers, translations and the subsequent transformations, and recovery from those transformations,” and it is comparativists’ next big task to tackle the agency and the context of translations and transformations by delving into ‘the long narratives’ that “grasps the intersections of the forces of history, major structures, and individual biographies” (Cowen, 2009b: 319-320). In this respect, Cowen’s concept of ‘transitologies’ proves useful for understanding and interpreting the actors, processes and practices of educational policy transfer, in turn voicing the need for future researchers to extend the levels of analysis as to include the various aspects of the policy process and practice, as translated and transformed in the new locality.

This is particularly significant for my research since the cases under investigation are essentially ‘transitologies,’ characterized by the clash between the globally converging forces of two dominant ideologies of the Cold War, albeit in two different spheres of influence, and the local reactions, resistances and divergences as expressed and indigenized by Korean local politics, bureaucracies, actors and cultures. Cowen’s notion of ‘transitologies’ leads me to acknowledge the importance of analysing the cases of transfers between the countries of very dissimilar ideological, political and cultural backgrounds, and, which are enforced by coercion due to the nature of the relations between the countries (Cowen, 2009a, 2009b,

Larsen, 2010). For this purpose, the remaining part of this chapter expands the literature review to include the discussions of military occupation, bureaucratic politics, and ideology, based on the literature from comparative politics, international relations and public policy. The reasons to include literature from other disciplines are two-folds. First of all, as noted by scholars in comparative education (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012a; Morris, 2013), synergies can be created when the current theories on educational policy transfer/borrowing in comparative education are compared and contrasted with the theories from other disciplines that deal with similar phenomena. Secondly, the review of literature from other disciplines will enable this research to extend the levels of analysis beyond the traditional boundary of nation-states, a point which has been constantly noted by scholars in comparative education in recent years (Carney, 2010; Rappleye, 2011, Cowen, 2009b). In particular, literature on military occupation will deepen my analysis on the interactions between political/security dimensions and education reforms, and literature on bureaucratic politics will help me investigating institutional and bureaucratic conflicts in the decision-making process of educational reforms. Then, the discussions on ideology will help explaining the interactions made between the ideologies of the Soviet Union and the USA and the local interpretations and understandings of the imposed ideologies during the implementation process of the educational reforms in North and South Korea.

Military occupation and the socialization of elites

Due to the nature of military occupation the two Koreas had undergone, many would expect that the process of the educational reforms made by the Soviet and US military governments in the two Koreas during this period was characterised by simple, mechanical imposition of policies by the two superpowers, often under military threats. Indeed, coercive transfer occurs when another government forces one government to change its political, social and constitutional systems against its will and the will of its people (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000). Such coercive transfer was preponderant during the colonization era and its influences still remain in post-colonial countries (Evans, 2004: 11), and it was no exception for the two Koreas, which concurrently experienced military coercion by the Soviet Union and the USA. Accordingly, in the case of 'coercive' transfer, it can be assumed that the policies that are

‘borrowed’ from country A to B remain more intact of the original forms by reflecting the will and intentions of the political and/or military authorities of the country A. In other words, one may assume that the military threats and force can enable the direct imposition of a set of policies by country A to country B, and the existence of ‘military interventions’ in the process of policy transfer increases the possibility to retain the meaning, contents and applications of the original policies even in a new context and a country.

However, a deeper analysis of the interactions between the military authorities of occupying power and the elites of occupied state can show such a simplistic assumption, mainly based on the power balance between the two countries, misses the complicated pictures of policy transfer happening between the two countries and thus the extent of shape-shifting that occurs in the process of transfer (Cowen, 2009b). For example, Ikenberry and Kupchan (1990: 285) argue that even the occupying power, or ‘hegemon’ in their term, exercises its power in the occupied state by not only manipulating “material incentives” for its own goals and benefits, but also changing “the substantive beliefs of leaders in other nations,” a process which they coin ‘socialization.’ In exercising their coercive power in the mode of ‘socialization,’ the values and norms of the occupying power are ‘transmitted’ into the occupied state and the critical juncture which enables this transmission is the role of the elites in the occupied state, explained as follows:

Although normative claims articulated by the hegemon may take root in the public at large, it is ruling elites that must embrace these claims if they are to have a long-term and consequential impact on the behaviour of secondary states. While public opinion can influence elite restructuring, it is through the dynamics of elite politics and coalition-building that socialization takes place...[However] it is important to recognize that socialization is a two-way process... Elites from both hegemonic and secondary state may engage in a process of compromise and together reshape the conceptions of a desirable normative order (Ikenberry and Kupchan, 1990: 293).

According to this view, the ‘socialization’ of elites in the occupied state becomes a critical process in transmitting or translating the values, norms and goals of the occupying power. This ‘socialization’ aspect, although expressed in different terms, was raised by many Korean scholars who analysed the Korean elites who were selected and hired by US military government during the occupation (Lee S. Y., 2011; An, 2009; Yi, G. S., 1992; Han and Kim, 1990). These scholars agree that the Korean elites were selected for their capacity to

understand the American liberal democratic ideology and their ability to speak the English language from their educational backgrounds and cultural upbringings, and these cultural and linguistic abilities enabled them to engage and negotiate with the US military authorities in making necessary reforms during the period.

This 'socialization' process is also closely linked with inner procedures and conflicts of interests particular to the bureaucracy and society of the occupied state, and it is at this point that the theoretical discussion of the bureaucratic politics explains the decision-making process of making and implementing reforms by the occupying power, as aptly noted by Halperin and Clapp (2006: 362-363):

Nor will the government toward which the action seems to be directed respond according to the common image of two individuals communicating accurately with each other... They [officials in the second government] view the action in light of their own interests within their own bureaucracy and society. Thus the impact of an action by one government on another depends on the nature of the internal debate in that government, on which participants are strengthened or disheartened by the action, and on the common interpretation that comes to be given to it in the second government. How that government responds is influenced by all of the pulling and hauling.

The implications of the above discussions are then the exceeding difficulties, if not the impossibility, that political leaders of the occupying power face to control the politico-bureaucratic web of the occupied state, which determines the process and practice of the reforms initially made in accordance with the interests of the occupying power. Important decisions not only reflect the aims and values of high officials of the occupying power in accordance with their rational assessments of the situation but result from smaller actions taken by individuals at different levels in the bureaucracy of the occupied state who are driven by different motivations. It is at this point that this 'socialization' theory makes implications to this research. By pointing out the rationales and processes of selecting key leaders and bureaucrats within the newly established governments as well as in the Departments of Education of North and South Korea by Soviet and US military governments respectively during the military occupation and state formation, this research can shed a new insight into understanding the process and practice of the educational reforms imposed by foreign powers: in particular, how the selection of key officials in both political positions and educational bureaucracy affected the implementation and localization of the educational reforms

conducted by the Soviet and the US military governments in North and South Korea respectively.

Bureaucratic Politics

The significance of analyzing the roles of the elites in the occupied state, as pointed out by the ‘socialization theory’ in the previous section, is in line with the emphasis that was placed on the local agency by recent critiques on policy transfer (Gardiner, 2015; Rappleye et al., 2011; Lee S. Y., 2011). For example, Lee S. Y. (2011) highlights the various concepts and beliefs held by Korean elites on ideal political system and ideology for state formation and how the differences were translated into the selection process of bureaucrats in the newly established military government in South Korea. In order to analyse the roles and motivations of the local elites in the process of educational policy transfer, bureaucratic politics within the educational administration needs to be considered since both politicians and bureaucrats within an educational administration can be perceived as political actors. The individuals of educational administration include elected leaders, senior officials and specialists who have very different expectations, concepts and beliefs about education and the way it should be implemented (Kogan, 1978). So diverse are these concepts and beliefs that even in a single organization it takes considerable amount of time and efforts for any meaningful collaboration to occur. In this sense, most of the issues dealt in an educational administration are “institutional and political rather than educational” (Kogan, 1978: 118).

Consequently, the decision-making process for educational policy reflects the values and purposes of many stakeholders involved such as president, cabinet, minister of education, bureaucrats, service providers, and interest groups representing both national and local educational authorities, teachers, parents, and students (Moe, 1995). Political contract is made by politicians on behalf of various social actors’ demands on pressing educational needs and bureaucrats who work within a set of rules and authority relationships that govern the administration (Simon, 1997). This relation produces a two-tier hierarchy within the educational administration in that “one tier is the internal hierarchy of the agency, and the other is the political control structure linking it to politicians and interest groups” (Moe, 1995: 122). The Korean case was no exception in this aspect in that both political and social

environments that surrounded the politicians and bureaucrats in both North and South Korea during the military occupation were dominated by enormous pressures from the military authorities of the Soviet Union and the USA respectively and Korean domestic politics.

Similarly, Allison (1999) insists that decision-makers of national policy are formed from the conglomerate of large organizations and political actors rather than one calculating individual. From this point, Allison (1999) identifies three types of inputs in the foreign policy-making process, and thus proposes multiple models to analyze the foreign policy-making process of states. In particular, he regards the actions of states in foreign matters as the result of innumerable and often conflicting smaller actions by individuals at various levels of organization. Accordingly, his model of bureaucratic politics sees no unitary actor but many actors as players, who focus not on a single strategic issue but on diverse intra-national problems as well, thus stressing the role of parties, bureaucrats and key political leaders. This point by Allison (1999), although chiefly drawn from the cases of foreign policy, coincides with Kogan's (1978)'s insight on educational policy-making. For example, both scholars acknowledge that important decisions are not necessarily a reflection of the aims and values of a chief officer in accordance with his/her rational assessment of the situation but result from smaller actions taken by individuals at different levels of the bureaucracy who also have partially incompatible national, bureaucratic, political and personal objectives. This point is also shared by Carney (2009) who highlighted the significance of individuals ('heroes and agents') and respective bureaucratic machines in charge of reform agendas ('technology of administration') in producing educational reforms in Denmark, Nepal and China. All of the three scholars direct our attention to investigate how individual officers utilize their resources and networks within bureaucratic procedures to meet both political and educational needs. Thus, for Allison (1999), Kogan (1978) and Carney (2009), the process of negotiation and compromise made among key policy-makers at different positions of politico-bureaucratic hierarchy becomes a key step to assess the policy-making dynamics unique to the country in question.

The insights from bureaucratic politics point to the multi-faceted aspects of decision-making processes among individual decision-makers and bureaucrats who work under established bureaucratic procedures and routines unique to the military governments in North

and South Korea. The discussion of bureaucratic politics also indicates that educational administrations of the Soviet and US military governments in the two Koreas were not a single, static entity but comprised of various actors and the interests represented by them. Consequently, the educational reforms in the two Koreas were carried out under the complex process of foreign policy decision-making by the Soviet Union and the USA, and the Korean bureaucratic politics during the onset of the Cold War. Most importantly, decision-making and implementation of the educational reforms by the Soviet and US military, although discussed in nation-state level, were conducted by decision-makers in authority and in accordance with the established bureaucratic procedures of the Soviet and US military governments in the two Koreas. Thus, the reforms need to be understood under the light of the interests and motives of the decision-makers and the bureaucratic procedures that constrained them.

Ideology

The discussion on the concept of ideology is especially relevant in the Cold War context in which educational reforms in many countries were made out of big ideological clashes between the Soviet Union and the USA. As briefly discussed before, educational policy transfer that occurred in the Korean peninsula during the early Cold War era provides a good case for ‘transitologies’ (Cowen, 2009b) since the Korean case is characterized by “the dramatic collapse and reconstruction of societies and educational systems, the related changing nature of international political relations” (Larsen, 2010: 4). In particular, this research focuses on the years from 1945 to 1959 when the two Koreas, as one of the most impoverished nations in the world, began their reconstruction efforts from colonization, military occupation and war. It is also a period when the ideological clash between liberal democracy and socialist-communism was the most intense in the world. In this respect, the impacts of “extreme change (over time within a common space) on education” (Larsen, 2010: 4) become an important angle to analyse the process of educational policy transfer in the two Koreas around the period. In fact, the role of ideological effects in the process of educational policy transfer is one of the areas which have ‘not’ been much investigated by scholars in educational studies (Takayama, 2007).

In order to dig deeper the ideological aspects in the process of educational policy

transfer, it is necessary to distinguish different areas of a country that are affected by global pressures. Fukuyama (1995) divides the areas of society where democratic transition occurs into four levels - ideology, institution, civil society and culture - and argues that changes that occur in the ideological level is affected by the changes that occur in the other three levels. Since democratic transition occurs as a result of the transformations that are made in all of the four levels, ideological change should not be assessed as a single factor. Rather, it needs to be investigated as a whole in relation to the institutional, civil and cultural transitions the country exhibits under global pressures. In particular, Fukuyama (1995) evaluates that the transition into liberal democracy at the 'cultural' level¹⁵ is the slowest among the four levels, and concludes that "the real difficulties...have to do with social and cultural pathologies that seem safely beyond the reach of institutional solutions." Although Fukuyama's (1995) analysis is mainly drawn from the cases of democratic transition, his methodological insight provides a good analytical framework to investigate the clashes induced by policy transfer between countries of very different cultural traditions. In fact, the importance of cultural traditions has been repeatedly raised by scholars on policy transfer, many of whom argue that institutional changes as a result of the transfer are made and adapted in a country to reflect its cultural heritage (Schwinn, 2012; Cho, 2014; Tan, 2015). Fukuyama's (1995) model can be related with Takayama's (2007) argument, and, to a certain extent, with the debate on globalization in that only by combining these four levels – ideological, institutional, civil, and cultural - the impacts of globalization can be assessed, going beyond the level of policy discourse and text so as to include the transformations that occur in ideological, institutional, civil and cultural spheres of a country. Also, Fukuyama's (1995) analytical framework helps to elucidate the different levels of society that can be affected by 'transitologies' (Cowen, 2009b) in that transitions and transformations of ideological, political, institutional values and systems are

¹⁵ It is necessary to highlight different types of beliefs in order to clarify the meaning of culture. One may think of a belief system as a hierarchy ranging from instrumental to philosophical beliefs (George, 1969) or from peripheral to core beliefs (Rokeach, 1960: 39-51). Instrumental or peripheral beliefs influence the means, tools or approaches used by actors to promote one's core belief structure. In contrast, philosophical or core beliefs refer to a type of beliefs which constitute the fundamental elements to one's worldview, view on human nature and political conflict among others. According to Fukuyama (1995), culture is the deepest layer among the four levels that are affected by democratic transition so it is the slowest to change. The categorization of different types of beliefs also indicates that cultural level pertains to the philosophical or core beliefs that determine the overall views on human nature and world.

necessitated by big political upheavals internationally and domestically.

While Fukuyama (1995:7) defines 'ideology' as "normative beliefs about the rightness or wrongness of democratic institutions and their supporting market structures," this rather narrow definition of ideology needs to be extended so as to embrace various aspects of ideology used in political and educational studies. Knight (2006) surveyed the usage of ideology by political scientists over the past century since 1916 and divides various definitions broadly into five categories: (i) personal traits, (ii) a characteristic of a group, (iii) party/isms, (iv) spatial category, and (v) theoretical discussions. Whereas Knight (2006) draws these five categories out of her analysis of articles of *American Political Science Review* since 1916, Hamilton (1987) provides a more critical analysis on the elements of the concept of ideology by critically examining 27 definitional components he drew from 85 sources on the concept of ideology. After repudiating 19 such elements as ungrounded and synthesizing the retained 8 elements, Hamilton (1987: 38) provides the following definition of ideology:

An ideology is a system of collectively held normative and reputedly factual ideas and beliefs and attitudes advocating a particular pattern of social relationships and arrangements, and/or aimed at justifying a particular pattern of conduct, which its proponents seek to promote, realize, pursue or maintain.

From the definition offered by Hamilton (1987), the focus of analysis for this research becomes 'a system of ideas and beliefs' imposed by the two superpowers and in turn utilized by Korean politicians and administrators to participate and promote the educational reforms.

Furthermore, in the context of the two Koreas, due to the nature of military occupation by the Soviet Union and the USA at the beginning of the Cold War, 'ideological thinking,' which is "characterised by a very abstract and extensive belief pattern that is internally consistent" (Halperin and Clapp, 2006: 22), dominated the cognitive process of decision-makers involved in the educational reforms during the period of the Soviet and the US military occupation. For example, tracing the ideological functions of education from this perspective, Lee G. S. (1989) saw the educational influence essentially as a channel for ideological indoctrination through which the US military government tried to implant its democratic values and, as a consequence, to strengthen its sphere of influence in Korea. Furthermore, both Lee S. Y. (2011) and Han (1986) divided Korean education administrators

and leaders during the transition of government from Japanese colonialism to US military government into three groups - nationalists, conservatives and left-wing - and analysed how their ideological and political beliefs influenced their choices to support or oppose the reform efforts made by the US military government in South Korea around the period. In doing so, both scholars highlighted not only the external pressures that bounded their actions but also 'the inner beliefs of actors' which fundamentally shaped the ways in which educational reforms were conducted in the local contexts of South Korea.

In this respect, Mullins (1972)'s systemic analysis on the concept of ideology provides a good insight to linking the concept of ideology with its influences on the key leaders' decision-making process. For Mullins (1972), the ideological belief constitutes a basic cognitive framework upon which a policymaker deals with specific issues or situations, perceiving the new situation with historical consciousness and evaluating alternative policies and programs to cope with social changes. Once a decision-maker forms a set of beliefs that are drawn from his/her understanding of ideology, s/he needs to simplify and order the beliefs in order to understand and explain the new situations (Mullins, 1972: 508). The key process in this process of 'abstraction' especially for political matters is "to understand situations in terms of their moral significance for human beings and the normative language of ideology provides reasons for supporting" a social arrangement and a political program than another (Mullins, 1972: 508). Moreover, by elucidating complex realities and reducing them to understandable and manageable terms, ideology comes to have a 'logical power' in the decision-maker with its crucial communicative role between the public and the leader. Finally, the logical power of ideology yields 'action-oriented power,' making easier the mobilization of the public according to the leader's will and thus helping to implement a policy effectively (Mullins, 1972: 510).

The discussions focusing on ideology sheds a significant light on how the ideological beliefs of individual leaders or their groups affect policy-making and implementation processes of educational policy transfer during the military occupation. In the case of the two Koreas especially during the Soviet and US military regimes, the driving force of motivations which guided leaders' inner processes of decision-making was the combination of nationalism and personal beliefs, which were shaped out of their interpretations of the dominant ideologies of the Soviet Union and the USA. Thus, the two ideologies became "systems of

beliefs that are elaborate integrated, and coherent, that justify the exercise of power, explain and judge historical events, identify political right and wrong, set forth the interconnections (causal and moral) between politics and other spheres of activity, and furnish guides for action” (McClosky, 1964: 362). Although it is a difficult task to thoroughly dissect all the elements of belief systems of key decision-makers, the difficulty does not entail the impossibility of the analysis *per se*. This research attempts to investigate the motivations of Korean decision-makers in participating and pursuing the educational reforms within the Soviet and US military governments, based on an analysis of their belief systems that were shaped out of nationalism and their own understanding and interpretations of the ideologies of the Soviet Union and the USA.

Conclusion

Before concluding this chapter, it is important to clarify the meaning of policy that will be adopted for this research since this will in turn elucidate the notion of policy transfer and its implications for the conceptual framework of this research. Rather than providing a fixed definition on ‘policy,’ Colebatch (1998: 13) points out its attributes and assumptions that are held behind its use, while acknowledging the ambiguity that is inherent in “the policy as a concept in use.” Furthermore, Colebatch (1998: 102) broadly divides the perspectives which define policy into two camps: ‘the authorized choice’ perspective versus ‘the structured interaction’ perspective. Whereas the assumption behind the ‘authorized choice’ perspective is that policy is mainly about government’s decision-making process and thus the focus of analysis mainly lies in the government decisions, the ‘structured choice’ perspective does not assume that there is a single decision-maker nor decision-making process in the government to address a certain problem (Colebatch, 1998: 102). The distinction between ‘the authorized choice’ and ‘the structured interaction’ perspective can be compared to the contrast which Blakemore and Griggs (2007: 1) make between ‘policy’ and ‘real policy.’ Whereas they mean ‘policy’ as a set of aims or goals pursued by a government for the welfare of its citizens, they define ‘real policy’ as “what happens on the ground” following the implementation (Blakemore and Griggs, 2007:1). The difference lies in whether one decides to include policy process and policy practice as essential elements of ‘policy’ as a concept.

The critiques towards the linear, static model of policy transfer prefer ‘the structured interaction’ or ‘real policy’ view, and, according to this approach, not only what are written in the government documents, as legislated and authorized by policy-makers in the government, but also how the written policies mean, affect and bring responses from local people ‘on the ground’ should be incorporated as legitimate levels of analysis to assess reforms or policies imposed by foreign powers. Taking into account these essential attributes, the concept of policy becomes much broader in its applications. In this regard, the concept of policy should go beyond the limit of what is ‘formally written’ in the government documents, and include the aspects such as decision-making dynamics of local decision-makers, specific features of implementation ‘on the ground’ and evaluation of its impacts and efficacy in the local context. This is in line with Cairney’s (2012: 24-5) recommendation to view policy beyond “what the policy makers say” as to include “what they actually do,” in order to incorporate the effects of the policy decisions on the ground and the actors’ involvements in the policy process.

The conceptual framework of this research then treats ‘policy’ as a comprehensive concept comprising of policy process and practice ‘on the ground,’ beyond a rigid definition of it as a formally recorded and proclaimed statement by a government. This concept of policy enables the research to analyze the process and practice of the educational reform made by the Soviet and the US military governments in the two Koreas in a multi-dimensional perspective, incorporating the beliefs of local actors, the bureaucracy of domestic institutions, and the networks of the actors and institutions. This enlarged notion of policy also provides a better analytical lens to examine the nature of educational policy transfer including not only the global, modernizing convergence but also the local divergence, variations and resistance that are, in turn, shaped by local actors, historical cultural heritage, and institutional policy contexts. Thus, in assessing the impacts of the educational reforms on the development of the education systems in the two Koreas, the critical factor becomes the assessment as to ‘why’ the educational reforms were promoted by Korean elites during the military regimes, ‘how’ the socialization process of the Korean elites was conducted, and ‘what’ kinds and features of educational policies were implemented and localized in the two Koreas as a way to build a political and ideological cohesion and solidarity of the two states formed in the Korean peninsula.

Chapter 3.

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework: Modern Education and State Formation in the Two Koreas

Introduction

Theoretical and conceptual discussion on policy transfer and globalization in the previous chapter provided the research with the analytical angles to examine the concept and the nature of educational policy transfer in light of its relevance and application the Korean context. Despite the considerable number of publications in Korean language which analyzed the aspects of educational influence of the Soviet Union and the USA in North and South Korea respectively, there are only few publications in English that systematically compare the influence of the two superpowers on the development of the education systems in the two Koreas during the early Cold War period. The difference in terms of the number of Korean and English publications on this topic indicates that the issue of ‘methodological nationalism’¹⁶ for research topics that pertain to area studies or often involve languages other than English (Takayama, 2011; Kariya, 2011; Willis and Rapplye, 2011; Benson and Jordan, 2011) might also arise for this research. In particular, Takayama (2011: 270-271) points out the scholarly disconnect and/or the lack of communications between English-language researchers mainly from Anglo-Saxon academia and indigenous researchers based in non-Western countries. This problem can entail a conceptual or theoretical gulf between the two sides as their epistemological and conceptual foundations come from very different cultural and philosophical backgrounds (Takayama, 2011).

In this respect, the perspectives of Korean scholars on this topic, not only on the historical and cultural contents but also on theoretical and methodological issues should be treated as equally critical. As repeatedly pointed out by Western scholars in comparative education, without considering the ‘lived worlds and experiences’ of the local Koreans and understanding their conceptual foundations based on Korean scholarship, the research risks

¹⁶ On a slightly different note, Steiner-Khamsi (2007: 674) acknowledges the “first-world bias in policy borrowing research” and indicates a theoretical chasm in development studies which rarely use concepts such as policy transfer or borrowing.

again falling into the pitfall of reading an ‘imagined’ rhetoric of globalization and policy transfer. For this purpose, this chapter critically reviews the literature of modern education, state formation and Christian influence on education in Korea in order to analyze how they influenced the indigenous concepts of modern education and state formation adopted by Koreans for their nation-building purposes.

The Debate on ‘Modern’ Education

In order to discover the educational development of the two Koreas, it is necessary to trace back as far as how and when ‘modern’ education began in Korea. This, in turn, will reveal the foundations of modern education in the Korean context, which both North and South Korea used in order to develop their education systems under the influences of two great powers with different ideologies. For this purpose, I will first present definitions of ‘modern education’ and ‘modernity’ in the Korean context, followed by the debate of Korean scholars who approached the concepts with various historical perspectives. By presenting this debate, I will demonstrate how Koreans translated the original meaning of ‘modern education’ from the West into the Korean context.

The concept of ‘modern education’ in Korea is controversial since the question of when ‘modern’ education began in Korea cannot be easily answered (Kim and Yu, 1999; Kim, K. M., 2009). In fact, the formation of modern education in the two Koreas was not the same as that of ‘modern education’ in Europe. In Europe, modern education was introduced as a result of state formation in many countries (Green, 1990) and was “clearly at the heart of this [state formation] process” (Müller et al., 1987). In other words, schooling became “a major agent of acculturation, shaping individuals to fit into societies and cultures broader than their own” (Weber 1976: 212), thus playing a major role as “an instrument of unity” (Weber 1976: 214) in the process of state formation. On the other hand, the formation of modern education in Korea was not necessarily driven by the formation of the state. Before a ‘modern’ sense of state was formed in Korea, a sense of nation, a so-called sense of “imagined community,” was already in existence and developed due to its imagined sense of togetherness (Anderson 1983: 5-7).

In order to engage with a discussion on modern education in Korea,¹⁷ Korean scholarship has constantly attempted to define ‘modernity,’ especially in relation to ‘modern education’ in Korea. The Korean Unabridged Dictionary of Education (*Kyoyuk taebaekgwasa jŏn*) defines modern education as a concept in contrast to that of education in feudal society: according to this definition, modern education was launched with the establishment of ‘modern’ nation-state and capitalist society in South Korea so modern education is dated from 1880 to 1945 (Sŏultaehakkyo Kyoyungnyŏn'guso, 1998: 190). In addition to the dictionary definition, education scholars have acknowledged the different emphases embraced by the concept in the Korean context. For instance, Son concisely defines modern education or “new” education in Korea as the introduction of new Western culture into Korea (Son, 1971: 11-14, 312; Son, 1998: 219-230). Yun (1987), a Korean intellectual historian residing in Japan, points out that the term, modern education, signifies a historical shift from traditional and feudal education to new education, so the aim of modern education is to form civilians as principal agents of national history.

On the other hand, Kim and Yu (1999) attempt to redefine modern education through historical investigation and conclude that modern education requires the following criteria; firstly, modern education should be controlled by the state; secondly, it should be open to the mass, not limited to the privileged; thirdly, it should be secularized and nation-centered in its contents. In a slightly different manner, Akira (2002), by focusing on the concept of ‘modernity’ in public education, argues that the ‘modernization’ of school education means the process in which a large number of students study modern (Western) knowledge in state-established school buildings. Accordingly, he (2002) considers that the *Kabo* reform marked the beginning of modern education in Korea because during the reform equal educational opportunity regardless of social status was provided, and public schools were established.

Likewise, the debate on the first ‘modern educational institution’ in Korea is derived from different understandings of the concept of ‘modern’ education, which in turn ignited the debate about the first modern school in Korea. In general, the first generation scholars generally agreed that the first modern school in Korea was a school established in the 19th

¹⁷ For an excellent review of the formation of modern education in Korea in Korean language, see Kim K. M. (2009).

century, which taught newly introduced technology and knowledge from the West. For example, Sŏ (1891), who was in exile after the failure of *Kapsin* coup of 1884,¹⁸ argued that the first modern educational institution in Korea was established in 1881 to teach French-style military tactics for military training. He emphasized the impact of the West for the Westernization of Korean education and paid attention to the establishment of the English education institute, which was established in the following year. In a similar vein, an American educator and missionary, Underwood (1926) pointed out that translation school in 1883 was the first modern institution in Korea, in reference to G.W. Gilmore's Korea from its Capital (Kim and Yu 1999).

In Korean scholarship after 1945, Yi (1949) gave a slightly different perspective by arguing that Paejae School established by an American missionary, Appenzeller, in June 1886 was the pioneer and best example of new education in terms of its school principle and philosophy of education. Similarly, O (1964: 54-65), who was the chief Korean advisor to the top American military officer in charge of education reforms during the occupation, highlighted the 'new' system and curricula of Paejae School and argued that the philosophy of Paejae School (i.e. "those who wish to be great must serve the other") demonstrated the fundamental change of perception on the purpose of education: Whereas the purpose of traditional education was motivated by self-elevation, that of modern education was motivated to "serve the others."¹⁹ As described above, scholars prior to the 1970s generally considered that the first modern schools after the *Yug'yong Kongwŏn* (Royal English school) were Christian mission schools, such as Paejae School, Ewha Women's School, Kyŏngsin School, and Chŏngsin School (Yi, 1949; O, 1964).

However, Korean scholars began to seek internal efforts to define modern education and schools in Korea.²⁰ For example, Sin (1980) opposed the argument broadly shared by the

¹⁸ *Kapsin* coup of 1884 refers to a coup in which the enlightenment party (*Kaehwadang*) attempted to seize power for modern reforms; however, the Korean government oppressed the reform government in three days with the help of Chinese troops (Ch'oe et al., 2000: 254-260).

¹⁹ This perspective had already been noted by Bishop (1897: 388) who argued that Paejae School was "undoubtedly...the most powerful educational, moral and intellectual influence in Korea."

²⁰ This view is derived not only from the advent of nationalism in Korea but also from the influence of Western theorists, such as those of Edward Said (1978) and Paul Cohen (1984). Said's *Orientalism* (1978: 204) challenges the Euro-centric view of 'Orientalism,' arguing that Orientalism is

previous generation scholars and suggested that the first modern educational institution in Korea was Wönsan Private Academy, which was initiated by members of *Tökwön* village in 1883 (Sin, 1980). After examining the “Records of Tökwön county” (*Tökwönpu kyerok*), Sin (1974) found that Wönsan Private Academy was established on 28 August 1883 and taught practical subjects, such as mathematics, logics, agriculture, and sericulture. Moreover, based on “Record of Ch’unsöng county” (*Ch’unsöngbu-ji*), Sin (1974) found the list of donors for the Academy. In this article, Sin (1974) emphasized four important points: firstly, the first modern school was established by Koreans; secondly, the first modern school was funded not by the government, but by the local people; thirdly, the modern school was established out of patriotic motivation during the open-port period; lastly, Wönsan Private Academy (Wönsan haksa) was not modeled on Western schools, but reconstructed from a village private schoolhouse (*Söddang*) into a modern institution (Sin, 1974: 43-36). Sin’s argument was highly supported by many Korean intellectuals under the intellectual trend of nationalism in the 1970s and 1980s.

Chöng (1988) went even further by emphasizing internal forces of change for modern education during eighteenth century Korea. He argued that the dismantling of feudal society was deeply intertwined with the beginning of modern education and its sprout in the following decade. In analyzing modern education, Chöng (1988) contextualized the social changes of Chosön Dynasty during the eighteenth century in order to argue that modern education in Korea was already started in the eighteenth century. For this purpose, Chöng (1988) provided the following evidence: firstly, peasantry became the main subject of education. Small peasants, who cultivated commercial crops, including cotton, hemp, sweet potato, silk, ginseng, and vegetable oils, became financially well off to teach their children by employing ruined or troubled *yangbans* (elite). With the emergence of rich peasantry, who became the sprout of capitalism in the eighteenth century, the class of rich peasantry was the main consumer for reformed education. Secondly, the rise of rich peasantry changed the shape of the social structure. Education was not monopolized by *yangban* (elite) class with the

“fundamentally a political doctrine willed over the Orient because the Orient was weaker than the West, which evaded the Orient’s difference with its weakness.” Cohen (1984) took a similar line on East Asia, arguing that the Euro-American or Western-centric definition of ‘modernity’ carries with it ‘intellectual imperialism,’ and proposed to take an ethnocentric historiography.

disintegration of the social structure in the late Chosŏn Dynasty. Since there appeared peasants who were rich enough to afford education, the participation of the peasantry class in reformed education accelerated the change of society. Thirdly, the traditional class system based on Confucian ideology was challenged by changes of economic status between *yangban* and peasants. The Confucian class constraints between *yangban* and peasants became less glaring than before and the growing strength of peasant class gradually weakened Confucianism's hold on Korea. As a result, education became reform-minded (Chŏng, 1988: 49-54).

From the 1990s, Korean scholarship also sought to bridge the two perspectives in understanding the concept and origin of 'modern' education in Korea. For example, Kim and Yu (1999) critically reviewed the concept of modern education in Korean scholarship and, after examining historical evidence, found that nationalistic arguments were not well-grounded, lacking conclusive evidence. After re-analyzing the traditional argument which claimed that the Western missionaries established the first modern schools in Korea, they highlighted the fact that 599 missionary schools were established until 1908 as a result of Korean churches' indigenous movement for education and that these schools were funded and managed by Koreans. In other words, even though Western missionaries laid the foundation of modern education, Koreans were not passive agents but active participants to contribute to modern education in Korea (1876-1908) (Kim and Yu, 1999: 85).

In North Korea, Pak (1988) argued that the first modern education institution was the translation school (*T'ongpyŏn Hakkyo*), which was initiated by the Progressive Party (*Kaehwadang*) during the 19th century. While highly regarding the government-driven social reforms and the efforts of the Progressive Party, Pak (1988) undervalued Western Christian missionaries' efforts to establish modern schools as a part of "imperial scheme of penetration." Unlike those of South Korean scholars, Pak's emphasis was on the governmental efforts to establish modern school system and curriculum, rather than the efforts of individuals or other private, religious organizations (Pak, 1988: 34-76). In general, North Korean educational historians emphasize the importance of indigenous efforts for education and at the same time devalued the roles of Western missionaries' efforts to establish 'Western' style modern schools (Pak, 1988; Yi, 2007).

Although the definition of modern education in Korea is still a subject of debate, so further investigation is necessary, the primary arguments on the origin of modern education in Korea can be summarized in two sides: the introduction of Western educational philosophy, science and technology by Christian mission schools versus the introduction of non-traditional, practical subjects such as mathematics and logics by indigenous reform schools. However, neither side aligns with the Western conception of modern education as a state provision of mass schooling for the development of a strong state (Weber, 1976; Green, 1990). In fact, the critical conceptual element - that is state - is missing in defining modern education in Korea. Rather, the principal agents who planted the seeds of modern education in Korea were reform-minded individuals. This particular aspect is important in analyzing the educational policy transfer that occurred during the military regime in both North and South Korea. Although the systemic features can be imposed from outside forces, the internal forces and individuals which could sustain and develop the imposed features ‘over time’ and ‘on the ground’ become imperative for the successful implementation of the imposed reforms.

State Formation and Nationalism

As shown in the previous section, the debate on the origin of modern education in Korea cannot be easily settled, especially in relation to the process of state formation, contrary to the cases of European states in which modern education was introduced as a result of and/or in the process of state formation. In this respect, the formation of the two Koreas as separate nation-states after the Soviet and US military regimes was a critical juncture on which the development of modern education in two Koreas was predicated, although the term, ‘state formation,’ was not unanimously appropriated by Korean politicians and scholars. For the purpose of modern state formation in Korea, the years of the Soviet and the US occupation of the two Koreas (1945-1947) become an essential reference point since during this period, Korea witnessed the critical development in modern state formation and the subsequent development of the education systems of the two Koreas followed the pattern of state formation after 1948. Therefore, in order to provide a pivotal historical and social basis of modern education in relation to state formation in the two Koreas, I will conduct critical review of literature on state formation and the impacts of nationalism in Korea.

To begin with, nation-state, as a concept, is a relatively new invention, denoting the highest agent of a sovereign authority within a territory (Philpott 2001: 16; Porter, 1994: 6). Hobsbawm (1994, 2003) argues that nation-state is a product of modern nationalism and patriotism as a national identity, and of the formation of independent sovereign territorial states as a political unity. Bendix (1964: 2) sketched a general transformation of political and social systems in Western European countries, and argues that Western European countries experienced the formation of a nation-state in the twentieth century after going through a long period “from the estate societies of the Middle Ages to the absolutist regimes of the eighteenth century and thence to the class societies of plebiscitarian democracy in the nation-states of the twentieth century.” In this sense, the formation of a nation-state was a product of both “the formalization and ritualization of emotionally and symbolically charged signs of national membership” (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983: 4) and “the extension of power and range of a more or less autonomous political unit” (Tilly, 1975: 636). There are continuing discussions on the nature of a nation-state but most scholars agree that nation and state are different but complementary to the system of nation-state. Even if there is no universal concept of nation-state, nation-state should be understood as a historical phenomenon, which has components of nation (people), sovereign state (government), and inhabiting territory (a physical manifestation of state authority) (Parsons, 1964: 154).

In Korean context, the terms, nation and state, are often used interchangeably although nation and state are two separate concepts. In fact, many disputes over state formation in Korea resulted from different conceptual emphases put by Korean scholars - either nation (people) or state (the government) – in interpreting the historical processes of state formation. Also, this was intensified by the fact that they employed different methods and methodologies in researching the processes. In general, Korean scholarship is divided into two camps - nationalistic and alternative viewpoints. Nationalist scholars, including Sin (1986), focus on people (*volk* or nation) as the main actor of history and have viewed the formation of nation-state not as political leadership which initiated the changes in the state but as nationalism of resistance which became a strong political and cultural force of changes in Korea. Thus, Sin (1986) argues that the sprout of ‘modern’ state in Korea was a movement of the Practical Learning (*Silhak*), which emerged from 17th century to 19th century in Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910). He argues that the Practical Learning movement provided a progressive

and modernistic view to reform the traditional society of Chosŏn period (Sin, 1986: 11-111). Moreover, the intellectual sprout of the modern nation-state could be found in *Tonghak* peasant rebellion (1894-5), which was a popular indigenous movement against foreign invasions as well as traditional (feudal) society (Ko, 1993: 13-21).

In a similar manner, some scholars argue that the formation of a modern nation-state in Korea is a product of the constant endeavors of the Korean people to reform their own society. For example, Wang (2002) views a modern nation-state in Korea with an emphasis on modern reform efforts (*Kabo* reforms) of the *Taehan* Empire (1897-1910). In particular, the *Taehan* Empire became a constitutional monarchy, which launched various reforms, in areas of education, local governments and taxation. These scholars found that the *Taehan* Empire's reforms demonstrated the characteristics of a modern nation-state in Korea although those efforts became fruitless due to subsequent Japanese colonization (1910-1945) (Wang, 2002: 209-312; Yi T. J., 2010:322-331; Yun, 2011: 37-39). On the other hand, some scholars, including Yi W. P. (2007), consider state as a political 'institution,' and challenge nationalistic views on state formation in Korea. To elaborate on the foundation of the state formation in Korea, Kim I. Y. (2004) argues that state-building is not just a natural process of 'social contract,' but a product of political activities. Accordingly, the understanding of modern state formation in Korea should begin with the formation of the Republic of Korea (Kim C. N., 2009:666). On the basis of general theories regarding state as a political unit, many scholars insist that the formation of a Korean state began with the founding of the Republic of Korea on 15 August 1948 (Yi W. P., 2007: 215-232; Kim I. Y., 2004: 29-88; Yang, 2001:537-578).

In North Korea, most scholars, including Kim H. G. (1983), argue that liberation from Japan in 1945 was a great victory over the struggle against imperialism, and it represented the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. On the basis of this Marxist historical perspective, the construction of new Korea (*Sae Chosŏn*) or new fatherland (*Sae Cho'guk*) was launched as a result of the class struggle against imperialism and feudalism in Korea (Chŏn, 1987: 300-322; Kim H. G., 1983: 206-289). To promote this rhetoric on the formation of the North Korean state, the Workers' Party (*Nodongdang*) - the so-called vanguard of the proletariat, the workers and peasants – highly emphasized the roles of the leader, Kim Il Sung, in this process (Chosŏn Nodongdang, 1989:215-248). In a similar vein, Kim Il Sung continuously emphasized the importance of building a new democratic and

socialist society in his speeches from 1945 (Kim, I. S., 1983: 371-374). In a nutshell, according to the historiography and prevailing philosophical understanding in North Korea, the formation of a nation-state is a process of building a socialist state in North Korea, which was launched with the liberation from Japan in 1945.

Furthermore, the topic of ‘nationalism’ is especially important since state formation process in Korea had been delayed by foreign interventions and conflicts. As Green (1990: 109) pointed out, in “those countries where the attainment of national unity, both cultural and territorial, was particularly delayed and protracted or characterized by long periods of military conflict, nationalism became an important factor in state formation.” For instance, between the open-door period and the end of Japanese colonial rule, Korea had enormous growth of nationalism, and, as a result, Korea had developed a strong sense of a nation prior to the process of modern state-formation after 1945. In the Korean contexts, Smith’s definition of “*ethnie*” (ethnic community) is applicable as he defined ethnic community as “named human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories, and cultures, having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity” (Smith, 1988:32). Korea developed its “imagined” sense of togetherness, such as “communion,” “limited boundary,” “sovereign,” “community,” important political, economic and cultural elements of a nation even prior to the state formation in 1948 (Anderson, 1983: 5-7). This can be seen from Shin’s argument that ethnic nationalism was a major force that had a strong impact on Korean’s transition to the modern world (Shin, 2006: 13). In other words, nationalism bridged between traditional communities (*Gemeinschaft*) and modern societies (*Gesellschaft*) in the Korean contexts (Tönnies, 1957: 33-102).

As illustrated before, the formation of nationalism preceded that of state in the Korean context since Korea had undergone a painful history of Japanese colonization and subsequent military occupation by two superpowers since the early 1900s, after all the indigenous efforts by Koreans to build an independent state, in a modern, Western sense, failed. Thus, nationalist scholars (Wang, 2002; Yi T. J., 2010; Yun, 2011) have attempted to emphasize governments built by Koreans’ own hands, such as *Taehan* Empire and Provisional Government as the origins of the nation-state in Korea, although they were short-lived and failed to acquire a proper recognition as ‘legitimate’ bodies by international community. Other scholars, including North Korean ones (Chŏn, 1987; Kim H. G., 1983; Yi W. P., 2007; Kim I.

Y., 2004; Yang, 2001) point to the establishment of Republic of Korea and Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in South and North Korea respectively, as the beginning of state formation process in Korea. According to these scholars, the influences of US and Soviet military occupation proved critical since these two governments were established under the aegis of the US and Soviet military governments in the two Koreas. Thus, in order to analyze the roles and motivations of Korean actors in the process and practice of implementing the educational reforms, it is necessary to trace back the origin of *modern nationalism* in Korea, which provoked the rise of politico-social consciousness among the Korean leaders who vigorously pursued state-formation in the Korean peninsula throughout the twentieth century.

The Christian Influence on Modern Education and Nationalism in Korea

Christian missionary education had a profound impact on the initiation of modern education and transformation of education in Korea (Jayasuriya, 1983; Son, 1998). This is particularly significant since its influence is deeply linked to the roles and beliefs of American military officers and Korean administrators during the US military regime in conducting education reforms in South Korea (Kim S. H., 1990). Although there is on-going dispute as to the origin of modern education in Korea, there is widespread agreement among many Korean scholars that Christian schools were instrumental to the introduction of the modern education system to Korea and provided aspirations to Korean leaders to modernize their system and society (Lee S. C., 2007; Choi, 2010; Chang, 2001, Kim T. H., 2013).

Jayasuriya (1983) summarizes two significant contributions by missionary schools: firstly, education became available to the common people; secondly, educational opportunities were open to girls. Similarly, Lee (1987: 90) argues that Christian missionaries “spread the idea that education was for everyone – for men and women, the powerful and the powerless, the rich and the poor,” an idea which moved away from traditional Confucian education, in which educational opportunities were provided according to social status and family line. According to Son (1998), a total of 796 schools, from elementary to college levels, were established and managed by the Western Christian missionaries in Korea during the period of 1885-1910. Table 3-1 gives examples of Christian schools established between 1885 and 1910.

Table 3-1. Examples of Christian missionary schools in Korea

Name of schools	Year of Foundation	Denomination	Location
<i>Kwanghyewŏn</i>	1885	Presbyterian	Seoul
Paejae school	1886	Methodist	Seoul
Ihwa school	1886	Methodist	Seoul
Kyŏngsin school	1886	Presbyterian	Seoul
Chŏngsin women's school	1887	Presbyterian	Seoul
Kwangsŏng school	1894	Methodist	Pyŏngyang
Sungdŏk school	1894	Methodist	Pyŏngyang
Chŏng'ui women's school	1894	Methodist	Pyŏngyang
Ilsin women's school	1895	Methodist	Tongnae
Chŏngjin school	1896	Methodist	Pyŏngyang
Kongok school	1896	Methodist	Seoul
Sungsil school	1897	Methodist	Pyŏngyang
Sin'gun school	1897	Methodist	Seoul
Yŏnghwa women's school	1897	Methodist	Inch'ŏn
Paehwa women's school	1898	Methodist	Seoul
School for the blind	1898	Methodist	Pyŏngyang
Myŏngsin school	1898	Presbyterian	Chaeryŏng
Pyŏngyang theological school	1900	Presbyterian	Pyŏnyang
Sungui	1903	Presbyterian	Pyŏngyang
Kunssi women's school (Wŏnsan women's school)	1903	Methodist	Wŏnsan
Chŏngmyŏng women's school	1903	Presbyterian	Mokp'o
Tŏkmyŏng school	1904	Methodist	Wŏnsan
Hosudon women's school	1904	Methodist	Kaesŏng
Chinsŏng women's school	1904	Presbyterian	Wŏnsan
Ŭich'ang school	1904	Methodist	Haeju
Yŏngmyŏng school	1905	Methodist	Kongju
Kyesŏng school	1906	Presbyterian	Taegu
Sinsŏng school	1906	Presbyterian	Sŏnch'ŏn
Posŏng school	1906	Presbyterian	Sŏnch'ŏn
Ŭimyŏng school	1906	Seventh-Day Adventist	Suan
Hanyŏng Academy	1906	Methodist	Kaesŏng
Mirihŭm school	1906	Methodist	Kaesŏng
Nakhyŏn school	1907	Catholic	Seoul
Supia women's school	1907	Presbyterian	Kwangju
Sinmyŏng women's school	1907	Presbyterian	Tae'gu
Kijŏn women's school	1907	Presbyterian	Chŏnju
Sinhŭng school	1908	Presbyterian	Chŏnju
Ch'angsin school	1908	Presbyterian	Masan
Ŭijŏng school	1909	Methodist	Haeju

Source: Pak Ŭi-su et al. (eds.) (1993) *Kyoyuk ũi Yŏksa wa Ch'ŏlhak*. Seoul: Tongmunsa, pp. 124-125.

As Table 3-1 shows, Christian schools were established almost every year in different regions throughout Korea until 1910, the year when the Japanese annexed Korea as its colony. Among the 796 Christian schools that had been established between 1885 and 1910, 501 were

Presbyterian, 158 Methodist, 84 non-denominational, 46 Catholic, 4 Anglican, 2 Seventh Day Adventist, and 1 to United (Yoon, 2004: 35). The common characteristics in the curricula of the Christian schools were radically different from those in the traditional, Confucian schools: the introduction of science subjects, the teaching of [Western] music and arts, the emphasis on Korean history and geography, and the teaching of the Bible (Yoon, 2004: 53).²¹ Consequently, Christian schools became the principal institutions to propagate not only Christian teaching but also Western values imbued with democratic ideals (Ch'oe, 2010). For example, Fisher (1928), one of the American missionaries who taught at Chosun Christian College, depicts twelve points of human values introduced by Christian education as follows:

A more scientific care of the sick and injured; A more intelligent and better organized care for orphans, outcasts, and the poor; A decline in belief in evil spirits and other superstitions; A greater respect for childhood; Changes in marriage customs, with the gradual decrease in child marriages; A change for the better in attitude toward, and treatment of, women; Ideas of democracy; A greater self-respect and a reevaluation of themselves as a people by the Koreans; A reformation in learning and literature, the native alphabet being brought into general use and repute among educated people; Some progress toward the breaking down of class distinctions, and introduction of ideas of more democratic human relations; More altruism and general concern for the welfare of society; More enlightenment on the harmful effects of drugs, narcotics, and alcohol; A greatly increased respect for, and desire for, modern scientific school education (Fisher, 1928: 96).

One of the most distinctive aspects of modern education introduced by Christian missionaries was the educational opportunity given to women (Lee, 2002; Jayasuriya, 1983; Lee, 1989; Lim, 1985; Kwon, 1998). The first school for girls in Korea was Ewha School (*Ewha Hakdang*), which later provided the first higher education opportunity for women in Korea (Underwood, 1926; Grayson, 1985; Lee, 1989; Manabu, 2010). The missionaries' efforts for women's education in Korea intended not only to pave the way for evangelic missions in Korean society but also to improve the general welfare and status of women in Korea, which was based on the democratic ideal of equality between men and women, held by Christian missionaries at the time (Jayasuriya, 1983; Son, 1985). In particular, Jayasuriya (1983: 37) claims that women's education soon displayed a "snowballing effect" as initially

²¹ There was an element of continuity in the new Christian schools such as the teaching of Chinese characters.

hesitant parents began to send their girls to Ewha School, and the educated women at Ewha School began to teach illiterate women in rural areas during their vacations. By 1905, of 18,000 students attending Protestant schools, 30 percent were women (Kwon, 1998). This huge increase in the number of female students in the schools signified not only the success of Protestant missionary work but also the desires of Korean women to liberate themselves through “the education provided by these non-Confucian religious institutions” (Kwon, 1998: 386). Thus, Lee (2002: 56) concludes that “within two decades of Protestant missionaries beginning their institutional work, they contributed much to the emancipation of women as well as to the recognition of human rights and freedom through sowing seeds of Christianity and Western thought among the Korean people.”

The growth in the number of Christian schools and their influence among Korean pupils around this period is closely associated with the rise of ‘enlightenment’ (*Kaehwa*) ideas in Korea (Kim A. E., 2000). Both the Korean government and the public considered education as a critical means to adopt ‘modern civilization’ in Korea. Many reform-minded individuals, such as Yun Ch’iho, Pak Yŏng-hyo and Syngman Rhee, believed that the adoption of Christianity and the introduction of ‘modern’ education in the Christian schools would help the Koreans establish a modern nation-state such as those in the West, since they considered that Western civilization was based on Christianity (Choi, 2010; Rhee, 2001). For example, Lee (2000: 59) argues that the formation of modern education in Korea was based on the Korean leaders’ beliefs that “first, education was considered the essence of the “successful” Western civilization; second, the lack of modern mass education was seen as the cause of their own loss; third, there was a belief that education could elevate the status of the nation.”

Many scholars (Kim S. H., 1990; Wells, 1990; Son, 1998; Choi, 2010; Chang, 2001; Park, 2000; Lee, 2000) point out that the efforts to reform Korean education based on Christian principles were driven by Korean Christian leaders who realized that the normative framework of Confucian education contributed to placing Korea in a vulnerable position in relation to international power struggles (including Japanese colonization).²² In particular,

²² This view on Confucian education was also shared by Western missionaries at the time. For example, Hulbert (1904: 443) described the downsides of Confucian education in Korea as follows: “[Traditional] Education has always been, in Korea, merely literary and historical and there has been

Park (2000: 510) argues that due to the “fatal defect of the Confucian system,” the Chosŏn Dynasty had “no flexible symbol and value system to be capable of explaining and making sense out of a series of abrupt changes” that came out of external pressures in international arena. As a result, “many Confucianists converted and joined the modernizing camp by forming scholarly circles and publishing newspapers to urge new strategies for the revitalizing of the country” (Lee, 2000: 69).

Consequently, based on the standard dogma of Korean society at the time, which considered civilization to be identical with religion (e.g. Confucianism), Christianity became one of the main religions which could replace Confucianism as well as “restore Korean strength and dignity” (Wells, 1990: 51). To this end, Korean Christian leaders’ initial strategies revolved mainly around educational efforts since many of them regarded education as a main platform to enlighten and cultivate the Korean public and ultimately to reform the Korean society (Kim S. H., 1990; Wells, 1990; Son, 1998; Lee, 2000; Chang, 2001; Choi, 2010). For example, Appenzeller, who established the Paejae School, hoped that this school would contribute to the independence and modernization of Korea through the introduction of Christian (i.e. Western) civilization (Davies, 1988). Therefore, Wells (1990: 47) concludes that Korean Christian leaders and missionary educators believed that “Western civilization was formed by Christianity, [and] the adoption of Christianity also became typical of the more radical reformers for whom the ‘[new] concept of God made impossible a recognition of ultimate value in the existing social structures’.” As a result, the concepts associated with modernity, such as freedom, human rights, democracy and equality, were introduced to Koreans largely as they were exposed to Christian education which embraced these values in their curricula and systems (Kim A. E., 2000: 113).

The Christian leaders in Korea were able to establish an extensive network of private schools not only at primary school level but also at college level (Hahn, 1998; Yi S. C., 2007). For example, in 1906, the Union Christian College, the first private higher education

vastly more of the study of China than of Korea. It included no practical grasp of the facts of today’s life...The Korean youth always walked into the battle of life backwards, waving a tearful adieu to the phantoms of past glories rather than resolutely facing the enemies to his present advancement and hailing the advent of better things than the past had to offer.”

institution in Korea, was established in Pyŏngyang with the aim to compete with Japanese schools and university and to produce adequate teachers (Yi S. C., 2007: 80, 189). Furthermore, in 1917, in order to unify the Christian efforts for higher education, Chosun Christian College was established in partnership with missionaries from the USA and Canada (Kim T., 2001). Despite the oppressive education policy of the Japanese colonial government, 12 junior colleges were established by mostly Christian and nationalistic leaders in Korea (Kim S. H., 1990). The following table summarizes the change in the number of public and private colleges in different years throughout the Japanese colonial period.

Table 3-2. Number of Junior Colleges and Students during the Japanese Colonization

Year	Classification of Colleges	No. of Colleges	No. of Students
1912	Public	10	93
	Private	0	0
1919	Public	4	474
	Private	2	111
1923	Public	5	1,061
	Private	3	445
1931	Public	5	1,202
	Private	8	1,623
1940	Public	8	2,350
	Private	10	2,871
1943	Public	9	3,033
	Private	10	4,025

Source: Kim T. (2001) *Forming the Academic Profession in East Asia*. London: Routledge. p. 116

As Table 3-2 shows, the number of private colleges and their students continuously increased even throughout the Japanese colonial period. In fact, the number of private colleges and their students exceeded that of public colleges from 1931, since from 1929 to 1930 three private colleges were established in addition to the existing five private colleges including The Union Christian College, Chosun Christian College, Severance Medical College, Bosŏng College and Ewha College (Kim S. H., 1990; Hahn, 1998; Kim T., 2001). Kim T. (2001: 67) argues that despite the efforts of the Japanese colonial government to suppress the growth of private higher education in Korea by placing these institutions under the direct control of the government, “the surviving private institutions served as the main focus of the Korean academic profession in the colonial period...[and] played a significant role in shaping the first generation of the modern Korean academic profession.”

For example, more than half of the Koreans who studied abroad in 1928 had started their education in Christian schools such as Chosun Christian College and Ewha Women's School (Kim S. H., 1990). According to a survey of Korean students in the USA during the early 1920s, all of them were Christian (Kim S. H., 1990). This aspect is significant for this research since many of these students who studied in the USA during the 1920s and 1930s returned to Korea to teach in Christian schools, and subsequently became chief Korean advisors to American military officers in charge of education reforms during the US military regime. Notable examples include O Chŏn-sŏk, Baek Nak-jun (George Paik), and Kim Hwal-lan (Hellen Kim) (Kim S. H., 1990; Kim T. 2001). "As innovative nationalist leaders infused with Western knowledge," these Christian academics in private colleges became significant agents of educational modernization in and after the Japanese colonial period and also "affected the reorientation of Korean society after Liberation" (Kim T., 2001: 87).

Furthermore, when the Japanese demonstrated their desire to colonize Korea, Christian schools became the centers for the "independence movement through education" (*kyouiku kyuuokoku undou*) (Kim, 1996: 22). For example, when Korea became a Japanese protectorate in 1905, Korean Christian leaders actively promoted education as a mean of strengthening a nation. Many Christian leaders attempted to establish private schools, such as the Posŏng Professional School,²³ Yangjŏng Academy and Hwi-mun Academy (Kim J. C., 2000; Manabu, 2010). Park (2000: 516) argues that "to be a Christian meant not only to have a new religious belief but also a strong commitment to such an educational movement." The leaders who were dedicated to this educational movement "systematically continued to push through its educational programs for national renewal" even under the Japanese colonial rule (Park, 2000: 517). Also, societies and clubs to "self-strengthen" the Korean public, such as *Kungminhoe* (People's Association), *Taehan cha'ganhoe* (Great Korea Self-Strengthening Society), and *Taehan hyŏhoe* (Great Korea Society) emerged as a result of this enlightenment movement. In the sphere of education, An Ch'ang-ho and Yun Ch'i-ho, together with other nationalist elites, established *Sinminhoe* (New People's Association) in April 1907, in order to cultivate and nurture a sense of nation among the next generation Koreans through education (Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, 1981). This was matched by the educational zeal shown by the

²³ Posŏng Professional School became Korea University in 1946.

Korean public during the period, as evinced by remarks given by missionaries at the time: “All schools are overcrowded...There is a perfect craze for education all over the peninsula...The people are beginning to realise that their present position is a good deal due to lack of education in the past.” (Wells, 1990: 19).

Throughout the country, schools and people’s assemblies were formed for the patriotic enlightenment movement, reflecting the growing indigenous educational endeavors of the Korean people. Christian schools became forefronts of this nationalistic movement by inculcating the spirit of independence and Korean history to their pupils (Yoon, 2004). For example, in the Christian schools Bible stories such as David and Goliath and the history of Israel were taught to make Korean pupils realize the strength of the oppressed equipped with justice (Son, 1977; Yoon, 2004). In Chosun Christian College,²⁴ subjects such as Korean language, Korean history and Korean literature were taught to pupils after school in order to avoid the Japanese surveillance (Kim I. H., 2015; Yoon, 2004). Choi (2010) argues that Christian missionary educators, such as Appenzeller and Underwood, played a significant role to transform the image of Christianity which was of a foreign origin to a patriotic religion that gave rise to the unique nationalism among Korean leaders and intellectuals at that time. Thus, Wells (1990: 111) summarizes the unique characteristic of Korean nationalism that came as a result of this Christian influence as follows:

It defies the central political principle of nationalism: that a nation has no reality except in its political institutions and that the prior congruence of nation and state is the necessary condition for the development of national culture. In its context, the ‘coming new nation’ referred not to a politically dependent state of Korea, but to the character and ethos of the civilization that would be moulded by the generation then imbibing the new education and religion.

Conclusion

As the review of modern education, state formation and Christian influence on education in Korea has shown, Korean leaders used ‘modern’ education as a major platform to

²⁴ Chosun Christian College became Yonsei University in 1957.

push for modernization at the twilight of the ancient kingdom during the late 19th century and to pursue nationalistic aims during the Japanese colonial period. In this sense, ‘modern’ education and schools in Korea became primary agents to shape the indigenous ideologies and to define national identities amongst the Korean pupils who later became political and educational leaders. The liberation from the Japanese was expected to provide a long-awaited opportunity for the Korean leaders and the public to build a modern nation-state in the Korean peninsula with their own hands, but the arrival of the Soviet and US military regimes, against their own expectations, proved a greater challenge for them to deal with. However, as this chapter has illustrated, ideas of modern education and nationalism had already emerged among Koreans well before 1945. In this sense, the education reforms during the Soviet and US military were conducted in the light of already-existing efforts for modernization and nation-building by Korean leaders. This contextual perspective provides an important clue to understanding Korean decision-makers’ motivations to participate in policy-making and implementation process of the reforms during and after the Soviet and US military regimes, a critical aspect which affects the *modus operandi* of translating the policy into practice. For the Korean leaders who were involved with the educational reforms as well as for the Korean public, education was perceived as a major vehicle to carry out their nation-building or state formation projects which had been long postponed due to the foreign interventions during late 19th and early 20th century. Therefore, the unique characteristics of Korean modern education and nationalism are important to understand the educational reforms made by the two superpowers in the two Koreas.

Chapter 4.

Research Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this comparative historical study is to consider a re-conceptualization of educational policy transfer, based on an analysis of how the reforms undertaken by the Soviet and US military governments in the two Koreas impacted on the educational development of North and South Korea respectively from 1945 to 1959. In doing so, this study aims to shed new light on the concept and nature of educational policy transfer, and to investigate the process and practice of the educational reforms made by foreign powers during the military occupation as well as intense political upheavals of state formation. This chapter operationalizes the main research question through subsidiary research questions which identify specific features and processes of the educational reforms. The underlying concepts are closely related to the conceptual framework, which was developed by utilizing theories from comparative politics, history and educational studies. This chapter starts with a presentation of the research questions, and moves on to discuss the research methodology and methods, which include the collection and analysis of historical documentation and interviews. This chapter concludes with a discussion of ethical concerns and issues of trustworthiness.

Research Questions

This research aims to analyze the process and practice of the educational reforms made by the Soviet and US military in the two Koreas, by comparing the educational histories of the two countries, North and South Korea, in light of their political contexts and legal and administrative cultures. It is hoped that the analysis of the domestic and international contexts which triggered such reforms and the process and practice of the reforms ‘on the ground’ will contribute to the current research on policy transfer. The period on which this study focuses starts from 1945, the year when Korea was liberated from Japanese colonization following the Japanese capitulation to the Allied Forces, and ends in 1959 when the two Koreas started to

recuperate from the destruction resulting from the Korean War. Among the various educational policies that have been developed in Korea since the 19th century when it first opened its port to Japan, I decided to focus on the aspects of educational policies that were initiated and reformed at the beginning of the two separate governments in Korea under the Soviet and US military occupation. As a result, the following main research question was framed:

How did the reforms made by the Soviet and US military governments in the two Koreas influence the educational development of North Korea and South Korea respectively from 1945 to 1959?

Reflecting the main research question, this research includes a description of the political, legal and educational changes which North and South Korea underwent during the onset of the Cold War as a result of the occupation of the Soviet Union and the USA in the two zones of Korea. This historical background is then followed by in-depth analysis of the educational reforms implemented by the Soviet and the US military governments in the two Koreas and their impacts on the subsequent educational development in North and South Korea respectively. Thus, the subsidiary research questions are centered on the historical aspects of the educational development of the two Koreas in an attempt to analyze the impacts of the educational reforms in establishing and developing the educational, political and economic systems of the two Koreas. In order to operationalize the main research question, I developed following four subsidiary research questions which indicated the specific features and process of the educational reforms within the contexts of the two Koreas at the onset of the Cold War:

1. What were the domestic and international political contexts at the time of the educational reforms introduced by the Soviet and US military governments?
2. Who were the actors involved in the educational reforms during the Soviet and US military regimes and what were their roles?
3. What were the actors' motivations to promote the reforms and how did their beliefs in the ideologies of the Soviet Union and the USA influence the process of the reforms?

4. How were the reforms implemented and localized ‘on the ground’ in North Korea and South Korea during and after the Soviet and US military regimes?

Theoretical models from public policy, international relations, history and educational studies were used to underpin the subsidiary questions as described in the discussion of conceptual framework. In particular, the four subsidiary research questions were formulated as a result of the theoretical models that dealt with the topics of political contexts, actors, state formation, and ideology, the elements that were extrapolated in accordance with the aspects of decision-making, implementing and evaluating the educational policies made by the Soviet and US military governments in the two Koreas.

Rationale for the Research Approach

Since the research questions mainly deal with the educational reforms made by foreign powers during one of the most intensive political upheavals domestically and internationally, contextualizing the educational reform within the backdrop of politico-economic development is essential for this research. In this sense, this research is inherently constructivist (or interpretivist) for its recognition of complexity in understanding human behaviors and motivations and for its inductive approach in analyzing contextual influences on shaping and determining the process of educational reforms (Mack, 2010: 8). To serve the purpose, I chose qualitative methods - historical documentation complemented by expert interviews - for my research. In particular, Maxwell (2005: 90) argues qualitative methods are effective “to elucidate local processes, meanings, and contextual influences in particular settings or cases,” and these advantages are essential to this research since it seeks to analyze the conditions, process and practice of educational reforms in the local contexts of the two Koreas. Furthermore, qualitative methods tend to be more “naturalistic – studying real people in natural settings rather than in artificial isolations” (Marshall, 1996: 524), thus allowing this research the flexibility to analyze the roles and motivations of real policy-makers who were involved with the educational reforms in the two Koreas during the Soviet and US military regimes.

For research methods, I decided to use a historical documentation complemented by

semi-structured interviews of key informants. Analysis of historical documentation was chosen for providing a historical overview of the phenomena analyzed and examining the different political contexts of the countries involved (Keeves, 1988: xv). In addition, historical enquiry proves very effective in serving those goals on account of the following characteristics:

As historical facts do not speak for themselves, the past becomes relevant to the present only through interpretation and evaluation. Interpretation and evaluations of past experiences enable historians to fashion arguments designed to bring meaning to experience. History means interpretation; interpretation implies argument (Sherman and Webb, 1988: 46).

Although there are a large number of publications on the political, economic, social and cultural changes that accompanied the establishment of the two Korean governments at the beginning of the Cold War, there are few studies which systematically compare the changes occurred as a result of, and the dynamics of the educational reforms made in the two Koreas around this period. In this sense, historical interpretations, made through various angles of policy transfer, bureaucratic politics, ideology and state formation, will provide insights to help understanding not only of the domestic situations of the two Koreas but also of the impacts of the Cold War on individual states in cultural and educational areas.

Historical documentation was complemented by semi-structured interviews which aim to explore the personal experiences of the Korean policy-makers in making and implementing the policies and reforms during the foreign military regimes. Interviews were used to complement the historical research since they “also make it easy for participants to amplify their answers or to digress from the central topic in ways that prove useful to the investigator” (Murray, 1998: 134). Furthermore, since this research aims to analyze the roles and motivations of Korean policy-makers in getting involved with the reforms during the Soviet and the US military regimes, “interviews can yield rich material unobtainable in any other way...[as] interviewer can probe responses, investigate feelings, motives, experiences and attitudes which no other investigative technique can reach” (Verma and Mallick, 1999: 128). Thus, for the interviews, I tried to identify still remaining first-hand or second-hand witnesses on the educational reforms made during the Soviet and US military regimes: in particular, those witnesses who were either involved with the reforms or who heard first-hand accounts of these reforms from their professors or teachers.

Data Collection

Historical documentation

Historical documentation based on an extensive review of Korean, Japanese and English documents was conducted to analyze the process and practice of the educational reforms in the contexts of the two Koreas. Howell and Prevenier (2001: 19) define sources as “materials from which historians construct meanings... an object from the past or testimony concerning the past on which historians depend in order to create their own depiction of that past.” Thus, historical sources were not confined to diplomatic or legal sources which were traditionally viewed as more authentic but also included diaries, letters, social documents (e.g. reports on meetings, a survey on administrative structure), press documents and even oral records (Howell and Prevenier, 2001: 21-28). In conducting my data collection, I undertook the following procedure. As a start, I identified key primary sources through my literature review. I found primary sources that were frequently referred to or referenced in the literature related to my topic, and, based on the information, I visited various sites such as national archives, libraries, and research institutes, and searched their databases with the help of librarians. During the search, I entered key words (e.g. North Korea, education, the Soviet Union, the US military government, in different combinations, in both Korean and English languages), derived from my research questions and the research undertaken for the Masters degree which focused on a similar research topic to the current DPhil research. I also entered the names of persons, such as O Chŏn-sŏk, Kim Il Sung, and institutions, such as Korean Education Committee and DPRK-Soviet Union Literary Associations in Korean language for further search. During the interviews, I was informed of additional resources and interviewees helped me find and gather resources, either from their institutes or by referring me to their colleagues. For North Korean resources, this help proved especially critical since North Korean primary sources were not readily available to the public and were scattered around and managed by different institutes. In selecting the most relevant sources, I scrutinized tables of contents and skimmed through chapters in order to discover if there was any part, a chapter or a section, which dealt specifically with my research topic. In selecting the resources that

were pertinent to my research problem, I tried to follow the guideline proposed by Atkins and Wallace (2012: 219):

Is the data I have selected for presentation:

- * illuminative? (Does it throw light on the research question?)
- * indicative? (Does it indicate something significant to the research?)
- * representative? (Is it typical of the data as a whole?)
- * illustrative? (Does it illustrate accurately the overall picture the data presents?)

As a result, I drew my data not only from diplomatic sources such as lists of ordinances of the US military government and war documents captured by the US Army and Navy during the Korean War, but also other sources including Koreans' letters to the US military government, textbooks and teaching materials during the Soviet military regime in North Korea, newspapers, magazine and journal articles, and memoirs and diaries of important policy-makers. I also used secondary sources which were produced around the military regime, such as the *History of US Army Military Government in Korea* (1946), if they provided "evidence about the existence of an event" (Howell and Prevenier, 2001: 20). I counted them as historical data, since they could convey insights into interpreting the dynamics of policy-making and implementation around that time. However, in doing so, I carefully considered "the ways a given source was created, why and how it was preserved, and why it has been stored in an archive, museum, library or any such research site" (Howell and Prevenier, 2001: 28). The most important sources that I examined in the study of the educational reforms in North and South Korea were archival materials, such as records seized by U.S. Military Forces in Korea and intelligence reports (G-2 reports, 1945-1950) of the United States Army Forces in Korea (USAFIK) and the United States Military Advisory Group in Korea (USMAGIK) and Summation of US Military Government Activities in Korea. In order to understand the historical contexts of Korea before, during and after the US military government in South Korea, the Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) series which reflected US foreign policy decisions and significant process of decision making on South Korea were scrutinized. In addition, the memoirs and diaries of US and Korean decision makers, educational magazines, newspapers were studied in addition to archival materials, including documents of United States Army Military Government in Korea, Department of

Education. In the study of North Korea, archival materials again proved essential. Policy documents such as DPRK Ministry of Education Administrative Regulations and Ordinances by Legal Department of DPRK People's Committee and education-related books which were published around the period were primarily analyzed. Simultaneously, educational magazines, newspapers, and even oral records of a Soviet Korean professor who worked during the Soviet military regime were examined. The list of primary sources used for this research is given in the list of references.

However, it should be noted that there are differences in the kinds of archival materials that were collected for North and South Korean cases. For South Korea, many policy documents created by the US military government during the US military occupation were readily available for public use and these materials proved critical in analyzing the phenomenon of the educational reforms during the US military regime. For North Korean sources, I acknowledged that there were archival materials published by the Soviet military government as well as the Soviet communist party and government organizations,²⁵ which have been available to the public since the fall of Berlin Wall. However, due to the lack of my Russian language ability, I relied mostly on policy documents and other archival materials that were translated into English or Korean, which included *Shtykov's Diaries*, news, and speeches and statements by the US, Soviet and Korean policy-makers, and declarations by North Korean communist party, and agreements that were made between the Soviet Union and North Korea during the 1940s.

Furthermore, the archival materials on the Soviet military regime as well as the early North Korean government regime, published by governments other than the Soviet Union and other authorities, that are available to the public are as follows: *Selected Works of Kim Il Sung*, which compile Kim Il Sung's speeches and ordinances he proclaimed during various conventions, *Chosŏn Chungang Yŏngam* (Annals of DPRK government), publications by North Korean governments on policies and ordinances, laws, captured documents by the US

²⁵ For a general overview on Soviet military and governmental documents during the Soviet military regime in North Korea, read Chŏn, H. S. (전현수) (2001) *Haepang chikhu Pukhan charyo haeje vol. 2- Rōsia saengsan charyo* (해방직후 북한 자료 해제 2 - 러시아 생산자료 *North Korea Resources Immediately After Liberation from the Japanese - Produced by Russia*). In Suh, Dae-suk et al. (서대숙 외) (eds.) *Pukhan hyōndaesa munhōn yōngu* (북한현대사 문헌 연구 *A Study on the Publications on Contemporary North Korean History*). Seoul: Paeksan sōdang

military during the Korean War, newspapers and magazines which were mostly published by North Korean government or government-affiliated organizations, publications by North Korean authors (Yi W. P., 2001: 86-107). Among those sources, the documents captured by the US military during the Korean War, Record Group 242, Records Seized by the US Military Forces in Korea, 1921-1952, were the most reliable sources for this research since many of archival materials during this critical period were either intentionally destroyed or strictly controlled by the North Korean government (Yi W. P., 2001: 90). For my research, all the above-mentioned archival materials were collected, including the RG 242 materials specifically related to North Korean education at the time and these captured documents, along with newspapers and magazine articles, became the backbone of my data analysis.

The primary and secondary sources were gathered from various locations, which included the US National Archives and Record Group, US Library of Congress, and Harvard Yenching Library and Chosŏn University (Japan). They also included systematically digitalized and categorized data, which I accessed with permission from the institutions which held the documents. In addition, I obtained an independent researcher position at the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies of Seoul National University which gave me full access to the library resources of Seoul National University and of Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies. Through data searches in these libraries, I was able to gather most of the necessary secondary sources for my thesis. Finally, the origins of selected primary sources can be tracked through the tables in Appendix 2 which I created in order to show the categorization of my data. In summary, the databases that were searched for data collection are as follows:²⁶

- US National Archives and Record Administration, US Library of Congress, Harvard Yenching Library, Google Scholar, University of Wisconsin Digital Collection (US)
- Seoul National University Library, National Archives of Korea, National Archives of Korea Digital Access, National Library of Korea, South Korean Library of Congress, Korea Education and Research Information Service, DBpia, and Korea Information System Service, Korea Institute for National Unification Library (South Korea)
- Chosŏn University (Japan), University of Oxford Bodleian Library (UK)

I was aware that “historical knowledge is invariably incomplete, since it is derived from the surviving data of a limited number of events that took place in the past” (Verma and Mallick,

²⁶ The procedure for data collection in each database is described in detail in appendix 1.

1999: 77). I thus realized that completeness in data collection was impossible to achieve and that I could only aim for a point of saturation in which no further insights or events that contributed to cause or correlate with the state of affairs under investigation could be found. I browsed through most of the secondary sources that were selected as a result of my systematic search. The discourses in the secondary sources gave me insights to identifying the key primary sources and figures which were often quoted and referred in the discussions related to my research topic. These key sources and figures not only provided me with key political events and movements that were closely related to this topic but also led me to trace the intellectual, ideological and political backgrounds or angles which these figures as well as sources adhered to, albeit inexplicit in many cases.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted to complement the findings from the historical documentation. Thus, the choice of interviewees was focused on identifying key policy-makers and professors who were consistently involved in the relevant projects or who researched on the topics related to my research problem. I put particular emphasis on diversity in order to make sure that interviewees “represent a variety of positions in relation to the research topic, of a kind that might be expected to throw light on meaningful differences” (King and Horrocks, 2009: 29). I tried to avoid the risk of bias, which may arise when the topic is confined to a relatively closed group of experts (Walford, 2001; Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000). I selected the first few interviewees by interviewing the main authors of key publications. For this purpose, I compared the number and duration of their publications on the topic, and checked their relevant academic and policy-making activities in Korean, US, and Russian diplomatic relations. I then contacted other interviewees according to the recommendations and advice by this first group of interviewees.

Although it was more straightforward to gain access to South Korean interviewees, identifying and accessing appropriate interviewees for North Korea was a major challenge. In order to overcome this challenge, I checked the major news coverage which dealt with the activities and opinions of North Korean refugees in South Korea and identified a well-known network of North Korean intellectuals and academics in South Korea, called North Korean

Intellectuals Solidarity. After having checked publications and news coverage in which their opinions and activities of were highlighted, I contacted the deputy director of the network with the help of a professor in Seoul National University. The deputy director introduced me appropriate interviewees, especially those who could give me first-hand accounts on the education system and educational experiences in North Korea during the late 1940s and early 1950s. As a result, I conducted 10 interviews (including one e-mail interview) and used oral and written recordings created by other scholars for 1 interviewee who was a first-hand witness: 6 interviews were mainly about North Korea, and 5 interviews were mainly about South Korea although some interviewees gave comments on both North and South Korean education and politics.

To arrange the interviews, initial contacts were made via emails. In making the contacts, I followed the guidelines set by CUREC. I prepared an interview consent form, sample interview questions and a letter introducing myself as well as my project. From my pilot study for the M.Sc. in Comparative and International Education, I learnt that academics usually respond best to email contacts. Some keen professors actually introduced other interviewees or gave me their contacts. Also, shorter emails usually received better responses, especially when I made initial contacts. Some told me to give them a phone call after I arrived in the country. So I made initial correspondences very concise and personal contacts first. Topics, an agenda and sample questions for interviews were sent to interviewees in advance for communication and preparation. The complete interview protocol is presented in Appendix 2.

Plummer (2001: 137) recommends careful reflection upon the motivations of the interviewee in accepting the interview: “The researcher needs to ask: what does the interviewee hope to gain from this?” This point was especially relevant when I selected interviewees on North Korea since, as a young researcher new to the field, I and my research could be manipulated for political purposes. Therefore, I made careful steps in identifying and contacting relevant experts by asking different professors and policy-makers about the interviewees’ backgrounds before conducting interviews. For safety in the field, as a young female researcher interviewing mostly male policy-makers and professors, I conducted the interviews in open, public space. Interviews were semi-structured in order to allow interviewees “to answer more on their own terms than a standardized interview permits, but

still provides a greater structure for comparability” (Walford, 2001: 123). In addition, I chose semi-structured interviews for their flexibility. For example, they allowed me to “concentrate on those items of information relevant to...[my] research questions” but at the same time “not push responses into categories because this loses some of the individuality of the original states” (Breakwell, 1990: 86).

However, during the interview I engaged more freely in conversation in order to navigate beyond predictable answers. The interviewees were categorized into three different types according to the contents of interview questions and responses, and the contributions they made to this research (Appendix 3). For the interviewees who were either first-hand or second-hand witnesses, I focused on asking about their involvement with, or witness to, the educational reforms or projects during the military regimes and the 1950s. All of them were over 70 and had diverse experiences related to the research topic so throughout the interviews I made efforts to draw as many details as possible by asking specific questions on particular experiences related to the key events or projects. These were the key informants so I focused on the aspects that could help me to contextualize the research topic such as by asking them about the societal ambiance and people’s lives around the time.

For the interviewees who were mostly policy-makers and government officials, I asked about decision-making processes in North and South Korean governments and how decision-makers’ views and beliefs are translated into the decision-making processes in educational and diplomatic fields. Most of them involved with advisory or decision-making processes in educational administrations or diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union or the US. Thus, for them, I focused on the questions that were related to bureaucratic culture and dynamics in North and South Korean governments and the assessment of decision-makers’ views.

Finally, the last category of interviewees was scholars who were extensively engaged in research related to the topics of education in the two Koreas and the educational reforms during the US and Soviet military regimes. So I asked them questions about various discourses that characterized the research topic in order to identify and evaluate them. Also, I sought help to acquire further primary sources that were not easily accessible from public libraries or databases. During the interviews, I constantly referred back to my research questions after each interview and circled important themes, topics or even terms from the

memos, which I had taken during the interviews. Then, I briefly summarized the key points of interviews, wrote down my impressions and ideas in the memos, in order to incorporate them into my analysis. Throughout this process, I hoped not only to ensure the quality of the interview conducted and the relationship that I made with the interviewee but also to draw reflections that became critical in producing original analysis for the research.

Data Analysis

Historical Documentation

The first step in data analysis for historical documentation was to draw a ‘big picture’ on the research topic through the analysis of the key secondary sources, which I had already identified through the literature review. Drawing the big picture included the identification of basic facts and key events related to the political contexts, the formation of education system and the educational reforms made during the military regimes of the Soviet Union and the USA in the Korean peninsula in a chronological order. The next important step in forming a big picture was to classify major discourses on the key events. For example, a significant number of literature on the education reforms in South Korea during the US military regime within the South Korean scholarship approached the topic of this research with nationalistic perspectives that emphasized the roles of Koreans in making the reforms successful and sustainable. This is understandable, considering the painful history of Korea: de-colonization from Japan, immediately followed by the division of the country into two separate states by the occupations of two world powers. Furthermore, since then, the two Koreas have made enormous efforts to develop their political and economic status in the international area, and, for this purpose, nationalistic discourse on education was imperative to run a strong statehood and development.

On the other hand, American and Russian scholars, although very few in numbers compared with Korean scholars, emphasized the roles of American or Russian authorities and political and security interests that initiated the reforms. In doing so, they tacitly focused on the international dynamics while ignoring the indigenous viewpoints and roles of local actors

in implementing and localizing the reform measures and policies. I tried to position myself in between these two extremes. By distancing myself from the nationalistic perspective of Korean scholars, I tried to embrace the inevitable forces of international power struggles and their impacts on the domestic political environment and decision-making processes. However, this systemic analysis of international relations should be complemented with a sub-systemic approach which incorporates the analyses of the bureaucratic decision-making processes of the Korean governmental organizations and the roles and motivations of the indigenous Korean actors. I understand that it is an ambitious initiative as a junior researcher to give a comprehensive picture of both systemic and sub-systemic (i.e. bureaucratic and individual) analyses to this topic. But the difficulty does not entail the impossibility, and with the ambition I attempt to conduct multiple levels of analysis for this research.

After I developed a big picture through the analysis of the secondary sources, I came to the most important step in historical analysis: to investigate the primary sources which I categorized in accordance with the key events I had already identified from the reading of the secondary sources. In analyzing the primary sources, I put special emphasis on evaluating the various discourses which different scholars put forth in analyzing the research topic. For example, many left-wing scholars in Korea argued that the US military government, from the beginning, accepted Japanese collaborators for their own convenience regardless of the Koreans' opinions. However, the reading of US policy documents during the military regime revealed that the US decision-makers initially displayed hesitation in recruiting the Japanese collaborators since they were aware of the public opinion at that time. However, since they needed Korean civil servants who could carry out the administrative work with expertise and efficiency, they could not help but use the Japanese collaborators for their superior backgrounds in education, language, experience and skills.

Furthermore, the evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of major discourses on the research topic helped me to form my own argument. For example, in Korea the vast majority of discourses on this period focused on the political dynamics of the military regimes in the two Koreas since many studies concerning this period were conducted by political scientists. They tended to focus on the ideological clashes between the two Koreas and the occupying powers in the political fields while some scholars went to an extreme, arguing that the ideological influences of the Soviet Union and the USA were negligible since the newly

established governments in the two Koreas were driven by nationalism in building the separate states: In their eyes, the fundamental ideology of the two established states in the two Koreas – Democratic People’s Republic of Korea in the north and Republic of Korea in the south – was ‘nationalism.’ However, I found from the analysis of policy documents of educational administration in the US military government that this argument made hasty generalization since considerable ideological elements from the US were incorporated into the formation of the new education system in South Korea such as the creation of social studies subject in the new curriculum and the attempt to decentralize educational administration in South Korea.

Furthermore, the analysis of primary sources helped me not only to corroborate the key facts and events already identified from the analysis of the secondary sources but also to gather the detailed accounts of the key events including political, economic and cultural contexts that surrounded the key events. In particular, through readings on the nature of policy documents, I realized that government reports do not merely reflect neutral events or values but rather are shaped by the “political context in which they are produced, [and the] cultural and ideological assumptions that lie behind it” (Scott, 1990: 60). Therefore, in analyzing the sources, I tried to contextualize them, by considering the political, economic, cultural or societal contexts of the period when the publication was written in order to evaluate if the claims or the evidence which were presented in the publication were authentic and accountable. This was drawn from Murray’s (1998: 90) suggestion:

A method of testing the accuracy of a historical account is to locate the account within the sociopolitical atmosphere of its day. The historian attempts to find convincing evidence that a given description of an incident reasonably reflects what would be expected to occur in the context of those times.

Furthermore, political contexts in the year of publication and the readers to which the publications were mainly addressed were carefully considered in order to evaluate the motives of authors and reliability of statements or data accordingly. For example, in assessing the statistics on percentage increase in the literacy rate from 1945 to 1948, as claimed in one of the North Korean government publications, I placed the statistics in the light of broader contexts of the day which included the political context of the attempt by the Soviet military to transform its image in North Korea through political indoctrination, the economic context

of land reform which was effected in order to gather political supports for a new regime from wider North Korean constituents including farmers, and the social context of North Koreans' zeal for education which was unleashed with the end of Japanese colonization. All these aspects strongly corroborated the statistics, which claimed the increase of literacy rate in North Korean public during the Soviet military regime. As a result, I concluded that the claim and the statistics that were given in the publication were accountable and authentic.

Moreover, I found very insightful Scott's (1990: 62) argument that bureaucratic documents are published within the system of regular routines of certain organizations and underlying patterns that the routines reflect. Since these documents were embedded in the institutional regularities and framework, I paid a careful attention to deciphering the underlying meanings and codes within the documents. In particular, I found that these meanings and codes reflected the ideological angles that were embedded within the government documents. Thus, I tried to evaluate how ideologies and policy agenda were reflected in planning and producing the documents, keeping in mind "the real conflicts of interest within the social world which they claim to represent" (Codd, 1988: 246). A good example is the *Selected Works of Kim Il Sung*, one of the important sources I used for the research. The publications are particularly embedded with ideological and political angles that reflected the international and domestic political situations at the time of publications. For instance, the same publications, *Kim Il Sung Sŏnjip*, that were published in 1953-54, and in 1960-1964 had different parts with the rise of *Juche* Ideology in North Korea since the early 1960s, reflecting the changing relations with the Soviet Union. Therefore, the latter publication eradicated parts which praised excessively the Soviet Union as the liberator of North Korea and which idolized Stalin, and added parts which highlighted Kim Il Sung's *Juche* Ideology (Suh, 2001: 23-24). In order to enhance the credibility and reliability of the data analysis, when I inserted or paraphrased quotes from the *Selected Works of Kim Il Sung* from the English translations, I compared them to the most original version of *Kim Il Sung Sŏnjip*, published in 1953-54.

Interviews

In order to analyze the interview data, I referred back to the themes that were derived

and used for the analysis of historical documentation. These themes were derived from my main and subsidiary research questions and informed the design of the conceptual framework in the previous chapter. I transcribed the sections that were particularly relevant to the themes and, in this way, extracts for interview analysis were created. As I drew the extracts from the interviews and clustered them according to the wider topics and themes of the research, I found that the critical step was to figure out how best to put the extracts from the interviews into the writing and to blend them naturally with the findings from the historical documentation. In order to effectively integrate the data from the two methods, I focused on collecting and analyzing interview data that were proven missing or weak in the analysis of historical documentation. The first important insight I could gather from the analysis of the interviews was the aspect as to how policy-makers in both North and South Korean government muddled through organizational and bureaucratic pressures in order to implement policies and how their ideological and personal beliefs were translated into decision-making and implementation processes. This was an important question since although much literature and primary sources dealt with the political struggles that happened between the American and Soviet policy makers and their respective Korean partners, they did not make clear the organizational and bureaucratic cultures that these Korean policy-makers had to deal with in order to push their agendas. In doing so, I wanted “to add his/her view of the interview to explain more fully what actually occurred,” and to make “on-the-spot interpretations, in the light of his/her ‘accumulated knowledge of the participants’ meaning systems” (Powney and Watts, 1987: 192). This process was particularly essential to analyze North Korean cases since organizational and bureaucratic cultures significantly changed since late 1950s when Kim Il Sung decided to distance himself from ‘foreign’ influences, mostly of the Soviet Union. The interviews with North Korean intellectuals and policy-makers provided insights as to how the bureaucratic cultures and organizational processes were significantly altered with the rise of *Juche* ideology and idolization of Kim Il Sung from the 1960s, enabling me to interpret the government documents that were published after 1960s in accordance with these changes.

Throughout this process, I came to the conclusion that the caveat for interview analysis was to investigate the ‘hidden agendas and contexts’ that were not clearly displayed or written in the official policy or government documents. Another way to disclose the hidden meaning and contexts in the documents was to investigate the societal and cultural

atmosphere during the period in question through the interviews. This issue was more pronounced for North Korean documents since many of the documents that are accessed from inside the regime are forged or fabricated for political purposes. Thus, the insights or perspectives from outsiders or in hindsight such as the ones that I gained from the interviews complemented the findings from government documents. In particular, the analysis of interview data helped me to assess the extent as to how much the new policies and regulations were implemented and made impacts to the grass-roots level by providing personal and detailed accounts of the impacts of the newly implemented policies to schools, students and teachers in the two Koreas, a critical aspect to evaluate the processes of localization for educational reforms made by foreign powers. For example, the interview with a renowned professor of education in South Korea, who was educated in the US with the help of US government scholarship during the period in question revealed that the South Korean society during the military occupation as well as in the 1950s after the establishment of Republic of Korea was not mature enough to adopt liberal democracy, lacking rule of law, economic capacity and educational and intellectual level of the public for the adoption. This general assessment of the cultural and societal contexts provided me with historical insights to evaluate how the educational reforms made during the US military regimes were translated and localized in South Korea beyond the military regime.

Although different social science scholars propose different methods for coding, all agree that the caveat is to find the best method that fits one's own research (Rubin and Rubin, 2012; King and Horrocks, 2009; May 2001). I found the distinction between descriptive and interpretive coding by King and Horrocks (2009: 143) the most helpful for my research. While descriptive codes are drawn from browsing through the notes and comments the researcher has made during and after the interviews, interpretive codes are derived by interpreting the descriptive codes in accordance with her research questions and the disciplinary position she supports. In my case, interpretive codes that were drawn from the data analysis included the processes of state formation, the nature of military regimes, the Cold War dynamics in Korean peninsula, the ideological impacts of decision-makers' beliefs and the localization of the educational reforms. The following table demonstrates the example of descriptive and interpretive codes I used for interview analysis.

Table 4-1 Examples of Descriptive and Interpretive Codes

Notes, Comments, Transcriptions	Descriptive Codes	Interpretive Codes
<p>(Note) the purpose of the US military regime to introduce the social studies subject to Korea asked</p> <p>(Transcription) Educators during the US military regime [Korean educators who worked at the military administration were more important than the American educators themselves]...promoted democratic education and they deeply considered how to apply democratic thinking into Korean society. At that time, the Minister of Education was Yu Ŏk-kyŏm and the other influential person was O Chŏn-sŏk. Both of them were educated in the US during the Japanese colonial period. They talked a lot about democratic education and Dr. O Chŏn-sŏk even published a book on democratic education. They were influential during the military regime so democratic education became the biggest influence which the US military regime gave to Korean education.</p>	<p>Korean educational leaders;</p> <p>Democratic education;</p> <p>US military regime</p>	<p>Decision-Makers' beliefs</p>
<p>(Comments) Interviewee's personal/familial background – a daughter of a prosecutor in the city near Russian border during the Soviet military occupation</p> <p>(Transcription) Until the Soviet military returned to their own country in 1948, I had interacted with the children of the Soviet military families a lot. The educational method was very Sovietized. Textbooks were Russian translations. Although we learnt in Korean language, still school curricular followed the Soviet Union's. Although Juche education arose during the 1960s, until then most of the educational features were affected by the Soviets. I remember that until I graduated from college, all the regulations in the city planning followed the Soviet model. I remember this song which I used to sing when I was little: ♪ Friends from the Soviet Union, I heard you are going home with your parents. Kim Il Sung said he treated Stalin as a father and Mao Zedong as a brother. In my town there were performances for celebrating August 15th and May 1st, which were holidays for laborers. Soviet and Chinese children wore their own traditional gowns and gave dance performances. I think the theme of performance was friendship among Soviets, Chinese and Koreans. I was educated “deep down in my</p>	<p>Childhood stories of the interviewee;</p> <p>Interactions with the Soviet soldiers and children;</p> <p>Educational scenery;</p> <p>societal atmosphere</p>	<p>Localization of the educational reforms</p>

bone” that Koreans, Soviets and Chinese were friends. Also, during the Korean War the Soviets sent 50,000 tons of food for aid.		
---	--	--

Following this guideline, I heeded a special attention to the particular interviews or the part of those interviews that included many interpretive codes, rather than concentrating on transcribing every single word of all the interviews from audio recording. This practice was helpful as I could compare these findings across various interviews but also with the findings that I derived from historical documentation. Also, I clustered them in accordance with the research questions and merged them into the argument which I established from the analysis of historical documentation. In the process, I asked questions, proposed by Rubin and Rubin (2012: 205) for a deeper analysis: “How did your interviewees collectively answer this question? What new information about an event was provided? How did they define this key term?” These questions, which I constantly reminded myself of before and after I conducted interviews, kept me focused on my research question, at the same time enabling me to position my research within a big picture.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Before considering the issues of trustworthiness of this research, I have to say that throughout the research process I have been aware of the limitation that is inherent in the historical research. Ultimately, interpretation in historical research is “a philosophical process in which the researcher draws the threads together in a meaningful pattern and then applies the result to... answer the question formulated at the outset” (Verma and Mallick, 1999: 76). While acknowledging the limitation, in order to enhance the validity and reliability of this research, I tried to constantly remind myself of the research problem and questions and of the importance of coherence and purpose in devising the thesis out of data analysis. In particular, specific measures to improve the originality and trustworthiness of the research are described in the following.

Firstly, in evaluating the validity of sources, Weiersma and Jurs (2009: 262) propose to evaluate the status of the author when the event occurred by asking the following questions: “Was the author an on-the-spot observer? Does the document appear to be a primary source?”

As much as possible, I prioritized primary sources for my data collection. Although it was difficult for me to find out the status of authors, such as their positions and roles during the period of publication for North Korean sources, for South Korean sources I tried to trace the positions and roles of the authors when they produced the publications, including “the time-lapse between the events reported and the production of the report, and the degree of participation of the author in the events” (McCulloch and Richardson, 2000: 24). The questions proposed by Howell and Prevenier (2001: 65) to evaluate authors were helpful so I tried to ask these questions, especially when I evaluated primary sources:

With what authority does the author of a source...speak?

Was he an eye-witness to the events he describes or did he participate in the design of the system for collecting the information?

Was he alive when the events he records are meant to have taken place?

Is his information second, or third, or fourth hand?

Is some of what the source relates to the firsthand account, which other parts of the document are based on, taken from others?

In assessing the authenticity of the sources (and the statistics and facts that were provided), I adopted a cross-referencing method, consistent with Murray’s claim that “one way [to evaluate the authenticity of materials] is to obtain multiple accounts of a particular event or of a document in order to determine how closely different versions match” (Murray, 1998: 90). As a researcher uses different research methods in order to strengthen the quality of research results, I tried to compare and contrast different sources in order to determine the authenticity of the data. In particular, before making comparisons, I asked the following questions: “To which academic or policy institution does the author of publication belong?”, “How many times is this resource referred or cited and, if so, in which publication?”, “What type of data does this publication use in order to draw this claim or to present this fact?” After confirming the quality of sources through those questions, I compared the facts and statistics given in each source and evaluated whether they contradicted or differed from one another. Then, I grouped the notes from various sources together by the themes and time periods in order to juxtapose the data. In this way, the contents of policy papers, government documents, academic books, journals, newspaper articles, and letters were compared and contrasted with those of others systematically for in-depth analysis and discussion.

For North Korean sources which were heavily embedded with propaganda and hyperbole, the problem of authenticity was particularly acute. Most of the publications in North Korea belong to North Korean government. This made the controlling of information in accordance with the government's agenda and ideology possible and the fabrication of facts prevalent across North Korean resources. So how to interpret the information given in the North Korean sources was one of the most problematic tasks I faced during the research process. However, during the interviews with North Korean intellectuals and policy-makers, I found that most of publications that were published before the 1960s were the least affected by government's fabrication since the North Korean government lacked capacity to do so partly due to intensive political reform it had to go through and partly because the foreign influences – particularly of Soviets and Chinese – were still considerable up to this period, preventing the unruly concoction of information and facts by the North Korean government. Also, in assessing the information that was given in North Korean publications that were published later than 1950s, I cross-checked the information with those I found in the pre-1960 publications. Interview data also helped me verify the information.

Finally, the validity and reliability of the interviews were maximized by employing several techniques. First, in order to reduce the researcher's bias in interview processes, I constantly "monitor[ed] their own comments, gestures and actions as these may convey particular meanings...may advance or impede interview" (Burgess, 1984: 111). Also, for this purpose, I wrote memos during and immediately after the interviews in order to include non-verbal aspects of the interviews and to record my reactions, views and thoughts for future reference. Indeed, I tried to constantly remind myself that "some of the best researchers rely on spotting what is absent from an interview in order to draw conclusions" (Breakwell, 1990: 86). In preparing the research interviews, I cross-checked question-wording. Using Plummer's (2001: 157) brief checklist of some dimensions of bias, I constantly checked the notes and comments made in each interview and compared these notes and memos before and after every interview in order to make sure that interview data were consistent and followed the overall purpose of the interview. This practice helped me to produce valuable feedback to prepare for the next interview.

Ethical Concern

In order to make sure that this research was ethically conducted, the data protection protocol, as set by the University of Oxford Research Ethics Committee, was followed by filling in a 'safety in the field checklist' and 'CUREC/1A form'. Prior to the interviews, I prepared sample interview questions and a interview consent form which made explicit the issues of anonymity and disclosure, in accordance with the guidelines set by CUREC protocols. In cases of necessity, I asked permission from interviewees to publish their names in my thesis if the data sources had to be identified for clarification. Since all interviews were conducted in Korean, in case that a quote from the interview is inserted in English with the identification of an interviewee's name, I sent an email to the interviewee to ask if the translation of the quote was appropriate. All the interview recording files saved in my computer will be destroyed at the end of this research.

For historical documentation, library studies were conducted in the National Library of Korea, the National Congress Library, Seoul National University, Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies Library and Korea Institute for National Unification Library in South Korea. I legally secured the permission to use all the primary and secondary documents I had collected for research. In particular, the library access to North Korean primary resources in South Korea requires a strict regulation of the researcher, such as identifying the researcher as well as his/her supervisor, signing a written consent form on the usage of information, and explaining the nature of research. This regulation is in line with CUREC protocol. For example, the National Library of Korea contained a special resources room, called 'Information Centre on North Korea,' which was comprised of North Korean publications. In order to gain access, I acquired a letter from my supervisor and submitted it to the librarian in charge of the North Korean collection. The librarian was very strict with regulations since it was at the time when Kim Jung Il died. Consequently she investigated my identity and purpose of research in detail. I gave an oral consent to the librarian that I would not post any of the resources I photocopied from the library onto the Internet. I also signed a written consent form (which was addressed to the Minister of Unification, Republic of Korea) that I would follow the regulations. Then, she issued a special permission card, which I have to use to gain entrance to the room. The room contained a section on education, which included hundreds of North Korean sources. I was able to read them in the library and could even

photocopy them. However, this required me to sign a form, specifying the titles and page numbers.

Conclusion

Since this research investigates the impacts of the educational reforms made by the Soviet and the US military governments in the two Koreas on the educational development of North and South Korea from 1945 to 1959, a comparative historical approach is best applied to this research in that it offers “historically grounded explanations of large-scale and substantively important outcomes” (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, 2003: 4). Although a comparative historical approach does not entail the adoption of qualitative research methods, I chose qualitative research methods for the deeper analysis of contextualized phenomena. For this purpose, I employed historical documentation of primary sources, mostly comprising of North and South Korean and US government documents, magazines and newspapers published around the period, as well as the memoirs and diaries of important policy-makers, as the main method for data collection and analysis. Then, to complement the findings from historical documentation, I conducted interviews of North and South Korean policy-makers and academics. Finally, I carefully considered measures to improve the trustworthiness of the research as well as to address ethical concerns during the process of conducting fieldwork, data collection and analysis.

Chapter 5.

Context of Reform: the Cold War and the Korean Peninsula

Interests rule the world...Men are not bad; they are merely subject to their own interests.

[French philosopher Claude Adrien Helvétius]

Introduction

The interplay between international and domestic politics is a key element to contextualize the educational reforms made by the Soviet and the US military governments in the Korean peninsula at the beginning of the Cold War. Therefore, in order to investigate the process and the practice of the educational reforms, it is important to analyze both international and domestic political contexts that characterized the period, initiating and facilitating the reforms. This chapter deals with the analysis of the political contexts for the educational reforms. In particular, the analysis begins with the international struggles amongst the superpowers towards the end of World War II in order to provide a background for the division of the Korean peninsula into two zones of occupation, focusing on how the difference in the ideologies and interests of the two superpowers affected the establishment of the two regimes. This chapter then moves on to discuss the domestic political contexts in the two Koreas in order to highlight the internal tug of war that characterized Korean polity at the time and how the Soviet and US military seized power despite the opposition from Koreans.

The Context of International Politics

The origin of the Cold War

After World War II, the Korean peninsula was sucked into the vortex of the Cold War. The two rival powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, increasingly sought interests in the Korean peninsula. As Helvétius stated, it was a time when national interests, disguised under the names of ideologies, preponderated over the world and Korea (Sears et al., 2003: 756). The concept of “interests” is pivotal in analyzing the behaviors of actors in international

politics. Interests set the fundamental goal for which actors in international politics pursue their own agenda. In any given 'environment,' an actor has 'interests' in some outcomes, compared to others, and pursues a 'strategy' to accomplish his or her most preferred outcomes. In international affairs, states, groups, or individuals have certain goals they want to achieve, and develop strategies by taking into account their environment, which includes other actors and their anticipated behaviors, available information, differential capabilities, and power disparities (Frieden, 1999: 39-76).

The onset of the Cold War can be explained in terms of the different goals the Soviet Union and the USA pursued, mainly based on their national interests. Indeed, the main motives can be found in the promotion of their interests and the expansion of their spheres of influence. Firstly, as Leffler (1996) argues, Stalin vacillated in his plans for particular countries and regions because the Kremlin's foreign policy was to pursue its overall interests on the basis of a policy of *realpolitik* and cooperation with the USA and Britain. After comprehensive research on archival materials released by Russia, Leffler speculates that "the Cold War was not a simple case of Soviet expansionism and American reaction" and concludes that "Soviet leaders were not focused on promoting worldwide revolution. They were concerned mostly with configurations of power, with protecting their country's immediate periphery, ensuring its security, and preserving their rule" (Leffler, 1996: 122). As a matter of fact, the Kremlin did not have any grand master plan in the way that the US leaders suspected and Stalin's ambitions had always been severely limited by the terrible devastation suffered by the Soviet Union during World War II and the existence of the American atomic monopoly (Leffler, 1996: 122).

Understood within the framework of *realpolitik*, even the rhetoric of the multilateral engagement by the USA, at the heart, was triggered by its self-interest. The Marshall Plan, best served this rhetoric at the onset of the Cold War, seeking to promote democracy through an economic recovery that would proceed along international lines. However, clearly its purpose was to create an American sphere of influence in the Western Europe, as John Gaddis affirms: "Painfully aware of limited American resources, fearful that the domestic political consensus in favor of internationalism might not hold, they set out to reconstitute independent centers of power in Europe and Asia. These would be integrated into the world capitalist system, and as a result they would certainly fall under the influence of its new hegemonic

manager, the US” (Gaddis, 1997: 39). Thus, the Marshall Plan was “not merely an extension of US influence but a real European organization strong enough to say ‘no’ both to the Soviet Union and to the US, if our actions should seem so to require” (FRUS, 1948 vol. 3: 11).

However, fear on the Soviet’s part was even greater than the USA. First and foremost, they feared “a resurgence of German and Japanese strength” when governing a land devastated by two world wars. During the two world wars, the Soviet lost some 20 million Soviet soldiers and civilians and its regime was almost destroyed. The Kremlin wished to create buffers that could be put in place to ensure the safety of the Soviet Union from Germany. To accomplish this goal, Stalin planned to take control over the East European periphery after World War II so that countries like Poland could not “serve as a springboard for an offensive against the Soviet Union by Germany” (Leffler, 1996: 125). At the same time, Stalin worried about the recovery and subsequent possible domination by Japan, so he determined to create security in the Far East by working together with China. Stalin told Chinese Nationalist diplomats in July 1945 that Japan would “restore her might in 20 or 30 years...the whole plan of our relations with China is based on this” (Leffler, 1996: 125). It was also natural that they felt threatened by the US, a country which alone, among the combatants, emerged from the war wealthier and armed with the atomic bomb. Holloway argues that Stalin and Molotov believed that “the United States would use the atomic bomb to intimidate the Soviet Union, to wring concessions from it, in order to impose its own conception of the postwar order...It was crucial, therefore, to show that the Soviet Union was tough, that it could not be frightened” (Holloway, 1994: 169). Thus, even though Americans did not want to intimidate the Soviets, US efforts to exploit opportunities that arose were indistinguishable in their effect from expansionism. The situation was a ‘deep security dilemma’: every step of actions added more fear to each side and thus worsened their relations.

Impact of the Cold War on the Korean peninsula

Against this backdrop of major international turmoil, Koreans pursued independence from Japanese colonization throughout the 1930s and early 1940s. However, their efforts were largely confined as Korea was not recognized as an independent state by the world powers and the views on the Korean peninsula by the Soviet Union and the USA were closely

intertwined with their interests in the Japanese problem. Indeed, “the existence of two rival regimes in Korea was the direct result of the antagonism between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union” (Koo, 1975: 212). The first discussion on the future of “independent Korea” took place during the Cairo Conference by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and General Chiang Kai-sik (Letter from George C. Marshall to V. M. Molotov, April 8, 1947).²⁷ The prelude to this discussion was the proposal made by President Roosevelt to Anthony Eden, the then British Foreign Secretary, that with the defeat of Japan, trusteeship arrangements should be made in Indonesia and Korea. This suggestion was under the assessment of the US government that unless an effective international agreement blocks “the various forms of international intrigue and pressure,” Koreans would not be able to establish an independent government (Quarton, 1942: 8). The British responded to this proposal with ambivalence, leaving open the specific measures to implement the trusteeship (Slusser, 1977: 128). Thus, the joint declaration made by the Allied Powers in March 1943 stated that “the aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.” The qualifying phrase, “in due course,” left the Koreans who were hoping for immediate independence and self-rule disappointed and puzzled (McCune, 1950: 43).

The American military strategy in the Far Eastern region during World War II was to include the Soviet Union in its fights against the Japanese and these efforts intensified after the Soviets won the battles against the Germans. During the Teheran Conference in December 1943, Stalin gave approval for Soviet participation in the war against Japan and a year later proposed a list of compensation measures to the US Ambassador. The core of the proposal was that the Soviet border in Far Eastern Asia would be re-drawn as it existed before the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, although it did not include a specific mention on the Korean problem (Slusser, 1977: 128-129). At the Yalta Conference, President Roosevelt commented to Stalin that trusteeship would be implemented in the Korean peninsula by the USA, the Soviet Union, and China. Stalin avoided giving a direct response, only adding that Britain should be included in the trusteeship: “In his negotiations with US officials, Stalin moved cautiously with regard to Korea, sounding them out on their plans but refraining from

²⁷ Adopted from Soviet News (1950) *The Soviet Union and the Korean Question (Documents)*. London

disclosing his own goals” (Slusser, 1977: 133).

The sudden shift of the Soviet posture on the entry into the Pacific War and the subsequent landing of Soviet troops on the Korean peninsula completely surprised Americans who were gauging their timing for landing. However, this accelerated speed was understandable, considering the fact that the Soviets had been carefully and quietly evaluating the strategic importance of the Korean peninsula – in particular, Korea’s position bordering Manchuria, the Soviet Union and Japan - and thus had been making strategic plans accordingly (Sin, 2003: 36). From this assessment, the Soviets concluded that Korea’s independence from Japan would prevent Japanese expansion in the Far East and thus decided to establish Soviet dominance on the Korean peninsula (Sin, 2003: 37; Slusser, 1977: 133). On August 8th 1945, the Soviet military officially entered war, sending its marines and capturing the port of Najin in North Korea two days later. The Americans hurriedly proposed to make the 38th parallel the demarcation line in Korea, with the USA occupying the southern part and the Soviet Union the northern part, and the draft for the Allied Document was sent to the Soviets and the British for approval. Stalin again silently acquiesced to trusteeship by accepting the draft, “careful to avoid any action which might incur the risk of direct US-Soviet confrontation” in order to minimize further strain to the Red Army which had already been stricken with huge military casualty from the war (Slusser, 1977: 137).

The division of Korea along the 38th parallel was symbolic of ideological and power struggles that would soon emerge between the two superpowers in the aftermath of World War II. Based on the interactions with the Soviet Union in fighting the Germans, President Truman’s reparations commissioner warned that the Soviets would not willingly give up territories taken by military operations in order to establish a joint commission (Gaddis, 1977: 278). Furthermore, President Truman and his advisors expected that with the capitulation of Japan, the Soviet Union would require the joint commission or trusteeship of the country since Stalin asked for a modification of the draft of the General Order No. 1 in order to include the Soviet zone of occupation in northern Hokkaido, Japan (Shin, 2008: 9). This proposal was unacceptable for the Americans as it would threaten the core of American Far Eastern policy – “exclusive occupation of Japan” (US Department of Defense, 1955: 71). The best concession that the Americans could propose to the Soviets in order to keep Japan ‘intact’ was to give half of the Korean peninsula which would bolster the American presence on the

Far East.

On the Soviet part, the Korean problem was to be considered in the wider context of its relations with the West. By the end of 1944, Soviet foreign policy had chosen to continue cooperation with the West, albeit temporarily, in order to resuscitate its war-torn economy. For this purpose, material and technological aid from the West, especially from the US, was essential (Chõng, 1998: 28). During the Potsdam Conference in July 1945 Stalin learned that the US possessed nuclear weapons and Japanese capitulation could follow in mid-August. Afraid that the Japanese could capitulate even before the Soviet Union entered the war, Stalin speedily ordered the attack on Japan in the Korean peninsula on 9 August and occupation of Chung-jin and Wonsan ports in North Korea the following day. At the same time, Stalin did not want to provoke the Americans by disclosing his aspiration to “control the entire peninsula” (Slusser, 1977:137). The events to divide Korea between the US and the Soviet zones of occupation occurred rather haphazardly with each country moving into the peninsula and developing its policies and strategies as reactions to the other.

Consequently, it was no surprise that the Koreans’ voice was completely ignored in the process of establishing trusteeship in Korea. The Americans did not have a clear understanding of Korean problems and its people. In fact, Korea as a ‘nation-state’ did not even exist, leaving the country as ‘no-man’s land’ and ‘governmental vacuum’ according to international law. Furthermore, they expected that as Korea became independent from Japanese government, it would have an ‘economic-legal vacuum’ (Fraenkel, 1948: 2, 8). However, the Koreans fought for their independence throughout the period of Japanese colonization such as by establishing the Korean Provisional Government and the Korean Revolutionary Party in China and implementing guerilla warfare against Japanese military in Manchuria (New Ilhan’s letter to Charles Ho Kim, 1943). Furthermore, Korean leaders repeatedly sent proposals to the US War Department for service in the war against Japan as a Korean unit with a hope that their contributions to war would bring recognition of Korea as an independent nation (Embassy of the USA, 1943: 2). Although the Americans were aware of the Koreans’ nationalistic ambitions, they judged that the Koreans “are not in a position to help themselves” (Quarton, 1942: 8), concluding instead that:

[T]here is practically no possibility of effective Korean hostile activity against Japan

until such a time as Japan suffers a defeat by an outside power of such proportions as to necessitate a very material weakening of military and police forces in Korea...because of the notorious inability of Koreans to cooperate even in small groups, and the apparent lack of any potentially strong leadership (American Vice Consul Alexis Johnson's Memorandum to American Consul General Harold B. Quarton).²⁸

This perspective was shared by the Soviet Union in that the primary purpose of the Soviet participation in the war was to recuperate the land it had lost to Japan in 1905. In other words, the Soviets sought the defeat of Japan and Korean independence was only a subsidiary consideration. Although the Soviets promulgated 'freedom' to the Koreans when they occupied the northern part of Korea, this was a pretext to obscure their real interests in using the Korean peninsula to block further expansion of American and Japanese power. Thus, while "the victorious Allies now began to quarrel about, among other things, what to do with their former enemy," ironically Korea, instead of Japan, was forced into division (Fishman and Martin, 1987: 6). The fatal processes of dividing the Korean peninsula into two zones of trusteeship in accordance with the security interests of the two superpowers, and indeed, against the will of the Korean people, reflect the nature of military occupational regimes that would be established in the two Koreas with the defeat of Japan.

The Context of Korean Domestic Politics

Arrival of the US military and political strife in South Korea

In the summer of 1945 when the defeat of Japan seemed imminent, the Japanese Government-General of Korea, Abe Nobuyuki, approached the Korean leaders in order to maintain law and order in Korea and secure the safe repatriation of the Japanese in the post-WWII Korea. Among the Korean leaders, Yŏ Unhyŏng (1885-1947) met and discussed the workings of the post-Japanese colonization with Endō Ryusaku, the Commissioner of State

²⁸ A memorandum prepared as a partial plan for more effective participation by the Korean people in the present war and as a guide to an understanding of her present and postwar problems, her economic status and the capacity of her people to carry-on an enlightened and stable self-government.

for the Japanese colonial government in Korea on 15 August 1945. As a result of these meetings, he gathered several Korean leaders to form an interim “peace-keeping” administration which would take over power from the Japanese colonial government. Yŏ Un-hyŏng and his followers undertook to form the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (*Chosŏn kŏn’guk chunbi wiwŏnhoe*, CPKI), which was financially sponsored for approximately twenty million yen by the Governor-General of Korea (G-2 Weekly Report 12 September 1945: 4; Morita and Osada, 1979: 113-115). An Chae-hong, the vice chairman of P’yonagan branch of the CPKI, made a radio broadcast to inform the Korean public of the formation of the CPKI at 3pm, 7: 30pm and 9 pm on 16 August 1945 from the Keijō broadcasting station (*Keijō hoōsōkyoku*) and the text of An’s speech was published on 19 August in Keijō Nippō, the colonial newspaper. In his speech, An laid out detailed plans for state formation, which included the organization of security force, the formation of the army, the securing and rationing of food, the stabilizing of currency and price, and the amnesty of political prisoners (Morita and Osada, 1979: 113-115). The following table illustrates the backgrounds of Korean political leaders who were the members of the Preparatory Committee.

Table 5-1. Administrative officers in the original Seoul Preparatory Committee on 2 September 1945

Bureau	Name	Background
General Affairs	Ch’oe Kŭn-u	-
Organization	Yi kang-guk	Leader of the Communist Wonsan Incident
Propaganda	Yi Yŏ-sŏng	Leader in the old January Society and North Star Society
Security	Ch’oe Yŏng-dal	Another key figure in the Wŏnsan Incident
Culture	Ham Pyŏng-gi	-
Construction	Yun Kyŏng-sik	-
Investigation	Ch’oe Ik-han	Leader in the old M-L group
	Ko Kyŏng-hŭm	Leader of the M-L reconstruction
Food Administration	Yi Kwang	-
Welfare	Chŏng Ku-ch’ung	-
Finance	Kim Se-yong	Leader of the old January Society
Transportation	Kim Hyŏng-sŏn	Leader of the former Masan branch of the KCP
Planning	Pak Mun-gyu	A Marxist agriculture economist
Head of the Secretariat	Ch’oe Sŏng-hwan	-

Note: M-L (Marx-Lenin) and KCP refers to the Korea Communist Party

Source: Scalapino and Lee, 1972: 238.

As Table 5-1 shows, the People's Committee was primarily dominated by leftists from the beginning; it was understandable since the moderate and rightist Korean leaders refused to participate in the People's Committee. For example, An Ho-sang, who was the vice chairman of the CPKI, left the CPKI to join a separate Korean Democratic Party, a conservative political party that was newly created. Within a few days after the formation of the CPKI in Seoul, 145 branches of the CPKI were established across both northern and southern parts of Korean peninsula (Hayashi, 1971: 17-19). The CPKI was transformed into the Korean People's Republic (*Chosŏn inmin konghwaguk*, KPR), which encompassed both the Right and the Left,²⁹ as the administrative organization on 6 September 1945, the day before the arrival of the US military in the Korean peninsula. The Local People's Committee (*inmin wiwŏnhoe*, PC) was also organized as the quasi-legislative body (Cumings, 1981: 267-268). With the changing dynamics of international politics and the imminent capitulation of the Japanese, Korean political leaders vigilantly prepared for the succession of power from the Japanese Government-General in Korea in hopes to build a strong nation-state.

However, the Korean people's efforts to establish an independent government were undermined by the US occupation. When the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) secretly sent an advance party of the US military army to Seoul, the SCAP insisted that the existing Japanese colonial administration would continue to maintain law and order in the land. This was in contrast to the Soviet strategy in the early period of occupation since the Soviet military accepted the People's Republic as the legitimate representative of the Korean

²⁹ The categorization of political parties and leaders in Korea into right and left wings, although very black and white in its distinction, was used as a conceptual tool to describe the basic political orientation of important political leaders in Korea (Eckert et al., 1991: 329-330; Cumings, 1995: 202-203). In particular, Eckert et al. (1991: 329-330) provides a good illustration on the distinction as follows:

“To the right of the line were the majority of propertied and educated Koreans, many of whom had cooperated in one way or another with the colonial regime and were therefore inclined to be lenient on the issue of collaboration. Most were resistant to fundamental social change such as land reform. Others, including some of the more progressive landlords who had transferred a portion of their assets into industry, regarded change as inevitable but were anxious to control and contain it so as to preserve their privileged positions in the society...

On the left side of the spectrum were Koreans of varying backgrounds, including students, intellectuals, peasants, and workers who had been politicized by the colonial experience. Some were actual members of the Communist Party or felt an affinity toward communism as a force that had opposed Japanese rule and advocated justice for the poor and oppressed. All were committed first to a thorough purge of collaborators from positions of power and influence. They sought, in addition, some form of redistribution of wealth, such as land reform, that would redress the inequities of the past and transform Korea into a more egalitarian society.”

public. Although the Japanese bureaucrats in the Government-General of Korea suggested to the incoming US military officers that the US should utilize prominent Korean leaders from the People's Republic, the US decided to consider the People's Republic as one of the parties which would spring into more than a hundred in the coming years (Morita and Osada, vol. 1, 1979:28-31). Furthermore, the US military government demanded the leaders of the People's Republic to drop the word "republic" from its title. On 12 December 1945, Hodge denounced the KPR as an illegitimate government, stating that "the Korean People's Republic is not in any sense a 'government,' and is not authorized to act in any capacity as such. The only functioning government, in South Korea is the Military Government in Korea" (FRUS, vol. 6, 1945:1133-34).

Due to the relatively late arrival of the US military, an enormous political vacuum had been already created for about a month in South Korea. Moreover, after the US military government was established, it had a laissez-faire attitude to the emergence of various political organizations. Although the CPKI in South Korea aimed to function as a representative of the Koreans, the formation of the CPKI galvanized other political organizations with different ideologies into action. For instance, Pak Hŏn-yŏng, who formed the Committee for the Reconstruction of the Korean Communist Party after Liberation, launched the Korean Communist Party (Chosŏn Kongsandang) in the Kyedong conference of enthusiasts (Kyedong yŏlsŏnja taehoe) on 11 September and promulgated the establishment of the Korean Communist Party on 19 September (Haebang ilbo, 25 September 1945). The conservative group, such as Song Chin-u, Kim Sŏng-su, and Chang Tŏk-su, formed the Korea Democratic Party (*Hanmindang* or *Han'guk minju dang*) on 16 September. These leaders of the conservative party believed that they represented the majority of the Koreans because the party "wholeheartedly represented the exiled Korean Provisional Government (KPG) in Chongqing (G-2 weekly report 12 September 1945:3-4).³⁰ What was noteworthy about the configuration of the Korea Democratic Party was that it consisted of wealthy landowners, well-educated businessmen, professionals and bureaucrats (or technocrats) who were not free from the collaboration with the Japanese during the colonial period (Scalapino and Lee, 1972:

³⁰ Korean Provisional Government (KPG) in Chongqing was composed of exile Korean leaders who fought for Korean independence against Japanese during the colonial era. So these leaders believed that they were the legitimate representatives of the Koreans' voice.

245). After the return of the exiled political leaders of the Korean independence movement abroad, such as Syngman Rhee, Kim Ku and Kim Kyu-sik, politics in South Korea became more complicated. On 16 October Syngman Rhee, the first president of the KPG, came back from the USA to Korea. Kim Ku, the president of the KPG, and Kim Kyu-sik, the vice president, also returned to Korea on 23 November. The following table summarizes the characteristics of the four major political groups and their leaders in South Korea during the US military regime.

Table 5-2. Four major groups in post-liberation Korean politics

Name	Members	Ideological Inclinations
The Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (later, Korea People's Party or Chosŏn Inmindang)	Yŏ Un-hyŏng	Coalition of Right and Left (slightly toward left)
The Korean Provisional Government (Imsi chŏngpu)	Syngman Rhee	Right nationalist
	Kim Ku	Right nationalist
Korean Democratic Party (Hanmindang)	Song Chin-u, Kim Sŏng-su	Right nationalist
Communist party (Kongsandang)	Pak Hŏn-yŏng	Left

Note: The table was created by author, based on the information given in Im, Y. T. (임영태) (2008) *Taehan min'guksa, 1945-2008* (대한민국사, 1945-2008 *A History of Republic of Korea, 1945-2008*). P'aju: Tŭllŏk , pp.22-24

As Table 5-2 shows, the four political groups in South Korea were polarized by ideological inclinations the leaders of the groups held including Syngman Rhee and Kim Sŏng-su who were conservative nationalists and Pak Hŏn-yŏng who was communist. During this period, domestic politics was also strongly influenced by international politics on Korean matters. In 1946 and 1947, the US-USSR Joint Commission was held to discuss the establishment of a unified provisional government in Korea. However, the first US-USSR Joint Commission came to fail, and, as a result, tensions between the left and the right were mounting in Korean politics. Thus, the US military government at the time sought to find a political leader who could bring about an accord between the left and the right. The coalition of the left and right wings was important to the US military since Koreans were afraid of the division of North and South Korea and consequently complaints towards the US military government from the general public were mounting around this time.

Under these circumstances, a Coalition Committee (or the Unification Committee) was formed under the leadership of a moderate right leader, Kim Kyu-sik, and a moderate left leader, Yŏ Un-hyŏng, in early October. The US military government included mostly moderate left and right leaders in the coalition committee, so that the committee isolated the radical left (Yi W. P., 2007: 144-149). Coinciding with the establishment of the Coalition Committee, peasant uprising and industrial strikes occurred in the Kyŏngsang and Chŏlla provinces in the autumn of 1946 mainly due to hyperinflation and food shortage. In the process of suppressing the strikes and uprisings by the US military, the leftist leaders in South Korea “wound up dead, in jail, hunted, or underground” and “thousands of their supporters either quit politics or were deeply radicalized” (Cumings, 1981: 351-381). As a result, the right and left became totally “hostile camps” against each other and the Coalition Committee ended up in failure. Despite the efforts of the US military government to bring about the political consensus in Korean domestic politics, the external situations, both domestically and internationally, added pressures to divide the Korean public and politics.

Moreover, the issue of trusteeship at the Joint Commission continued to run in parallel and finally reached deadlock. The trusteeship was the most critical issue which divided the general public into left and right. Furthermore, in terms of international situation, relations between the Soviet Union and the USA deteriorated as Roosevelt’s internationalism was replaced by Truman’s policy of containment in 1947. The rivalry between the Soviet Union and the USA became more obvious and US policy began to turn away from cooperation with the Soviet Union. As a result, the US policy on the Korean matter was settled with the establishment of a separate government in South Korea (Im, 2008:58-59). Domestically, Pak Hŏn-yŏng, a leader of the KCP, also strongly objected to the trusteeship in the beginning. However, he changed his position on the trusteeship after his visit to the north on 28 December 1945³¹ and the general public was stirred up against the Communist Party and labeled them as traitors. Since Syngman Rhee and the Korean Democratic Party agreed the separate southern government and were ideologically anti-Communism and anti-Soviet, the US military government changed its position and began to support the conservative

³¹ The Americans estimated that the sudden change of the leftist stance on trusteeship issue was derived from the influence of the Soviets (HUSAFIK, vol. 2: 78).

nationalist Syngman Rhee and the Korean Democratic Party. In the process, a political group consisting of strong anti-communists came to dominate domestic politics in South Korea and this group became a coalition partner of the US military for political reforms in South Korea.

Arrival of the Soviet military and domination of the Communist Party and Kim Il Sung in North Korea

The Soviet military entered into the northern part of Korea on 6 August 1945, even before it declared war on Japan on 9 August 1945. The Soviet army arrived in P'yöngyang, the capital of North Korea, on 26 August. Due to the early arrival of the Soviet army, unlike the case of the US military government in South Korea, politics in North Korea underwent a different pattern of consolidation under the Soviet rule. While the US military took over the Japanese Government General of Korea from the center, the Soviets chose to take control of each province, excluding the Japanese Government General of Korea. As a result, after the liberation from Japan was declared on 15 August 1945, the People's Committee began to be organized in each province of North Korea, such as south of Hamkyöng province, Hwanghae province and south of P'yöngan province (Morita and Osada, 1979: 301).

Cho Man-sik (1882-1950), who was the most respected and popular political figure in North Korea,³² exercised leadership in North Korea while Yö Un-hyöng of the CPKI took the lead in the post-liberation politics of South Korea (Scalapino and Lee, 1972:314-). In P'yöngyang, Security Maintenance Committee for South P'yöngan Province (P'yöngannamdo Ch'ian Yuji wiwönhoe, SMCSP), which was headed by Cho Man-sik as a chairman, was formed on 15 August 1945, later renamed the South P'yönagan branch of the Committee for Preparation of Korean Independence (Pyöngannamdo Kön'guk Chunpi Wiwönhoe, SPCPK) on 16 August 1945. Initially, the Committee was dominated mainly by Christian and nationalist leaders as the following table suggests.

Table 5-3. Members of the Committee for Preparation of Korean Independence in North Korea

³² He was often referred to as Korean Gandhi for his commitments to nationalism and nonviolence.

Bureau	Name	Background
Internal Affairs	Yi Chu-yŏn	Communist
Agriculture	Chŏng Ki-su	Nationalist
Finance	Kim Pyŏng-yŏn	Nationalist
Minerals and Industry	Kim Kwang-jin	Nationalist
Security	Kim Ik-jin	Nationalist
Party member of P'yŏngyang	Han Kŭn-jo	Nationalist
Police chief of P'yŏngyang	Song Ch'ang-ryŏm	Communist

Source: The table was created by author, based on the information given in Kim, Kwang-un. (2003) *Pukhan Chŏngch'isa yŏn'gu I* (북한 정치사 연구I). Seoul: Sŏnin

As Table 5-3 shows, of the 20 personnel in the initial Committee, Yi Chu-yŏn and Song Ch'ang-ryŏm were the only communists. Scalapino and Lee argues that this ratio “probably reflected faithfully the true balance of strength between communists and non-communist nationalists throughout Korea” at the time (Scalapino and Lee, 1972: 314-315). Also, as Table 5-4 demonstrates, Koreans themselves organized committees in each province to maintain order and security and prepared for nation-building even prior to the arrival of the Soviets.

Table 5-4. People’s Committee in each province of North Korea

Committee by Region	Name	Ideological inclinations
Northern Hamkyŏng	Hampuk People’s Committee (Hampuk inmin wiwŏnhoe)	Left
Southern Hamkyŏng	Hamnam People’s Committee (Hamnam inmin wiwŏnhoe)	Left
Southern P’yŏngan	Pyŏngnam People’s political Committee (Pyŏngnam inmin Chŏngch’i wiwŏnhoe)	Coalition of left and right
Northern P’yŏngan	P’yŏngpuk Temporary People’s Committee (P’yŏngpuk imsi inmin wiwŏnhoe)	Coalition of left and right
Hwanghae	Hwanghae People’s Political Committee (Hwanghaeinmin chŏngch’i wiwŏnhoe)	Superiority of right
	Hwanghae province People’s Committee Hwanghaedo inmin wiwŏnhoe	Left
Kangwŏn	Kangwŏn People’s Committee (Kangwŏn inmin wiwŏnhoe)	Left

Source: adopted and modified from Morita, Yoshio (1987) *Soryŏn’gun Ui Pukhan Chinju wa inmin wiwŏnhoe ŭi kyŏlsŏng* (소련군의 북한진주와 인민위원회의 결성) *Han’guk sahoe yŏn’gu* (한국사회연구), vol. 5; Kim, Kwang-un. (2003) *Pukhan Chŏngch’isa yŏn’gu I* (북한 정치사 연구I). Seoul: Sŏnin, p. 89.

As Table 5-4 shows, neither the left nor the right was dominant, nor were they opposing each

other but both the left and the right leaders in North Korea worked together for the preparations of nation-building. In this sense, the process of preparation to establish an independent government seemed to work better in North Korea at least during the initial phase of the Soviet military regime.

However, the arrival of the Soviet military fatally shook the political environment of North Korea. The Soviet military arrived in P'yŏngyang on 24 August and about three thousands military men entered the land on 26 August. From the beginning, the Soviet military intended to make the Communist Party of Korea the dominant political force as soon as possible. For this purpose, the biggest problem that faced the Soviets was that there was no popular communist leader who could counterpart the Christian leader, Cho Man-sik, since most prominent communist leaders were based in South Korea. Thus, the Soviet military exerted strong influence behind the scene to form a new People's Political Committee, which replaced the SM CSP and to pave the way for communists to exercise their influence in North Korean politics. As a result, the new People's Political Committee was formed, consisting of 16 communists and 16 nationalists (non-communists) (Scalapino and Lee, 1972: 315-316). However, the Soviet leaders did not trust indigenous communist leaders because although communism was introduced as early as in 1928 to Korea, the Korean Communist movement failed to establish significant communist presence in Korea due to the "ceaseless factional wrangling". Instead, the Soviet leaders utilized Russian-Koreans and Sovietized Koreans at the beginning of their regime (Scalapino and Lee, 1972: 318). As a result, the immediate post-liberation period was characterized as "the Age of the Rule of the Interpreters" in that the Soviets brought their own interpreters, who acted as "powerful ambassadors of the Soviet Army Headquarters" (Weathersby, 1990:198).

Moreover, the Soviet military prepared the future leaders of the North Korea who would become faithful supporters of the Soviet Union and its ideology to consolidate their own power bases in Korea. The Soviet military held a welcoming ceremony for Major Kim Il Sung in Pyŏngyang on 14 October 1945, in an effort to establish Kim Il Sung³³ as the leader

³³ The public expected an old veteran who was a legendary hero, fighting against the Japanese; yet, when a young man, Kim Il Sung appeared, O Yŏng-jin reported, the rally shouted out that Kim Il Sung "had a haircut like a Chinese waiter. He is fake!" See O, Y. J. (오영진) (1952) *Sogunjŏngha ūi pukhan: Hanaŭi chŭng'ŏn* (蘇軍政下の北韓: 하나의 證言 *North Korea during the Soviet Military Regime*). Seoul: Minjoksasang chitowŏn

of a new communist regime while getting rid of the indigenous Korean leaders who, because of their nationalistic pursuits, were perceived to threaten the Soviet control (Sō, 1982: 199). For example, immediately after the Moscow Agreement announced that the Four Power trusteeship would be established in the Korean peninsula with the participation of the UK, the USA, the Soviet Union, and China, Cho Man-sik, the most influential leader in North Korea at that time, opposed the agreement, stating that “my national conscience does not allow it” (Kodang kinyōm saōphoe, 2004: 343). With the beginning of the Soviet military regime, the Soviet military pressured Cho Man-sik to support the trusteeship determined by the Moscow Agreement but he was adamant in his position. As a result, Cho was restricted to Koryō hotel on 5 January 1946. Under these circumstances, nationalist leaders resigned from the committee or moved to the south and Cho Man-sik was soon eliminated by the Soviets. Communists in North Korea held the Conference of North Korean Democratic Enthusiasts on 5 February and Ch’oe Yong-gōn began to dominate the Communist party. Also, An “Enlarged Conference of the Leaders of North Korean Political Parties, Social Organizations, Administrative Departments, and Provincial, City, and County People’s Committees” (*Puk Chosōn kakjōngdang, sahoe tanch’e, kakhaengjōnggukgūp, kak to, si, kun inmin wiwōnhoe taep’yo hwakdae hyōpuihoe*) was convened in P’yōngyang on 7 February 1946. As a result of the conference, the North Korean Provisional People’s Committee (*Puk Chosōn Imsi Inmin Wiwōnhoe*, NKPPC) was created on 8 February 1946 and elected Kim Il Sung as a chair, Kim Tu-bong as a vice chair and Kang Yang-uk as a chief secretary (Armstrong, 2003: 69). The NKPPC was a *de facto* supreme organization, which held three powers of administration, legislation, and judicature. In other words, Kim Il Sung became “the top leader of the Party and state primarily for one reason: the support by the Soviet presence in North Korea” (Scalapino and Lee, 1972:690).

The Soviet military officially delegated all its authority to the newly established North Korean regime, assuming only an advisory role, at least on surface (Sin, 2005: 44). Van Ree notes the patterns of government structure during the Soviet military regime as follows:

The Civil Administration network of advisors in the North Korean Departments remained in existence for a long period... Even after the establishment of the Korean People’s Democratic Republic, some workers of the Civil Administration remained in Korea at the request of the government of the KPDR as advisers to the ministers...

The Civil Administration, with its network of hundreds of civilian and military advisers, continued to be an impressive double of the North Korean government structure. At the very least, it gave Moscow full information on what was going on in North Korea (Van Ree, 1989: 163-164).

In the process, Kim Il Sung became the secretary-in-chief of the North Korean party at the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the KCP-NKB (Amstrong, 2003: 58-60). Kim Il Sung implemented Stalinist ideology and the process of Sovietization began to take place in North Korea. The Soviet occupation authorities in North Korea were modeled after the patterns of Sovietization in Eastern Europe.

Furthermore, the Soviet military government gathered the pro-Soviet political groups into coalition.³⁴ In the process, the headquarter of the Korean communists was moved from Seoul to Pyongyang and Kim Il Sung positioned himself as the strongest ally of the Soviet military government in order to secure his own power basis (Scalapino and Lee, 1986: 409). Kim Il Sung himself lacked a strong political basis for leadership at the beginning of the regime since he was relatively young - in his early 30s - and unknown, compared to other Korean communist leaders who were vying for power in Korea after independence. For example, due to his young age, some old people thought that he was not the real Kim Il Sung, and many intellectuals and religious people opposed to his leadership (Hwang, 1998: 341). Furthermore, his close Korean allies, mostly comprised of his colleagues during the guerilla fights against Japanese in Manchuria, were few in number, amounting to 200 approximately.³⁵ Thus, he needed staunch Soviet support to strengthen his position in the Korean peninsula and this matched the interests of the Soviet military which needed someone who could faithfully follow the Soviet commands. In fact, Kim Il Sung proved so by heeding attention to the Soviet commands more carefully than any other political figures in North Korea at the time (Suh, 1989: 64, 65). In fact, as the tensions between the Soviet Union and the USA intensified,

³⁴ Suh explained the Sovietization of the North Korea in three stages: The first stage of "genuine cooperation from August 1945 to January 1946, the second stage of "bogus coalition" from February 1946 to early 1948, and the last stage of establishing a communist state" (Suh, 1988: 66-73).

³⁵ Suh suggests that Kim Il Sung had to fight with several political factions within the country until most of them were completely purged by the mid-1960s. Among the competing political factions were indigenous Korean communists, North Korean revolutionaries who were based in China before 1945 (called *Yeon-an Pa*) and Soviet Koreans (Suh, 1989: 65).

so was the power basis of Kim Il Sung solidified in North Korea. Kim Il Sung became a symbolic Korean figure behind which the Soviet military exerted its power: Kim faithfully implemented Soviet-friendly policies extensively in the political, economic, social and cultural fields (Chŏn, 2011: 146). These policies were geared towards the single goal of “Sovietizing North Korean politics and stabilizing North Korean economy to maintain law and order” (Lankov, 1999: 62-63). As a result:

The system, established during the Soviet occupation, of close interaction with and complete loyalty to Soviet authorities on the part of Korean Communist leaders, continued with appropriate adjustments in the post-occupation era. One prominent aspect of Soviet influence in North Korea had been the presence of Russianized Koreans in positions of major influence (Scalapino and Lee, 1972: 383).

Conclusion

The end of World War II gave rise to two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the USA, which dominated world politics in the subsequent four decades. The Korean peninsula was driven to the vortex of political turmoil with the division of the peninsula in two separate zones which were occupied by the two superpowers for their own security interests. The conflicts in the domestic political arena increased with the advent of two ideologies, liberal democracy and socialist-communism in the southern and northern half of Korea respectively. Although the US military government promoted ‘democracy’ in principle to the Korean public, in reality it maintained an un-democratic, centralized government structure of the Japanese colonial government due to its security interests as well as the precarious political and social situation at that time. It also strengthened anti-communist propaganda and education and chose to cooperate with a conservative political group to thwart further infiltration of communist influence in South Korea. Likewise, in the case of the Soviet military government in North Korea, the core principle of communist regime and bureaucracy was upheld by the total, direct planning and control of the government machine in accordance with the party’s decision: fear and coercion proved the key factors to facilitate the processes (Brus, 1977: 239). Under these circumstances, Kim Il Sung started the process of “Sovietization,” reforming features of politics, social relationships, economy, and culture as “the totalizing ambitions of the new regime pervaded the areas of social organization,

regulation, surveillance and propaganda by the time of the Korean War” (Armstrong, 2003: 243).

Despite the stark differences in their ideologies which the Soviet and US military governments promoted in the Korean peninsula, the nature of the reforms that were made by the Soviet and US military governments during this time can be best described as ‘coercive,’ since both were under the pressures of military occupation. Although some might disagree as to how ‘directly’ the coercive reforms were conducted by the Soviets or the Americans, in both regimes policies were introduced and pursued by force and imposition by the two military governments to introduce significant constitutional, social, and political changes in the two Koreas according to the security and political interests of the superpowers. In this respect, the two military regimes and the two Korean governments established in North and South Korea afterwards exhibited the characteristics of ‘transitologies’ that are marked by “a period of 10 years or so, of the more or less simultaneous destruction and reconstruction of political visions of the future; the state apparatuses (police, army, bureaucracies, political institutions); the economic and social stratification system(s); and the deliberate reform and restructuring of the education system.” (Cowen, 2009a: 1287). The radical political, economic, and social changes that occurred in the two Koreas during this period, therefore, were integrated into the process of educational reforms for the two newly formed states in Korea under the dominant influence of the Soviet ideology in the north and the US ideology in the south. It was within this political context in which the Soviet and the US military regimes were established and lasted for three years, eventually giving a way to Korean leaders to establish two separate governments of North and South Korea in 1948. The political, economic and social characteristics of the two established regimes followed the patterns of their occupying powers. Under these dominant influences - both ideological and political - the educational reforms began and expanded, in order to meet the urgent needs of state-building projects, which both North and South Korean government faced at the time. However, even the process of occupation in the two Koreas was not the case of ‘linear, rationalistic changes’ but marked by ‘deep’ frictions between the occupying powers and the Korean domestic politics, exhibiting “awkward, unequal, unstable and creative qualities of interconnection across difference” in culture, history and politics (Tsing, 2007: 4).

Chapter 6.

Actors of Reforms: Selection and Control of Key Decision-Makers

Introduction

The discussion on the political contexts indicated that Koreans, although opposing the trusteeship, were put into a passive position due to the lack of strong leadership and political consensus. Regardless of the Koreans' expectations, the main actors who would drive political and bureaucratic machines during the subsequent three years following the liberation became decision-makers in the Soviet and US military governments. In this regard, the American and Soviet military authorities in Korea became the main actors upon which the ultimate decision-making power to initiate and facilitate the educational reforms would rest. This chapter focuses on 'who the actors are' in an attempt to identify the primary actors in the process of educational reforms. For this purpose, an analysis as to how the selection and control of key personnel were conducted in the civil and educational administrations of the two Koreas in order to pursue the organizational goals of the two military regimes during the occupation period becomes a critical focus of this chapter. In particular, the first section deals mainly with the logic of selection for key personnel in the main departments of the military governments and the second section narrows the foci into the selection logic for the key decision-makers in the formation of educational administrations in the two Koreas.

The Establishment of Civil Administration and Bureaucracy

With the entry of the US military into Korea on 8 September 1945, the military regime began in the southern part of the Korean peninsula under the leadership of Lieutenant General John R. Hodge, who was appointed a commander of the US army forces in Korea. Despite this position, he had no translators, little knowledge of Korea, and more importantly no substantive plan for Korea. In contrast to the Soviet occupation in the North Korea with the early arrival of the Soviet military in August, the American occupation was not well

prepared and planned.³⁶ The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), generally known as General Headquarters (GHQ), promulgated the Proclamation No. 1 upon their arrival on 7 September 1945. According to the Article I and III of the proclamation, General Douglas MacArthur announced the following:

All Powers of Government over the territory of Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the people thereof will be for the present exercised under my [US] authority” and “all persons will obey promptly all my [US] orders and orders issued under my [US] authority. Acts of resistance to the occupying forces or any acts which may disturb public peace and safety will be punished severely (FRUS 1945, Vol. 6: 1043).

The US military government sought no radical change, since it might cause chaos in a country already shattered by a long period of colonization and war. The US military, therefore, initially chose the status quo as displayed by the promulgation that “in all personnel matters, the Bureau operated under Japanese civil service regulations” (SCAP, Summation, No. 1. Sept-Oct. 1945: 182). For this reason, Lt. Gen. Hodge refused to recognize the Korean People’s Republic (the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence) led by Yŏ Un-hyŏng as the representative of Koreans. Instead, the US military sought to deal with the Japanese Colonial Government-General and began to search for Koreans with whom they could work. This attitude of the US military towards Korean matters was described by an American observer in the following way: “The liberators had become the oppressors, and a common popular mold was [that] the only difference between the former overlord and the present was in skin pigmentation” (Meade, 1951: 62).

³⁶ This was in contrast to the relatively careful preparation for the US occupation in Japan (Park, 1996; Yi C. S., 2003; Shibata, 2005). In particular, having begun language training “for potential officers in post-War Japan in the University of California at Berkeley as early as 1941” (Shibata, 2005: 71), the US military embarked on the systematic investigation of Japanese governmental institutions and organizations from 1942 by the Office of Strategic Services. The first official report on the Japanese education system was published on 30 November 1943, entitled *Education in Japan: General Background*, and the second publication, *Education in Japan: Curriculum and Pedagogical Method*, soon followed on 10 January 1944 (Park, 1996: 14). Yi (2003) argues that the active investigation of the Japanese education system for the purpose of making reform plans for the occupation began on 4 February 1944: The basic tenets of the plans for the military occupation in educational areas involved the eradication of totalitarian and nationalist elements and democratization of the education system (Shibata, 2005). For this purpose, policy plans and guidance, along with personnel, were prepared (Yi C. S., 2003: 105).

After the US Army settled in Korea, it formed the US Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK), which basically inherited the structure of the Japanese colonial government in Korea. Furthermore, the US military government collaborated with the bureaucrats who used to work for the Japanese. Benninghoff H. Merrell reported this political situation to the Secretary of State in Washington in the following:

The most encouraging single factor in the political situation is the presence in Seoul of several hundred conservatives among the *older and better educated Koreans*. Although many of them have served with the Japanese, that stigma ought eventually to disappear (FRUS 1945, Vol. 6:1049-53). [emphasis added]

Having refused to collaborate with the Korean leaders from the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence, the US military government sought to find a new group of Koreans who leaned more favorably towards the US military government and its ideology. As a result, according to a telegraph which Benninghoff, the political advisor in Korea, sent to Acheson, the then acting political adviser in Japan, on 9 October 1945, the US military governor Arnold appointed 11 prominent Koreans, including educators, lawyers, business men, nationalists, to form a new Advisory Council on 5 October 1945. The 11 members were as follows: Cho Man-sik, Yŏ Un-hyŏng, Kim Sŏng-su, Kim Yong-mu, Kim Tong-wŏn, Song Chin-u, Yi Yong-sŏl, Kim Yong-sun, O Yŏngsu, Kang Pyŏng-sun, and Yun Ki-ik. The Council was chaired by Kim Sŏng-su and most of them were moderate-conservative as shown by the fact that 9 out of 11 of them were affiliated with the conservative Korean Democratic Party (FRUS Vol.6, 9 October 1945; Scalapino and Lee, 1972: 269). In other words, their ideological inclinations and partnerships with the US military government were the most important criteria for the US military to select them as members of the Advisory Council.

After December 1945, the US military government implemented a policy of the so-called “Koreanization,” which placed one American officer with one Korean advisor in each bureau. As a result, the Personnel Administration was established by April 1947 to systematically oversee the whole government and the structuring of the government was completed by July 1947. The following table summarizes the educational backgrounds of the Korean administrative officers according to their positions.

Table 6-1 Korean administrative officers in South Korea in 1947

Name	Position	Background
An Chae-hong	Minister of Home Affairs	Waseda University
Kim Yong-mu	Chief of Supreme Court	Chuo University
Kim Pŏng-no	Head of Jurisdiction Department	Nihon University
Yu Ŏk-kyŏm	Head of Education	Tokyō University
Yun Ho-pyŏng	Head of Finance	Tokyo Commercial High School
Kil Wŏn-pong	Head of Postal Service	Kyoto University
Yi Yong-sŏl	Head of Public Health and Welfare	(PhD) Keijō imperial University
Ch'oe Kyŏng-yŏl	Head of Civil Engineering	Kyoto University
Yi Ch'ŏl-won	Head of Communication	(PhD) Columbia University
Yi Hun-gu	Head of Ministry of Agriculture	(PhD) Wisconsin University
Yi Tae-wi	Head of Ministry of Labor	Yale and Columbia University
Chi Yong-ŭn	Head of Food Administration	North Western University
Yu Tong-yŏl	Head of National Security(Army)	Japan Military Academy
Yi Chong-hak	Head of the Secretariat	Honolulu Commercial College
Chŏng Il-hyŏng	Head of Personnel Administration	(PhD) New York University
Cho Pyŏng-ok	Head of Police Affairs	Columbia University

Note: The highlight, which indicated America-educated elites, was added by the author.

Source: Han'guk Kŭnhyŏndaesa Inmyŏngrok 6, Yŏgan ch'ulp'ansa, 1987.

All administrative officers in South Korea were well-educated as demonstrated in the Table 6-1. They were educated either in Japan (9) or the US (7) and 4 officers even held Ph.D. degrees. Many of them had training as bureaucrats during the Japanese colonial period and affiliated with the Korean Democratic Party. The main emphasis which the US military government put on managing Korean domestic politics was to utilize the people who were well-educated and intellectually able by the standards of the US. At the same time, unlike the Soviet military who brought Russianized Koreans for trusteeship in North Korea, the US military recruited translators who could communicate in English with the American officers among the Korean elites after their arrival. Moreover, in selecting those officers the US military government did not make an issue of the past, such as their experiences of collaborating with the Japanese.

Moe (1995: 135) argues that politicians and interest groups can best exert their influence and interests on the administration if they were to select “the right types of bureaucrats and designing a structure that...affords them substantial discretion and autonomy.”

Likewise, in the US military government, when it comes down to selecting the personnel, two principles were the most important. The first was that they should be able to speak English, entailing that these officers were well-educated and pro-American, and the second was that they should be anti-communist and anti-Soviet (Im, 2008: 41). Lieutenant Commander George Z. Williams, the son of a former missionary to Korea, was responsible for selecting the Korean officials. Because of his family background, he preferred to take Christians, who mainly belonged to the Korean Democratic Party (Lauterbach, 1947: 202). In this way, the decision-making processes of selecting personnel in the US military government were dictated by the US national interests rather than the popular expectations of Koreans. As McCune pointed out, “despite the creation of a Korean bureaucracy which exercised considerable independent authority, the American command and the Military Governor exerted more than advisory power” (McCune, 1950: 74).

Whereas the US military entered into the Korean peninsula with no clear plan in mind, the establishment of the northern regime by the Soviet military was relatively well-prepared. Unlike the US military which hardly included anyone knowledgeable on the Korean matters, the Soviet military included 250 Korean-Russian officers, such as Pak Ch’ang-ok, Han Il-mu, Im Hae, Pak Yŏng-bin, Kim Il, Pak Il-ryong, Hŏ Ka-i, Pang Hak-se, and Ki Sŏk-bok (van Ree, 1989: 121; Lankov, 1999: 106). Furthermore, whereas the US military announced itself as the only military regime in South Korea while emphasizing the tight control of the government, the Soviet military chose to quietly withdraw itself to the background, setting Korean leaders to the front but controlling them from behind. Thus, after the Soviet military entered P’yŏngyang on 24 August, it recognized the local councils organized by the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence in the South P’yŏngan Province (CPKI, *Chosŏn kŏn’guk chunbi wiwŏnhoe*) which was headed by a respected Korean Presbyterian elder, Cho Man-sik. In fact, even before the Soviet military arrived in P’yŏngyang, Cho Man-sik was already considered to be the leader among the Koreans. Reflecting popular opinion, the Soviet military allowed Cho to become the Chief Executive of the Five Province Administrative Bureau (*Odo haengjŏng guk*) (Clark, 2002:176).

From 31 August 1945 the Soviet General Ivan M. Chischakov officially began to exercise authority over the northern part of the Korean peninsula, delegating the

administrative authority to the Five Provinces People’s Committee with a Five Province Administrative Bureau (No, 1985: 106). The first step was to hold a conference of Korean Communist Party Members and Enthusiasts in the Five Northwestern Provinces (*Chosŏn Kongsandang sŏbuk ododang tangwŏn mit yŏlsŏngja yŏnhap taehoe*) in P’yongyang. As a result of the conference, the Korean Communist Party (KCP, *Chosŏn Kongsandang*) and the North Korean Bureau (NKB, *Puk Chosŏn pun’guk*) were unified on 13 October 1945. Accordingly, the Executive Committee of the Korean People was created in every province of North Korea under the leadership of the CPKI and the Soviet military officers started working with the Korean committee members (Kim, 1993: 166).

After the Administrative Committee was established in each province, the foundational principles of the newly established government were promulgated by the Soviet military: the establishment of a party run by all levels of people, mainly of farmers and laborers; complete eradication of Japanese colonial elements; land reform; nationalization of important industries; free compulsory education (*Minju chuŭi Minjok Chŏnson p’yŏn*, 1946: 118-119). On 8-10 October, the provincial People’s Committees organized a Joint Conference of People’s Committees in the Five Provinces of North Korea (*Puk Chosŏn odo inmin wiwŏnhoe yŏnhap hoeŭi*) with 110 delegates from each province. The Conference resulted in forming a Five Province People’s Committee Council (*Odo inmin wiwŏnhoe hyŏpŭihoe*) to bring about the centralized administrative organization. Stalin instructed occupational commanders and 25th army that “the Red Army who were dispatched to North Korea intended to destroy the Japanese invaders, not to implement either Soviet authority organs or Soviet order in Korean peninsula” (Yi, 2007: 117). It was also urged that the Red Army intend to establish a “bourgeois-democratic state” in North Korea (Yi, 2007: 117). However, in reality, Sovietization was the fundamental frame in which the new government in North Korea was to be built. The Soviet policy during the occupation was considered to be “more dictatorial in North Korea than it general was in Eastern Europe” (van Ree, 1989: 268). The following table demonstrates the political and educational backgrounds of Korean administrative officers in North Korea according to their positions.

Table 6-2 Administrative officers in North Korea in 1947

Name	Position	Party	Background
------	----------	-------	------------

Kim Il Sung	Chairman	Workers	Middle school dropout
Kim Ch'aek	Vice-chairman	Workers	Middle school dropout
Hong Ki-ju	Vice-chairman	Democratic	Christian church pastor
Han Pyŏng-ok	Head of the Secretariat	Workers	Kyushu University
Chŏng Chun-taek	Head of Planning	Workers	Keijō technical high school
Yi Mun-hwan	Head of Industry	Independent	Southern Manchuria technical school
Pak Il-u	Head of Home Affairs	Workers	Jilin Teacher's college
Yi Kang-guk	Head of Foreign Affairs	Workers	Keijō Imperial University
Yi Sun-gŭn	Head of Agriculture and Forest	Workers	Waseda University
Yi Pong-su	Head of Finance	Workers	Meiji University
Hŏ Nam-hŭi	Head of Transportation	Workers	Yongsan Railway School
Chu Hwang-sŏp	Head of Postal Service	Workers	University graduate
Chang Si-u	Head of Commerce	Workers	P'yŏngyang Sungsil middle school
Yi Tong-yŏng	Head of Public Health	Democratic	Keijō Medical College
Han Sŏrya	Head of Education	Workers	Nihon University dropout
O Ki-sŏp	Head of Labor	Workers	Communist University of the Toilers of the East (Soviet Union)
Ch'oe Yong-tal	Head of jurisdiction	Workers	Keijō Imperial University
Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik	Head of Censorship on the People	Workers	Waseda University
Kim Chŏng-ju	Head of General Affairs	Ch'ŏng'u	-
Chang Chong-sik	Head of Cadre	Workers	Dropout of Keijō middle school
Song Pong-uk	Head of Food Policy	Workers	-
Hŏ Chŏng-suk	Head of Propaganda	Workers	Kansai University

Note: the highlight, which indicates university graduates, is added by the author.

Source: Rodong Newspaper 23 February 1947; (Kim H. J., 2003: 428).

As Table 6-2 shows, most administrative officials in North Korea were affiliated to the Workers' Party. Although the majority of the administrative officers belonged to the Workers' Party, they were selected by the People's Committee and other parties were allowed to participate in the administration. In other words, political inclinations were considered the most important criteria for the selection of personnel within the administration. The levels of education were not as high as those of the administrative officers in South Korea. About half of the officers (11/23) were university graduates. Those who received higher education were

placed in the bureau of finance, medical, post service, and jurisdiction, which required specialty rather than political experience. Since the administrative officers were selected by elections in North Korea, in theory officials in North Korea must have been more independent than their counterparts in South Korea. However, in reality, the Soviet military was behind the scene and directed most of the affairs within the administration. Thus, all administrative offices were soon replaced by the members of the Workers' Party.

In summary, this section has so far discussed the processes which the US and Soviet military used to establish and direct the civil administrations of the military governments in North and South Korea. In both cases, the US and Soviet military authorities selected Korean administrators whose ideological inclinations were supportive of the occupying regimes: in South Korea, those who were conservative and anti-communist, and in North Korea, those who were communist and members of the Labour Party (later, Workers' Party). In fact, ideological and political inclinations, rather than their expertise or educational levels, were the most important criteria in selecting and appointing these administrators in key positions in both Koreas. In terms of personnel structure, both US and Soviet military chose to have a dual structure in personnel, having their officers in place with Korean counterparts. In this sense, both US and Soviet military sought to create a common structure in which "the distribution of resources, accountability of money spent, concern with the quality of service and its efficiency" are carefully measured towards the enhancement of their national interests (Kogan, 1978: 154). However, whereas the US military placed Korean officers to assume advisory roles to the US administrators, the Soviet military chose to make their own officers assume advisory functions while controlling the Korean administrators behind the scene. Furthermore, they differed in the administrative structures in that while the US military concentrated on forming a central administrative structure, similar to that of the Japanese colonial government, the Soviet military implemented a relatively decentralized structure at the beginning, establishing a committee of civil administration in every province. The next section narrows the foci into the education field by discussing the selection logic of key personnel in the newly established educational administrations in the two Koreas by the Soviet Union and the US military.

The Formation of Educational Administrations in the Two Koreas

In the field of education, the US military government, together with prominent Koreans, intended to implement 'liberal democratic education' as a backbone of the new education system. The US military government intended to improve education in Korea because it believed that "unless education is given to its people, Korea will be unable to grow into a democratic nation" (Hayes, 1948: 50). For this purpose, General Hodge appointed Lieutenant E. N. Lockard as the head of the education department in the USAMGIK. The department of education was one of the nine departments in the US military government, including seven bureaus under its structure. The basic structure and functions of the education system in South Korea continuously developed under the US military government for approximately three years until the official establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948.

In order to reorganize the education system in South Korea, the US military government began to appoint Koreans in every section of the Education Bureau, whose main roles were to aid the US Army directors.³⁷ Since most of the American administrators were ignorant of Korean educational matters and educational policy was closely intertwined political situations at the time, the US military government were very cautious in selecting Korean advisors who would share a decision-making power. Thus, the US military sought help from American residents in South Korea who turned out to be mostly Christian missionaries or descendants of missionaries. These included Captain G.Z. Williams who was in charge of employing Korean administrators in the military government for his fluency in Korean language and Dr. H. H. Underwood, a son of a famous American missionary to Korea, who came back to Korea as a translator and chief advisor to the US military governor General Hodge, after he was expelled from Korea by a Japanese colonial government in 1942. Due to those circumstances, many Korean advisors were selected from a pool of US-educated

³⁷ According to a report of Education Bureau (2 October 1945) by Capt. Glenn Kieffer, there were nine sections and each section was operated by a US army "director" with a Korean educator as chief.

1. Director of Schools - Lt. Alfred Crofts / Chief of Schools – O Ch'ön-sök
2. Director Social Welfare - Capt. Karl Rhodes / Chief of School – Ch'oe Sŭng-man
3. Director Textbook Section – Capt. Glenn Kieffer / Chief Textbook Sec. – Ch'oe Hyön-pae
4. Director Supervision Section – Lt. Karl Bengston / Inspector Supervision Sec. – Sa Kong Hwan
5. Director Planning – Capt. Blen Kieffer / Not determined yet
6. Director Higher Education – Lt. Alfred Crofts./ Not determined yet.
7. Director Secondary Education Section – Lt. William Biscoe/ Not determined yet
8. Director Property Section – Capt. Glenn Kieffer / Chief Property Sec.- Yi Chun-sŏng
9. Director Meteorological Section – Capt. Gilbert Graham / Chief Meteorological Sec. – Yi Wŏn-ch'öl

Christian intellectuals whose political views turned out to be conservative and anti-communist (Kim T. H., 1998: 12-13). On September 1945, the US military government organized the Korean Committee on Education,³⁸ comprised of the Korean advisors who were selected to assist the US military officers and the following table summarizes the names and backgrounds of the members of the Korean Committee on Education.

Table 6-3 Members of the Korean Committee on Education in South Korea (November, 1945)

Position	Name and Background
Primary	Kim Sǒng-tal (public grammar-school principal, unknown)
Secondary	Hyǒn Sang-Yun (private middle school principal, BA in Japan)
Professional	Yu Ōk-kyǒm (private technical school principal, BA in Japan)
All Levels	Paek Nak-gǔn (Board of Control of Korean Times, Ph.D. in US)
Women	Kim Hwal-lan (president of Ewha Women's College, Ph.D. in US)
Higher Schools	Kim Sǒng-su (Posǒng College, BA in Japan)
General Education	Ch'oe Kyu-tong (private school principal, Korea)
Medical	Yun Il-sun (Dean of the College of Medicine of Seoul National University, BA in Japan)
Agricultural	Cho Paek-hyǒn (President of Suwǒn College of Agriculture, unknown)
Korean Scholarship	Chǒng In-po (no employment)

Source: History of Bureau of Education from 11 September 1945 to 28 February 1946: 6-7.

As demonstrated in Table 6-3, prominent educators among the members of the Korean Committee on Education in South Korea included Kim Sǒng-su who was a principal of Bo-sǒng College, Yu Ōk-gyǒm, Paek Nak-chun, Kim Hwal-lan, O Chǒn-sǒk, all of whom were teaching at Christian colleges at that time. In addition, all of them had experienced

³⁸ In Japan, the selection of the advisory board worked in a similar fashion, in that the US military formed a committee, the Japanese Educators Committee (JEC), consisting of highly qualified Japanese educators on 9 February 1946 (Park, 1996; Han, 1997; Shibata, 2005). The members of this committee included presidents of universities, education professors, Christian educators and education leaders for women (Shibata, 2005). On August in the same year, another group, the Japan Education Reform Committee (JERC), was formed to mediate the reform efforts between CIE (The Civil Information and Education Section), the education division of the US military and the Japanese Ministry of Education (Han, 1997; Park, 1996). The members of the JERC were selected on the recommendation of the prime minister and included renowned persons from “educational, religious, cultural, economic and industrial circles” (Shibata, 2005: 75). Shibata claims that the US military utilized “the liberal-minded” individuals in the committees well in order to achieve their policy objectives, so “the American strategy in using Japanese liberals was a success” (2005: 76).

American education either with the help of American missionaries or through private funds. The caliber of these Korean educators was superb even by American standards. For example, O Ch'ŏn-sŏk received undergraduate education in Cornell University, a Masters in education from Northwestern University and a Ph.D. in education from Columbia University. Also, Kim Hwal-lan completed her Masters in Boston University and earned a Ph.D. in education from Columbia University. Other Korean advisors received education in prestigious universities in Japan and Europe. Due to their educational backgrounds, they could easily understand and accept American democratic ideology and their cultural and communication abilities in turn enabled them to persuade American officers more effectively to implement new policies fit for the Korean culture and people (An, 2009: 98-99).

O Ch'ŏn-sŏk later recalled that it was the Korean educators that were to rebuild the state since the US military government was temporary and emergency by its very nature. In fact, based on his experience in the US military government, O Ch'ŏn-sŏk argued that Koreans were able to seize the leadership in [educational] policy-making even though other Koreans ridiculed their leadership at the US military government as “translation politics” for the US or “mute politics” for Koreans. In response to this criticism, he argued that if “translation politics” became “translator’s politics,” it was no bad thing for Koreans at all because it meant Koreans could initiate their own policies (O, 1975: 88). In this respect, the process of ‘translation’ by the Korean administrators became “a resistance, a space where the dominant loses control over the meaning-making process, and where talking back is possible” (Clarke et al., 2015: 47). This extends the understanding of educational policy transfer which occurred in the US military government in that the policy transfer was not an “unreflexive translation of a ‘monocultural’ policy” (Clarke et al., 2015: 47), but a fundamental ‘morphing’ of the characters, shapes, meanings, concepts and actors involved in the policy process (Cowen, 2009b).

Furthermore, in order to contemplate a long term plan, which would lay a foundation of Korean education in the long run, O Ch'ŏn-sŏk suggested the formation of the National Committee on Educational Planning to Capt. Earl N. Lockard by including preeminent Koreans from all walks of life in the committee (O, 1975: 95). The following table summarizes the members of the National Committee on Educational Planning according to the sub-committees.

Table 6-4 The National Committee on Educational Planning in South Korea (December 1945)

Sub-Committees	Members
Educational Purpose and Objectives	An Chae-hong, Chŏng In-po, Ha Kyŏng-tŏk, Paek Nak-chun, Kim Hwal-lan, <u>Glenn S. Kieffer</u> , <u>Hong Chŏng-sik</u>
Educational Structure	Kim Chun-yŏn, Kim Wŏn-kyu, Yi Hun-gu, Yi In-gi, <u>Yu Ŏk-kyŏm</u> , <u>Paul D. Ehert</u> , <u>O Ch'ŏn-sŏk</u>
Educational Administration	Ch'oe Tu-sŏn, Ch'oe Kyu-tong, Hyŏn Sang-Un, Yi Myo-muk, Paek Nam-hun, <u>Ralph G. Grant</u> , <u>Sagon Hwan</u>
Elementary Education	Yi Kŭk-no, Yi Ho-sŏng, Yi kye-paek, Yi Kang-wŏn, , <u>F. M. Milan</u> , <u>Yi Sŭng-jae</u> , <u>Chŏng Sŏk-yun</u>
Secondary Education	Cho Tong-sik, Ko Hwang-kyŏng, Yi Pyŏng-kyu, Song Sŏk-ha, Sŏ Wŏn-ch'ul, Yi Hong-jong, <u>William S. Biscoe</u> , <u>Yi Hŭng-jong</u>
Vocational Education	Chŏng Mun-gi, Chang Myŏn, Cho Paek-hyŏn, Yi Kyu-je, Pak Chang-yŏl, <u>F. P. Lauridsen</u> , Yi Kyo-sŏn
Teacher Training	Chang Yi-uk, Chang Tŏk-su, Kim Ae-sul, Sin Ki-pŏm, Son Chung-kyu, <u>L. E. Farley</u> , Hŏ Hyŏn
Higher Education	Paek Nam-un, Yu Chin-o, Kim Sŏng-ju, <u>Alfred Crofts</u> , Pak Chonghong, J. Gordon Fechter, Cho Pyŏng-ok
Textbooks	Ch'oe Hyŏn-pae, <u>Chang Chi-yŏng</u> , Cho Chin-man, Cho Yun-je, P'i Ch'ŏn-dŭk, Hwang Sin-dŏk,, <u>James C. Welch</u> , Kim Sŏng-tal
Medical Education	Sim Ho-sŏp, <u>Yu Ŏk-kyŏm</u> , Yi Yŏng-sul, Pak Pyŏng-nae, Ch'oe Sang-chaе, Ko Pyŏng-gan, Yun Il-sŏn, Ch'oe Tong, Chŏng Ku-jŏng.

Note: The underlined members were affiliated with the Bureau of Education.

Source: O, Ch'ŏn-sŏk. (오천석) (1964) *Hanguk Sinkyoyuksa* (한국 신교육사 *The New Education History of Korea*). Hyŏndae kyoyukchangsŏch'ulp'ansa, pp.399-400; Seki, Eiko (関英子). “Migunchŏngha e it'ŏsŏ Han'gukin ũi Kyoyukjaegŏn noyŏk” (Reconstruction efforts of Koreans under the US Military Government, 美軍政下에 있어서 韓國人の 教育再建 努力). In Abe Hiroshi (阿部洋) (ed.) (1987) *Haebanghu Han'guk ũi Kyoyuk kaehyŏk* (解放後 韓國의 教育改革), p. 68; National Committee on Educational Planning, 1946: 4-5

Among the Korean members of the Committee, shown in Table 6-4, more than two thirds were educated abroad, 26 in Japan, 14 in the USA, 2 in Germany, 1 in China, and 1 in Canada (Seki, 1987:69-70). The National Committee on Educational Planning in South Korea contributed to making “Koreanized education policies” until 1948 (Seki, 1987: 107; H.Q.USAFIK, 1948: 15-17). In fact, the Korean advisors gained considerable respect from the Korean public and the US military officers also regarded them highly for their capabilities and willingness to serve the Korean public (An, 2009: 88). Despite some friction, mutual dependence between the US military officers and Korean advisors was formed and most of

the educational policies were created and implemented in cooperation between Americans and Koreans (Son, 2002: 18). In this process, however, left-wing elites who were actively seeking political changes by revolutionary means as well as nationalist elites who argued for the complete alienation of Japanese colonial elements and personnel in the new administration were excluded in the educational decision-making process as the conservative, pro-American elites dominated the educational administration of the US military government (Kim J. H., 1998: 12). When understanding the process of policy transfer as essentially the 'translation' of values, meanings, and concepts inherent within the policies, the selection of 'translators' become one of the important steps since "the translation process often should be regarded as a battle between competing interpretations vying for supremacy" (Johnson and Hagström, 2005: 375). In this respect, "who the losers and winners are within the travels" of educational policies during the US military government became apparent: The winners and losers were determined according to their ideological leanings as well as their capacity to understand language, culture, and ideology of the occupying power and 'translate' them (Clarke et al., 2015: 48).

Most of the decisions on educational philosophy, systems, curricula and pedagogy were made in consultation with the conservative elites who largely supported the ideals of democratic education as an appropriate replacement of the traditional Confucian or militaristic and colonial Japanese education. In this sense, the interests of the two groups coincided, and democratic education, the forms and contents of which were borrowed from Americans was introduced to Koreans as a result. Indeed, "the potential tension between those who are elected to decide for the people and those who are appointed to provide expertise in this process is classic in politics and government" (Kogan, 1978: 152). This tension is at the heart of any public administration. Political contract is made by politicians on behalf of various social actors' demands on the pressing educational needs and public bureaucrats who work within a set of rules and authority relationships that govern the administration. In the case of the US military government in South Korea, the actor who assumed the role of politicians was the US military authority to which appointed bureaucrats in the educational administration had to refer to. The US military government understood this logic very well and accordingly selected Korean advisors who would work with American officers in establishing the new education system. This selection of Korean advisors was the key decision-making process

since it created a group of Korean leaders in political and educational fields who would later continue the legacy of the US military regime into the era of the Republic of Korea. The educational, professional, political and religious backgrounds of the Korean educators who were involved in the educational planning and policy-making processes in South Korea are summarized in the following three tables.

Table 6-5 Korean members of the National Committee on Educational Planning³⁹ (1st Bureau, Bureau of educational ideal)

Name	Academic background	Career background		Affiliated group	Religion
		Before liberation	After liberation		
An Chae-hong	Waseda University (Politics and Economics)	Principal of Chungang School/Publisher of Chosŏn ilbo	Civil administrator	Hŭngsadan ⁴⁰ / Hanmindang ⁴¹	Christian
Ha Kyŏng-dŏk	Harvard University (Ph.D in Sociology)	Professor at Yŏnhŭi College		Hŭngsadan/ member of legislative committee in the interim government	Christian
Paek Nak-jun (George)	Yale University (Ph.D. in History)	Professor at Yŏnhŭi College and Ewha Women's College	President of Yŏnhŭi College/ Minister of Education	Hŭngsadan/ Hanmindang	Christian
Kim Hwal-lan (Helen)	Columbia University (Ph.D. in Education)	Ewha Women's College	President of Ewha Women's College		Christian
Hong Chŏng-sik	Keijō Imperial University (Liberal Arts)	-	Investigation Planning Division of Education department		
Chŏng In-po	Educated in China	Professor at Yŏnhŭi College and Ewha Women's College	President of Kukhak College		Christian

Source: Kim, H. J. (김한중) (2003) Singukga kŏnsŏlgi kyoyukge inmaek kwa inyŏmjŏk sŏnghyang (신국가건설기 교육계 인맥과 이념적 성향, People's Genealogy and their ideological characters in

³⁹ The National Committee of Educational Planning is a separate organization from the Korean Committee on Education. The National Committee of Educational Planning was established by the proposal of Dr. O Chŏn-sŏk who felt the need for long-term educational planning in South Korea. Although it lasted only 3 months, it laid important philosophical and systemic foundation to building a new South Korean education system.

⁴⁰ Corps for the Advancement of Scholars

⁴¹ Han'guk Minju-dang (Korean Democratic Party)

Table 6-6 Korean members of the National Committee on Educational Planning (2nd Bureau, Bureau of Education system)

Name	Academic background	Career background		Affiliated group	Religion
		Before liberation	After liberation		
Yu Ŏk-kyŏm	Tōkyō Imperial University (Law)	Professor of Ewha Women's college and Yōnhŭi College	Head of Education Department in the US military government	Hŭngsadan/Hanmindang	Christian
Kim Chun-yŏn	Tōkyō imperial University (Law) and Berlin University	Chief editor of Tonga daily newspaper	Minister of Law	Hŭngsadan/Hanmindang	Christian
Kim Wŏn-kyu	Hiroshima Teacher's college	President of Namsŏn trading company	Principal of Seoul middle and high school	Hanmindang	
Yi Hun-gu	Wisconsin University (Ph.D. in Philosophy)	Vice president of Chosŏn daily newspaper/Professor of Sungsil College	Head of Bureau of Agriculture/ President of Sŏnggyun'gwan university/dean of Tan'guk University	Hanmindang	Christian
Yi In-gi	Tōkyō Imperial University (Bachelor of Arts)	Professor of Ewha College and Keijō Teacher's College	Dean of graduate school of Seoul National University/President of Sukmyŏng woman's University and Yŏngnam University		Christian
O Ch'ŏn-sŏk	Columbia University (Ph.D. in Education)	Professor of Posŏng College	Head of Education Department in the US military government /Minister of Education	Hŭngsadan	Christian

Source: Kim, H. J. (김한중) (2003) Singukga kŏnsŏlgi kyoyukge inmaek kwa inyŏmjŏk sŏnghyang (신국가건설기 교육계 인맥과 이념적 성향, People's Genealogy and their ideological characters in Educational circle in the Era of Korea's State Building), *Yŏksa Kyoyuk* (역사교육), vol. 88, 2003.12, p. 44

Table 6-7 Korean members of the National Committee on Educational Planning (3rd Bureau, Bureau of Educational Administration)

Name	Academic background	Career background		Affiliated group	Religion
		Before liberation	After liberation		
Ch'oe Kyu-dong	Kwangsin commercial high school	Principal of Chungtong school			
Ch'oe Tu-sŏn	Waseda University(Englis	Principal of Chungang school/		Hŭngsadan/Hanmindang	Christian

	h literature) and Berlin University	member of board of directors of Posŏng College/ Kyŏngsŏng textile company			
Hyŏn Sang-yun	Waseda University (History and Sociology)	Professor of Posŏng College		Hŭngsadan/ Hanmindang	Christian
Yi Myo-muk	Boston University(Ph.D. in History)	Professor of Yŏnhŭi College	Translator for commander of the US military army	Hŭngsadan	Christian
Paek Nam-hun	Waseda University		Principal of Ilsin high school and Kwangsŏn commercial high school	Hŭngsadan/ Hanmindang	Christian
Sa Kong-hwan	Hiroshima Teacher's College		Bureau of higher education in Department of Education at the US military government		

Source: Kim, H. J. (김한중) Singukga kŏnsŏlgi kyoyukge inmaek kwa inyŏmjŏk sŏnghyang (신국가건설기 교육계 인맥과 이념적 성향, People's Genealogy and their ideological characters in Educational circle in the Era of Korea's State Building), *Yŏksa Kyoyuk* (역사교육), vol. 88, 2003.12, p. 45

As Tables 6-5, 6-6 and 6-7 show, most of the Korean advisors in the US military government had been educated in either US or Japan, affiliated with the conservative political party at the time (*Hanmin-dang*), pursuing educational careers as either professors or principals, and predominantly of Christian beliefs. Through these Korean policy-makers and educators, the adoption of American liberal democratic ideology into the Korean education system was facilitated and the process of assimilation followed suit as a consequence. It was the amalgam of the selection of key policy-makers by the US military and the pursuit of a new ideology in place of old authoritarian model of politics and education by the general public that proved pivotal in shaping the process of assimilation in which various liberal democratic educational features in schools and educational administration from the US were introduced and adopted in South Korea during the US military regime.

Likewise, in North Korea,⁴² it was the combination of the domestic political situation

⁴² Compared to the South Korea, the number of records that I could find on the educational bureaucracy during

that necessitated the selection of pro-Soviet leaders and the creation of a political and social vacuum in the aftermath of the Japanese colonial era that facilitated the processes of assimilation and educational reforms by the Soviet military. For the Soviet military, educational control was imperative especially because the Soviet military pursued an indirect rule of North Korea through the selection and training of Korean personnel in the key positions of the government. Those who were selected had to train themselves assiduously with socialist ideals of education – namely, Marx-Leninism, anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism – three ideological pillars of the initial education set-up in North Korea (Mun, 2010: 223). Thus, from the beginning of the military occupation, education received considerable attention by the Soviet military leadership, as revealed from the to-do-list that General Shtykov,⁴³ the Member of the Military Council of the USSR’s Maritime (Far Eastern) District, who was appointed as a key decision-maker in planning and making foreign policy in North Korea from the Soviet government, wrote in his diary during his station in North Korea (Shtykov, 2004: 8,9). For example, On 11 September 1946, he wrote down 12 things that he had to solve immediately and 5 of them were related to education (i.e. problems of intellectuals, sending Korean students to the Soviet Union, problems of Kim Il-Sung University, publication of textbooks for politics education and selection of scholars for this task).

In the educational administration, many elites were selected in order to establish the education system in North Korea. The new educational administration in the Soviet military government in North Korea reflected the relation that produces a two-tier hierarchy within the educational administration, as discussed by Moe (1995: 122): “one tier is the internal hierarchy of the agency, and the other is the political control structure linking it to politicians

the Soviet military regime was limited. Thus, the part on North Korean administrators relatively lacks the details of their personal backgrounds. In particular, due to the nature of a communist regime, individual records or reflections by the educational bureaucrats during the period are few.

⁴³ General Lebedev, the director of the Soviet Civil Administration of North Korea stated that “there was not an event in which Shtykov was not involved,” and Shtykov left diaries which “were devoted to the political and economic situation in Korea after the liberation from Japanese occupation in August 1945. The first volume deals with the September 1946 General Strike, the October 1946 Uprising, and the merger of the three leftist parties in the south; volume two covers the election for the People’s committees of provinces, cities, and counties, and the Assemblies of the Committees in North Korea; the third volume includes the Second Soviet-American Joint Commission, when Shtykov himself was the head of the Soviet Delegation; and finally volume four covers the cabinet formation of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea” (Chõn and Kang, 1996: 69, 92).

and interest groups.” As in the US military government in South Korea, the political control structure was controlled by the Soviet military authorities who in turn attempted to control the internal hierarchy of the agency through the selection and management of key officers within the educational administration. The Soviet Civil Administration (SCA) was responsible for educational and cultural policy, along with justice, health and the press in North Korea. M. Ignatiev was a deputy chief of the SCA and the top Korean in the SCA was Kim P’a, who was a second-generation Korean dispatched by the Soviet military (Armstrong, 2003: 171). In addition, Chang Chong-sik, a journalist and activist, was the head of the education bureau in the North Korean People’s Committee (NKPC). Paek Nam-un, a professor of Yŏnhŭi College as well as a graduate from Tokyo Commercial College, was appointed the chancellor in the Bureau of Education in North Korea. Han Sŏrya, a graduate from Nihon University, was the chief of the bureau (Kim S. B., 1997: 221-222). In captured documents by the US military during the Korean war, a detailed report of staff in the Bureau of Education was recorded on 10 April 1947. The report indicated name, gender, age, date of birth, school most recently attended, family and personal background (*sŏngpun*), and salary. The following table summarizes the backgrounds of staff in the Bureau of Education in North Korea.

Table 6-8 Backgrounds of staff in the Bureau of Education in North Korea

Age		Education		Party		background		Family background	
10s	1	University	10	Labor	33	Officer	63	Middle peasant	18
20s	26	College	35					Poor peasant	23
30s	28	Middle	17	No party	31	Painter	1	Landowner	2
40s	9	Elementary	2					Officer	8
								Petit bourgeois ⁴⁴	2

Source: Kyoyukguk (教育局) (10 April 1947), *Puk Chosŏn Inmin Wiwŏnhoe Chikwŏn Chosasŏ* (北朝鮮人民委員會 職員調查書).

As Table 6-8 shows, the staff of the Bureau of Education were relatively young. About 85 percent of the staff were in their 20s (26) and 30s (28). The oldest member of staff in the bureau was Han Sŏrya (head of Ministry of Education), who was only 48 years old. For the educational backgrounds of staff in the Bureau of Education, 35 (about 55 percent) had

⁴⁴ Petit bourgeois is a communist term, referring to small-scale merchants or self-employed businessmen who owned a small-scale means of production to sustain them but not enough to control the means of others.

received college level education and 10 (about 16 percent) had received university level education. In other words, over 70 percent of the staff had college or university level education, and were well educated. The locations of staff's alma mater were as follows: Japan (31 percent), South Korea (28 percent), North Korea (27 percent), China (11 percent), and Soviet Union (3 percent). The majority of staff (55 percent) in the Bureau of Education were educated in North and South Korea whereas the National Committee on Education Planning in South Korea was mainly dominated by staff who were educated abroad, either in US or Japan. Additionally, there were two Soviet Koreans. For example, Nam Il (35 years old), who was a graduate of Tomsk University in the Soviet Union was a deputy director of the Bureau. Chŏng T'ae-sŏng (33 years old), who was a graduate of Tashikent University in Russia, was the chief of compilation and publication. In terms of political inclinations, all staff belonged to either the Workers' party or independent (or no party). The majority of staff (about 52 percent) were members of the Workers' party. In regard to financial backgrounds (*sŏngpun*), about 70 percent of the members were middle peasant (*chungnong*) (31 percent) and poor peasants (*pinnong*) (39 percent). It is also worth noting that there were 3 female staff in the Bureau.

Furthermore, several renowned North Korean educational leaders, including Han Sŏrya, who was one of the most famous literary writers at that time and who later became the Minister of Education, were sent to study the Soviet Union. Shtykov's diaries indicated that next to the matters related to textbooks and Kim Il-Sung University, sending the North Korean leaders to the Soviet Union was an important educational concern for the Soviet officials during the military regime. Shtykov himself requested the Soviet Union Central Committee to accept 120 Korean students and 20 Korean scholars into higher education institutes in the Soviet Union. As a result, the responsibility to select the 'politically right' Korean leaders fell to Shtykov's hands (Shtykov, 2004: 109-110). After returning from the trips, these North Korean leaders wrote books and reports, introducing in great detail the economic, educational and cultural development in the Soviet Union in the aftermath of World War II and praising the Soviet Union's socialist system as the embodiment of the Marx-Leninist ideals. In doing so, they argued that the Soviet Union was a model state for North Korea to follow (Pae, 2012: 391). In addition, they stated that the Soviet Union's laws and systems were designed to promote science and technology and culture most efficiently. They illuminated policies

including the establishment of colleges, expansion of libraries and theatres, literacy education, and promotion of political seminars in great detail, adding that these were made in order to advance the Soviet workers' cultural capacities (Tae, 1946: 93). The reading of *Kyowŏn Shinmun* (primary newspaper for teachers in North Korea) from 1949 to 1950 revealed that various features of the Soviet education systems were described in great detail for teachers to read and learn, covering the general educational development in primary schools, technical schools, literacy education programs, educational finance, and teachers' training, and educational curricula in the Soviet Union.

The notable economic development of the Soviet Union under Stalin's strong leadership was another great attraction to North Koreans. Ironically, despite its notorious oppression and exploitation of farmers, Stalin's five-year economic planning reaped a considerable success. It was speculated that one of the reasons that Stalin could win victory over Germany during World War II was the rapid industrialization the Soviet Union had undergone under Stalin's terror regime. In fact, the factories which were built and designed to produce industrial goods could easily be converted to produce weapons for war. North Korean leaders unabashedly expressed their envy towards this fast industrialization and economic development of the Soviet Union, arguing that Korea should catch up with the Soviet Union by promoting 'socialist production competitions' and adopting the Soviet 'patriotism' (*Kyowŏn Shinmun*, 1949 October 6; Pae, 2012: 379, 386). Furthermore, they insisted that in order to overcome imminent economic difficulties and to improve industries in the long-run, Soviet assistance in finance, raw materials and machinery was essential. Fast economic development was perceived critical as Kim Il Sung aspired to assume a superior position in competing with South Korea (Hong, 1949: 7; Chosŏ ch'insŏn, 1949).

Behind the catchphrase, 'Learn from the Soviet Union', lay the North Korean conviction that the Soviet Union was the most culturally advanced country in the world. The exuberant mood of North Koreans' interests in the Soviet people and culture was felt even by the Soviet military men during the early period of their regime (Shtykov, 2004: 3). In fact, some North Korean leaders argued that the Soviet Union was the first developed country whose power and authority were truly based on the workers. Cultural activities so far had been predominantly reserved for a few ruling elites in most of the Western capitalist countries but in the Soviet Union, science and culture with reflections on the workers' interests were

already developed (Tae, 1946: 91). A 1949 radio broadcast by Paek Nam-un, the Minister of Education, represented the general mood around that time:

In order to develop the important educational culture, it is the most pressing popular aspiration to study and absorb broadly the advanced Soviet educational science, and to consolidate more than ever the everlasting imperishable good will between Korea and the Soviet Union... Soviet educational science occupies the highest place in the world as the means to develop culture and the weapon for the realization of a communist society (CIA, 1952: 43-24).

The communist leaders in North Korea believed that the Soviet Union was an example of the ideal state and society which they had to build in the long run while the Soviet Union facilitated this desire for imitation and adaptation by sending many Korean leaders to the Soviet Union for study visits, excursions, and long-term study abroad throughout the Soviet military regime and up to the mid-1950s. Although many scholars disagreed in their assessments as to how much North Korean leaders gave loyalty to the communist ideology outside the public discourse,⁴⁵ most North Korean commentators, in their memoirs and interviews, said that North Koreans, at least, in the initial stage of their state-building, thought of the Soviet Union as the future society for them to pursue and put their efforts in accordance with this belief (Interview, Chang; Interview, Hyun; Hwang, 1998). In particular, a North Korean intellectual who was educated for primary education during the Soviet military regime gave a first-hand account of the Soviet influences in North Korean schools in the late 1940s and 1950s as follows:

The educational method was very Sovietized. Textbooks were Russian translations. Although we learnt in Korean language, still school curricular followed that of the Soviet Union. Until *Juche* education arose in the 1960s, most of the educational features were affected by the Soviets. I remember that until I graduated from college, all the regulations in the city planning followed a Soviet model. Also, I remember this song which I used to sing when I was little: “Friends from Soviet Union I heard you

⁴⁵ I am aware that in interpreting North Korean sources as well as evaluating the communist influences in North Korea, it is important to distinguish between public and private values. For example, mobilizing political organizations and penetrating to people’s minds are two separate entities and not to be confused. Whereas the former aspect is easy to assess through records of various sources, the latter aspect is much more difficult to investigate since North Korea is a closed state which precludes personal interviews with its citizens. Also, even the interviews with North Koreans need serious interpretation due to political training and experiences they received in the totalitarian state.

are going home with your parents.” (Interview, Chang⁴⁶)

There was a considerable number of North Korean ideologues, particularly in Hamgyong province of North Korea who had participated in Red farmers and Red workers movements, who, with those around them, became the core of the communist organizational movements in North Korea after liberation (E-mail Interview, Lee C. S.). Although the degree of communist “penetration” varied by regions and years and the Korean understanding of the meaning of communism in the post-liberation era was shallow and superficial, through various propaganda and educational activities during the Soviet military regime and afterwards people in North Korea were gradually led into believing that the Soviet Union was a model for the advanced society to which North Koreans should aspire.

In conclusion, in both North and South Korea, the educational administrations were established in accordance with the political interests of the occupying powers. The key process to maximize the political interests was the selection of key personnel in the educational administration. Thus, in both cases, political and ideological leanings towards the ideologies of the occupying powers became the most critical criteria for selection, although other background factors such as education, age, religion were also considered. In the case of South Korea, a group of Korean educators who were highly educated (e.g. holders of Ph.D.), having studied abroad either in US or Japan, and of Christian faith were selected to establish the educational administration and their past, such as affiliation to the Japanese colonial government, was not considered so important in the selection process. These officers not only provided expertise in Korean educational matters for American officers but also proved great supporters of liberal democracy and democratic education, further strengthening ties with the US military authorities. In the case of North Korea, compared to the South Korea, most of the selected officers in the newly created educational administration, were not so well educated as their counterparts in South Korea, younger in age, and many came from peasant families. This is understandable since the top priorities for selection were the ideological adherence to communism and no previous involvement with the Japanese colonial government, both of which reduced the possibility of having had educational and career opportunities in the past.

⁴⁶ This interview was held at the interviewee’s house in Seoul on 27 March 2014.

In a way, these rather young bureaucrats meant a clear break from the past. Provided with opportunities to visit the Soviet Union, throughout the occupation era as well as afterwards, they became faithful supporters of the communist ideology and communist education for the newly established government.

In both cases, Moe's argument proved right: by selecting "the right types of bureaucrats and designing a structure," political authorities can exert their influence on the administration (Moe, 1995: 135). Once appointed, as long as the political authorities manage them with a consistent organizational goal, these bureaucrats "can be unleashed to follow their expert judgments, free from detailed formal instruction" (Moe, 1995: 135). Educational bureaucrats in South Korea enthusiastically implemented the educational reforms, especially those promoting liberal democratic ideology, based on their own understanding and expertise of democratic education from the beginning of their tenure. For North Korea, although the newly appointed educational bureaucrats were less experienced and younger in age, with the careful guidance of the Soviet authorities to implant communist ideology both in political agendas as well as in public mind, the implementation of the educational reforms worked in an efficient manner throughout the military regime.

Conclusion

The Korean people's efforts to establish an independent government were undermined by the occupation of the US and Soviet Union military. The nature of governments during this period, military occupation, combined with political and ideological void that was created as a result of the liberation from Japanese colonization, enabled the rapid adoption of ideologies and educational philosophies from the Soviet Union and the USA as a resort to build new education systems. In this sense, the political contexts in both North and South Korea during this period clearly displayed the grounds for 'change' in which a high degree of social change is recognized, where "change [means] the coming into being of new and specifically different constellations and not merely the replacement of one set of conditions by a new set of the same specific type" (Mullins, 1972: 504).

For both Soviet and US military government, the initial importation of the educational policies followed the logic of extending ideological influences of the occupying

powers as a design to maximize their security interests in the Korean peninsula even after the occupation ended. Furthermore, a group of Korean policy-makers and administrators who gave active support to the rules and ideologies of occupying powers were selected and, in negotiations with the American and Soviet military officers, imported and adopted certain features of the educational policies from the Soviet Union and the USA into reforming and developing the education systems of the newly established governments. In this sense, the Korean policy-makers and administrators became important actors whose roles and motivations, albeit in a limited capacity during the military occupation, framed and determined the specific process of the educational reforms that would continue throughout the decades to come. The Korean administrators' roles also enabled the unpacking, translating and assembling of "underlying norms, content, effect and work" of educational policies of the Soviet Union and the USA into the local contexts of the two Koreas.

Consequently, in both North and South Korea during the military regime, "the fundamental conflicts of values and institutional pressures work[ed] themselves out within the political and administrative system" (Kogan, 1978: 12) through the mechanism of setting the organizational goals in accordance with the long-term interests of the occupying powers, and selecting the 'right' personnel for the key positions of leadership. However, within the educational 'policyscapes' created between the Soviet Union and North Korea and between the USA and South Korea respectively as a result of the occupation, the responsible Korean administrators within their respective bureaucratic machines could mobilize their resources and networks to pursue reform agendas in accordance with their local political and educational needs (Carney, 2010). In other words, while the process of policy transfer in the Soviet and US military governments was definitely "an act of oppression, where dominant ideas are translated across the border into the language and territory" of the two Koreas, it also entailed the active roles of Korean translators, making the process "the creative and interpretive dimensions of translation...in the service of making visible and contestable alternative policy creation and, with them, the possibility of transfigurative social practices" (Clarke et al., 2015: 47).

The next chapter discusses the aspects of ideology in the process of educational reforms: specifically, how the ideologies of the occupying powers were incorporated into the development of the education systems in the two Koreas. It does so by investigating the

specific contents of belief systems which the Korean decision-makers in the educational administrations held, and how their beliefs and understanding were translated into decision-making processes of educational reforms.

Chapter 7.

Actors' Roles and Motivations for Reforms: Key Decision-Makers' Interpretations of Ideologies

Introduction

This chapter explores the roles and motivations of the actors behind the process of implementation of the educational reforms in North and South Korea during the Soviet and US military regimes respectively. It builds on the previous chapter which focused on who the actors were and what roles they played in the process of the educational reforms, moving the focus to an analysis of the motivations of the key decision-makers in pursuing the reforms. The first section illustrates the characteristics of nationalist movements by Korean political and educational leaders, and, in doing so, to investigate the elements of Korean nationalism that motivated the Korean decision-makers in the Soviet and the US military governments to participate in the decision-making processes of the educational reforms for nation-building purposes. Based on the discussion, the following section moves on to discuss the specific contents of their belief systems in order to evaluate how their understanding and interpretation of the ideologies of the occupying powers were translated into adopting educational philosophies of the Soviet Union and the USA into establishing the new education systems of the two Koreas.

The Characteristics of Korean Nationalism

As Chapter 5 described in detail, after the liberation from Japan, Korea became an ideological battleground under the influences of the two occupying powers, the Soviet Union and the USA. In order to trace the roots of the domestic political conflicts in the Korean peninsula as well as the motivations of Korean political and educational leaders to join and participate in the respective Soviet and US military governments, the question of how Koreans' ideological consciousness began to emerge begs an answer. The issue of ideological consciousness was particularly important since the two Koreas, at that time, were undergoing

state formation. Koreans' ideological consciousness for nationhood culminated in the March First Movement in 1919 which brought Koreans in various social statuses into unity against the Japanese colonial rule. Although the movement failed to bring independence to Korea, Korean nationalism was manifested as a mass phenomenon for the first time, no longer limited to intellectual elites (Lee, 1963; Robinson, 1988). After the March First Movement, Korean nationalist leaders formed a unified organization - namely the Korean Provisional Government - in Shanghai in order to continue the independence movement. The Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai included most of the Korean nationalist leaders whose ideological spectrums ranged from conservatism to communism.

However, the provisional government, without proper preparation and planning, was bound to split since the Korean leaders advocated different ideologies and strategies albeit to achieve the same goal - Korea's independence.⁴⁷ For example, the Premier of the provisional government, Yi Tong-hwi was a communist whereas the President of the provisional government, Syngman Rhee was an extreme anti-communist. Foreign Minister Pak Yong-man advocated military actions against Japan while President Rhee rejected military actions and pushed for diplomatic negotiation as a preferred method for fight. As Yi Kwang-su described after his disappointing experience in the provisional government, the provisional government was marked by dissensions and "political war" amongst the Korean leaders (Wells, 1990: 101).

As a result, the provisional government was divided into three groups (Kim S. H., 1990: 35). The first group was a 'propaganda' group which was led by Syngman Rhee who espoused diplomacy as a means to attain Korea's independence and to propagate the need of

⁴⁷ Cabinet ministers in the united Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai in September 1919

President	Syngman Rhee
Premier	Yi Tong-hwi
Ministry of Domestic Affairs	Yi Tong-nyŏng
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Pak Yong-man
Ministry of Military Affairs	No Paek-rin
Ministry of Finance	Yi Si-yŏng
Ministry of Law	Sin Kyu-sik
Ministry of Education	Kim Kyu-sik
Ministry of Transportation	Mun Ch'ang-bŏm
Chief of the Bureau of Labor	An Ch'ang-ho

Source: (Sin, 2010: 29)

Korea's independence to the world.⁴⁸ The second group was known as a 'radical' group which was led by Yi Tong-hwi who advocated immediate military actions against Japan, and composed of militant guerilla groups mostly based in Manchuria and the Maritime Province of Siberia. The third group was a 'moderate' group or a 'gradual' group, led by An Ch'ang-ho (1878-1938) who emphasized "long-range preparation for independence" and thus used education to produce patriotic leaders for independent Korea in the future (Lee, 1963: 135-138; Robinson, 1988:48; Wells, 1990: 101-102). Despite the efforts of moderate leaders who tried to mediate the differences and conflicts among the three groups in the provisional government, the government lasted less than two years. Wells' (1990: 19) description of Korean nationalism around this time captures the crux of the problem:

There is not one nationalism in Korea, but a number of competing nationalisms, and no definition of nationalism in terms of its content can draw them all together. Apart from desiring an independent nation-state and apart from believing in a historic mission to unite the whole nation under one state, Korean nationalists of different streams did not share the same views on what makes a nation and a state. Since there was no one view of what Korean culture was, there was no agreement of unity or method.

In this respect, the unity among the different nationalist groups within the Provisional Government was bound to fail, since each group sought "different ideologies, supporting different tactics and looking toward different sources of support" (Scalapino and Lee, 1972: 12). Consequently, the Korean nationalist movement itself split into different groups of individuals who chose to carry out independence movement separately in accordance with their ideologies and strategies.

⁴⁸ To pursue his 'diplomatic' strategies for Korea's independence, in the US, Syngman Rhee who had been the president of the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai established the Korean Commission in Washington, D.C. to lobby for Korea's independence to international community. He believed that for the independence of Korea, the means of diplomacy and propaganda should be employed, and, based on this belief, he also moved to Geneva in 1932 to lobby the League of Nations for mandate over Korea. He also appealed to the US Department of State for American's recognition of Korea by sending a series of letters to the department from 1941 to 1945.

*Cultural nationalism*⁴⁹ and the “*Minjok Kaejoron*”

Moderate Korean nationalist leaders sought to strength “nation” in the colonial context rather than to take actions for immediate independence from Japanese, by navigating ways to self-strengthen and develop Korean ‘people’ gradually. They chose to engage in a process of gradual, cultural and social transformation, considering that “schools were necessarily an important part of this process” (Green, 1990: 109). In particular, Yi Kwang-su (1892-1950), a famous Korean writer during the Japanese colonial period, wrote an essay entitled ‘*Minjok Kaejoron*’ (Treatise on the Reconstruction of the Nation) in a popular journal called *Kaepyö̅k* (Creation) in May 1922 in which he argues that Koreans should reconstruct a nation by abolishing evil customs, teaching illiterates, developing rural areas, and civilizing the public (Robinson, 1988:66). However, the dilemma that faced the moderate or cultural Korean nationalists during the Japanese colonial era was the question of “how to remain faithful to legitimate nationalist goals within the limits of the cultural policy without crossing the line to outright collaboration” with the Japanese colonists (Robinson, 1988: 104).

Wells (1990: 19) argues that moderate nationalists spent considerable efforts on education since their main ‘axiom of statehood’ rested on the establishment of the spiritual and moral foundation of Korea as a nation-state, and pushed to build a nation (i.e. culture) before a state (i.e. politics). For example, after the March First Movement in 1919, the Protestant leaders gathered again to form the Preparatory Committee to Establish a People’s University and their manifesto expressed the gist of their beliefs well:

How shall we work out our destiny? Through politics, diplomacy, industry? Of course, we need all of them but the most fundamental, urgent, strong and necessary means is education. It is because only after we know, we can act. Only after we act, we can work to develop politics and diplomacy. If we don’t know, how can we expect the accomplishment and success of business?...Education is the efficient way and means

⁴⁹ As discussed in Chapter 3, most of cultural nationalist leaders during the Japanese colonial period were Christian, and their nationalistic efforts derived from their belief that Christianity and its moral and ethical principles can build Korean people into a strong ‘nation’ (Chang, 2001; Ch’oe, 2010) For example, according to Yi Kwang-su, Christianity can contribute to the establishment of civilization and enlightenment in Korea by developing moral character and individual freedom among citizens, building schools, hospitals and public organizations in the society, and eradicating illiteracy among people through the teaching of Bible and Korean characters (Yim, 2012: 42).

to develop everyone's careers (Yi. M. Y., 1981: 244-245). [My translation]

As the above manifesto illustrates, at the bottom of the cultural nationalists' beliefs lay the conviction that the development of the cultural foundation of the Korean nation-state would be pre-eminent and essential: victory in the cultural sphere would eventually overpower the Japanese political control since the Koreans' moral imperatives would overcome the parochial interests of the Japanese colonists (Wells, 1990: 111). To this end, the intellectual enlightenment and moral awakening of the Korean people through educational efforts were perceived to be the most important among the cultural nationalist leaders (Ch'oe, 2010: 39). This view was also shared by Christian missionaries at the time, as illustrated by the letter by Underwood, which described the Koreans' shameful feelings about their annexation to a Japanese colony:

The present Korean education, especially the schools run by Christian missionaries, would be transformed forcefully by this situation. Many Koreans are now realizing, 'if we had received better education, we would not have experienced this shameful annexation.' (Kim I. H., 2015: 6) [My translation]

Consequently, many of the Christian mission schools, which had originally been established for the purpose of introducing Christianity as well as Western civilization to the Koreans, and the schools built by Korean cultural nationalists around this time came to the fore in the movement of cultural nationalism (Kim S. H., 1990: 35-6; Kuksap'yönch'anwiwönhoe, 1981: 182-190; Han, 1986: 52-53; Kim, I. H., 2015). Various nationalistic efforts were pursued in these schools. For example, 15 students from Chosun Christian College (e.g. later, Yonsei University) were arrested by the Japanese police for leading the March First Independence Movement, Korean history and language were taught in the Christian schools, and history textbooks such as *History of Great Korea (Taehan Yöksa)*, *Biography of Admiral Yi Sun-shin (Yi Sun-shin Chŏn)* were published (Yoon, 2004: 55-56). Furthermore, professors of Chosun Christian College, such as Ch'oe Hyun-bae and Paek Nak-jun, exerted major efforts for the scholarly development of 'Korean' language, literature and history and taught these subjects to their students (Kim I. H., 2015: 14-23; Kim, T. H., 2013: 202-203).

The Communist nationalist movement and the North Korean revolution

After the March First Movement, a new ideology, communism, began to be widely acknowledged by radical nationalist leaders as an ideological basis to implement the independence movement. Although communism was introduced to a number of Korean expatriates in eastern Siberia and Manchuria after the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917, the first Korean Communist leaders originated from the more Westernized or Japanized “upper educated segment of the society,” “an elite that certainly represented less than 5 percent of the total Korean population” around that time (Scalapino and Lee, 1972: 230-231). It was partly the failure of the March First Movement that triggered the spread of communist ideas among the disappointed Korean leaders and students (Kwon, 1992). Furthermore, the refusal of liberal-democratic nations to accept the Korean delegates’ request at the Treaty of Versailles was a watershed event: unlike the expectation of many Korean leaders, “the Korean problem did not come within the purview of the Conference,” and while the Japanese were “accepted as representing a great power,” Korean delegates were excluded even to present their case at the conference (Bonsal, 1946: 224). Consequently, the delegation leader at Versailles, Kim Kyu-sik, as well as other prominent Korean leaders including Yi Tonghwi and Yŏ Unhyŏng, turned to Moscow to seek support for their nationalistic efforts (Wells, 1990: 102). In the meantime, domestically, after the March First Independence Movement, communism gradually penetrated into various cities in Korea. As a result, the first Korean Communist Party in Korea was established by Kim Yong-bom and Pak Hŏn-yŏng on 17 April 1925 although most of the activities were kept underground due to the Japanese oppression.

Outside Korea, after having left the Korean Provisional Government, Yi Tong-hwi established the first Korean Socialist Party (*Han'in sahoedang*) in Khabarovsk. Kim Il Sung also joined the Communist Movement in Manchuria in 1926 and later joined the Chinese Communist Party in the 1930s. In the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army, Kim became a division commander of the Second Army (Suh, 1970: 429-433)., According to Paek Pong who was an official writer of Kim’s biography, Kim Il Sung, at the age of eighteen, organized the anti-Japanese Guerilla Army in Ant’u on 25 April 1932, which purported to be the first Marxist-Leninist revolutionary army in the history of Korea (Scalapino and Lee, 1972: 208-209). Kim Il Sung’s military campaign against the Japanese culminated with a successful

operation in Poch'ŏnbo battle on 4 June 1937. After the disbandment of the guerrilla army, Kim Il Sung and his army joined the Russian Army in Khabarovsk in 1941 and participated in the European Front.

However, it is important to note that the early communist leaders in Korea were neither zealous nor knowledgeable about socialist-communism itself (Sawa, 1992; Wells, 1990). Many of the early communist Korean leaders such as Kim Kyu-sik, Yi Tonghwi and Yŏ Unhyŏng were Christian, and their motivations to become Christian and communist were the same: Christianity and communism (i.e. the support from the Communist Party in Russia) were necessary as long as they could elevate Korea as a strong, independent nation (Sawa, 1992:139-140). Many expatriate Koreans who were influenced by communism had little knowledge of the details of Marxist doctrine. Rather, they were interested in utilizing the communist ideology as a ground to push their nationalist agenda (Scalapino and Lee, 1972: 3-4). In their eyes, military conquest was “a necessary stage on the road to nationalism” (Weber, 1976: 486). Although many Korean communists, in both domestic and foreign fronts, believed that Korea’s independence from Japan would be achieved through a communist revolution and also Korea’s independence would pave the way for an ultimate communist revolution in the Korean peninsula, they borrowed the communist ideology chiefly as a means to achieve the nation’s independence. In other words, Korean communists’ primary objective was to restore and construct a “state” (*Gesellschaft*) in the Korean peninsula through the communist revolution.

Two democracies in the two Koreas

The formation of both cultural and communist nationalism, which was triggered by the March First Movement, was a catalyst to regain and reform the ideological consciousness amongst the Korean leaders and public. The Korean nationalist leaders had the same goal of the nation’s independence but differed in their ideological lines and thus strategies to pursue the goal. In other words, the development of ideological consciousness amongst elite nationalists after the March First movement created an ideological division in the country. This ideological division among nationalist leaders re-emerged after liberation from the Japanese in 1945 with the arrival of the competing ideologies of the Soviet Union and the

USA in the Korean peninsula. Both cultural and communist nationalists made their moves to fill the political and institutional vacuum that was created out of the liberation and to secure their own power bases in the country.

Firstly, the indigenous groups inside Korea began to emerge immediately after the liberation. For example, Yŏ Un-hyŏng (1885-1947), a moderate left-wing nationalist, exercised his influence on Korean politics by forming the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence, and, in the north, Cho Man-sik (1883-1950), a left wing nationalist, emerged as a political force as he established the People's Political Committee of the Five Provinces in the North (*Ibuk odo inmin chŏngch'i wiwŏnhoe*, PPCFPN). In the meantime, the nationalist leaders who had been conducting their activities abroad returned to Korea. In particular, Kim Ku (1876-1949), who was a right-wing nationalist, and Syngman Rhee, who was an extreme right-wing and anti-communist, returned to South Korea to represent the leadership of the provisional government. Furthermore, Kim Il Sung also returned to North Korea with the support of the Soviet military.

The states in North and South Korea newly established by the Soviet and US military governments deliberately sought to create a new sovereign state based on the ideals of democracy, although what constituted 'democracy' in liberal democratic and socialist-communist terms differed significantly. Again, the ideologies, which became the foundation of the newly established sovereign states, were not chosen by Koreans, but instead mandated by the US and the Soviet Union in accordance with their security interests in the region. As a result, after the liberation in 1945, with the start of the two military regimes South Korea adopted 'Liberal Democracy' (*Chayu minju chuŭi*) whereas North Korea embraced 'People's Democracy' (or *Inmin minju chuŭi*).

However, the occupation did not merely mean the imposition of the ideologies and interests of the two superpowers in the Korean regime. At the same time, the new era opened new opportunities to create a dominant policy community - or 'policy monopoly' (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993) - for those Korean nationalists who had been previously excluded from setting the policy agenda during the Japanese colonial period. The occupation of the Soviet Union and the USA meant a clear break from the past, which had been characterised by incrementalism and conservatism from the long period of traditional Chosŏn Dynasty and authoritarian Japanese colony. Since radical changes and intense conflicts enable

not only the attraction to transfer but also the enactment of translation and transformation of values, ideas and visions of societies, the agency of translations and transformations plays a significant role in unpacking “the intersections of the forces of history, major structures, and individual biographies” (Cowen, 2009b: 319-320). In this sense, an analysis of the characteristics of Korean nationalism before 1945 indicates that the boundaries of transfers were not confined to the traditional unit ideas of comparison (i.e. nation-states).

Instead, there were multiple borders of transfers that occurred during the military regimes of North and South Korea. Although the borders of transfers were mainly referred to as the names of nation-states (i.e. The Soviet Union, the USA, North Korea, South Korea), in fact there existed multiple borders of transfers simultaneously occurring at political, socio-economic, psychological and individual levels (Willis and Rappleye, 2011). For Korean nationalist leaders who attempted to convey a completely different image and ideals towards their own country, people and future, the new era opened the door to establish an institutional and bureaucratic system that would be based upon the new ideals. In this sense, the new Soviet and US authorities provided the Korean nationalist leaders with new ‘venues’ or ‘interest groups’ with which they could frame policy issues in different ways (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993: 35-7) in their attempts to build a strong, independent nation-state in the Korean peninsula.

At the same time, it was necessitated by the interests of the occupying powers which needed the support of Korean elites and leaders to propagate their values and ideologies to the Korean public. As pointed out by Ikenberry and Kupchan (1990: 285), by changing “the substantive beliefs of leaders in other nations,” the values and norms of the occupying power can be transmitted into the occupied state, and the critical juncture which enables this transmission is the role of the elites in the occupied state. In this respect, the roles and motivations of the Korean elites became critical elements in transmitting or translating the values, norms and goals of the Soviet Union and the USA into the Korean public, especially “if they are to have a long-term and consequential impact...While public opinion can influence elite restructuring, it is through the dynamics of elite politics and coalition-building that socialization takes place” (Ikenberry and Kupchan, 1990: 293).

Likewise, since the majority of Koreans did not understand what democracy meant, whether in the version of liberal democracy or people’s democracy, it was largely left to

Korean elites to explicate the fuzzy concepts to the Korean public. In the process of localization as well as state formation, the Korean nationalist leaders and intellectuals who inclined to either people's democracy or liberal democracy in their adoption of either Soviet or US military government respectively, manipulated nationalism as a force to teach the foreign ideology to *en mass* in Korea. In this way, Korean leaders became major agents to 'articulate' the new vision of nation-state to their people: in Paulo Freire's word, "in the struggle to re-create a society, the reconquest by the people of their own word [became] a fundamental factor" (Freire, 1978: 176). Indeed, the ideological influence was critical in the process of state formation since state formation "includes not only the construction of the political and administrative apparatus of government...but also the formation of ideologies and collective beliefs which legitimate state power and underpin concepts of nationhood and national 'character'" (Green, 1990: 77). Accordingly, the Korean nationalist leaders chose to align themselves with either the Soviet military government and its ideology or the US military government and its ideology in accordance with the beliefs and strategies pursued by them for an independence movement in Korea.

Adoption of Liberal Democratic and Socialist-Communist Education by Korean Decision-Makers

Korean advisors in South Korea, who were working with the American military officials in making educational policies during the US military regime, wanted to make a clear break from the colonial past, and saw the American ideology of liberal democracy as an ideal substitute to establish the new system. During the interview, a renowned professor of education in South Korea, who was engaged with many educational projects aided by the US after having been educated in a US university during the Korean War with the US government scholarship, expressed this desire as follows:

It is important to remember that South Korea became a liberal democratic country, not just because of the Americans. Before Americans came in, Korean educators were exploring different ideologies and political systems to replace the Japanese colonialism. Many thought that democracy was the best alternative since it protects and promotes individuals' freedom and rights. When the US military government was established, their desires for democracy and democratic education matched the interests of the US military government. We did not implement democratic education

just because of the pressures from American authorities.

This ambition was largely shared and facilitated by the US military officials who sought to establish a state which would become favorable to American ideology in line with its security interest in the region in the long run. As a result, the organizational goal of the educational administration within the US military government became clear – the unified pursuit of the liberal democratic ideology as a guiding philosophy of the new administration and the goal of the new education system. At the same time, “the organization objective is, indirectly, a personal objective of all the participants. It is the means whereby their organizational activity is bound together to achieve a satisfaction of their own diverse personal motives” (Simon, 1997: 14). Accordingly, the nationalistic motivations of the Korean bureaucrats in the educational administration were directed towards the pursuit of this organizational goal. Ambitious projects of state-building thus started with the adaptation of the US based model of a liberal democratic state system and political ideals. In educational fields it was conducted with the introduction of John Dewey’s liberal educational philosophy into rebuilding the education system. In fact, the hopes and desires, as expressed by their adoption of new ideology by both Korean and American decision-makers within the newly established US military government, exhibited a clear characteristic of ‘cognitive power’ of ideology, as described by Mullins (1972), in that they represented a ‘clear break’ from the past – be that Japanese colonialism or Confucian traditionalism – and a firm determination to change the present for the future in accordance with the imported ideology of liberal democracy.

In the process, liberal democracy, which laid the foundation of democratic education in South Korea, was introduced as a concept of political and social philosophy as well as a form of a political system. Obviously, at the beginning, liberal democracy was foreign to the Korean public who understood it as “a vague political theory” (Adams, 1960: 30). Although it had never been applied to the socio-cultural context of Korea throughout its history, liberal democracy became an underlying ideological foundation of the education system in South Korea from the onset of the US military regime. In fact, from the beginning of the occupation, the objective of education, based on liberal democracy, was continuously emphasized in the

myriads of the US military government reports and documents in relation to education.⁵⁰ For example, according to a sub-report for the Korean educational commission, the US military government placed “the rehabilitation of the educational system as foremost in importance” in order to “rebuild a national life on a democratic basis.” Moreover, new education in Korea should “provide the foundations for a democratic society” (Sub-report, 21 January 1946: 1). Also, in a report entitled *Where we stand in education today* on 19 August 1947, one of the primary goals of the US military government in Korea was “allegedly to educate and prepare these [Korean] people for democracy.”

The democratization of education during the US military government in Korea should be understood within the context of the continuity of the Christian influence and nationalism that had been strengthened out of the Japanese colonial experience (Kim S. H., 1990; Chang, 2001; Ch’oe, 2010). In particular, since Lieutenant General John R. Hodge had little knowledge of Korean matters, he relied on the advice of American missionaries such as Underwood and Fisher who had lived in Korea and taught at Chosun Christian College during the Japanese colonial government (An, 2008). For example, Underwood⁵¹ was known as “one of the best informed of all Occidentals on Korean educational conditions in the [colonial] period” among US military officers in Korea (An, 2010b: 229). The extent of the Christian missionaries’ influence was also indicated by Underwood’s comment as follows:

The attitude of the high command here is both friendly and favorable toward missionaries and Christian work. It should be when they find that their heads of bureaus, provincial governors and most trustworthy workers are (almost) all Christian and graduates of mission schools and colleges. People have called the present government the “Chosen Christian College government” because so many of our

⁵⁰ This emphasis on democracy and the democratization of education was also clear in the Japanese education reform during the US military occupation (Park, 1996; Han, 1997; Iiyama, 1998; Shibata, 2005). For example, the main responsibilities of the education division of the CIE (Civil Information and Education Section) of the US military government in Japan were stated as the “eradication of totalitarianism and nationalism, reconstruction of education system and the inclusion of democratic principles and ideals in the courses of instruction and school curricula” (Han, 1996: 166). Shibata (2005: 63) illustrates this point further by claiming that “the ultimate objective of a post-War military occupation was not merely to disarm the defeated, but also to foster the conditions of a democratic nation and society through the re-education of the people by the Allies.”

⁵¹ Horace H. Underwood understood Korea well as a son of a famous American missionary to Korea during the late 19th century and later became the chief advisor to the Director of Ministry of Education in the South Korean Interim Government.

graduates are in positions of influence and authority.⁵²

As the comment illustrates, the roles of American missionaries in the US military government were significant in particular as agents to select pro-American, Christian Korean leaders for main administrators and advisors in the government, and as propagators of democratic ideals which had already been planted in Korean leaders through Christian education since late 19th century.

Also, among the books on Korea recommended for American military officers, Underwood's and Fisher's books on Korean education were listed not only for not the information on Korean education matters but also for the democratization of Korean education (An, 2008). For example, In *Democracy and Mission Education in Korea*, Fisher⁵³ (1928: 11) defined the meaning of democracy in education: "the fullest opportunity for that liberating and developing of human personality which is the central meaning of democracy." Fisher claimed that Koreans would have to be educated on 'procedural democracy' and various types of freedom which people can enjoy in a society where procedural democracy is properly established. As illustrated in Chapter 3, Christian schools from the late 19th century produced many Korean leaders imbued with the democratic ideals, who "have been walking testimonies for the excellence of Christian and democratic ideals" (Cynn, 1920: 135). Furthermore, a distinct relationship existed in Korea between "the rise in the number of Christians and growing interest in democracy, citing the influence of hospitals and churches in breaking down class and sex segregation and in promoting the egalitarian ideas disseminated through schools" (Wells, 1990: 85).

Likewise, Underwood warned the US military governor that unless Koreans received proper education on democracy and related educational philosophy, they would be left to choose either communist Soviet ideology or the old, totalitarian Japanese ideology (Underwood, 1947). In practice, Underwood argued that the best way to teach democracy to Koreans was by including "democracy" as a subject in school curricula. He therefore suggested that desirably "at least in the Bureau of Textbooks a well-trained and experienced

⁵² Horace H. Underwood to J. L. Hodge, March 1, 1946, RG 140-18-?, PCUSA, p. 1: re-quoted from (An, 2010b: 243)

⁵³ Fisher was forced to return to the USA by the Japanese Government General of Korea. But, later he came back to Korea and became an advisor to the US educational policy makers during the US occupation.

advisor be employed to translate and/or prepare texts and literature especially in the social sciences with special emphasis on the contents and form so as to present democratic ideals more effectively to the entire school population” (Underwood, 1947: 5). At the same time, Underwood warned the US government that “to give all the above groups [the entire school population in Korea], with their formal education, some understanding of democracy, its duties, privileges and the dangers and difficulties of its implementation” (Underwood, 1947: 1).

In a similar vein, Korean advisors in the education bureau, such as Kim Sŏng-su, Yu Ŏk-kyŏm, Paek Nak-chun, Kim Hwal-lan, and O Ch’ŏn-sŏk, shared the democratic ideals of the Americans in discussing post-liberation education in Korea. This was rather a natural consequence since, as discussed in Chapter 3, many of the Korean advisors in the education bureau were taught at Christian colleges, such as Chosun Christian College, and were influenced by Christian missionary educators such as Underwood and Fisher. These Korean advisors were part of the group of Korean cultural nationalists who were converted to Christianity based on the belief that Christainity was ‘for the people’ and “convinced that there was an integral connection between their beliefs and democratic values” (Wells, 1990: 85). For example, O Ch’ŏn-sŏk, the chief Korean advisor in the new educational administration, thought that in the newly established Korea, all citizens should be able to conduct their political, economic, social, cultural activities without outside interference because they are believed to possess the capability of free reasoning (O, 1975: 4). To elaborate his view on liberal democracy, O, cited President Lincoln's famous phrase from his Gettysburg Address, "government of the people, by the people, for the people," and claimed that democracy is a style of life and an overarching principle which regulates human relationships. Therefore, O believed that the spirit of democracy should guarantee fair and equal opportunities for all people to live the most prosperous life as voluntary, free individuals (Son, 1992: 329).

The ideals of liberal democracy were quickly instilled by key Korean education leaders, especially those who were selected by the US military to establish the education system in South Korea. Indeed, these individuals decided to join the new educational administration because they believed that by contributing to the organizational goals of the administration, they would benefit to achieve their own personal goals, either directly or

indirectly (Simon, 1997: 88). For example, ‘the ideals of equality’ and ‘citizenship-based participatory democracy’ were enthusiastically supported by Korean educational and political leaders in order “to join the ranks of ‘successful’ prosperous states as a national goal” (Seth, 2012: 26). Eventually, the objective of education in Korea was officially determined in the fourth plenary session on 20 December 1945. An Chae-hong, who was the head of sub-committee (Educational Purpose and Objective) in the National Committee on Educational Planning, provided a report on education which defined the two pillars of the objectives of Korean education: Liberal Democracy and Nationalism.⁵⁴

However, for the new ideology to be translated into a decision-making process, it needs to be shared and communicated to the group of people who in turn produce desirable actions for political reform and changes in accordance with the given ideology (Mullins, 1972: 510). Liberal democracy was explained in contrast to the meaning of democracy as understood in the Soviet Union and communist countries. The ‘communist’ democracy emphasized the value of equality as opposed to freedom (Yi, 2003: 205). For example, a prominent educational journal in South Korea at that time argued that a liberal democratic country should liquidate false doctrines of equality and instead acknowledge the legal and political rights of individuals by granting them equal opportunities to participate in fair competitions. In addition, it insisted that a liberal democratic society should promote liberty in which individuals could express their opinions freely and pursue individuality and diversity in educational and social arenas (Ch’oe, 1947: 383). On 21 March 1947 a Korean radio program broadcasted a translated message of the US Secretary of State on democracy which summarizes well the concept of liberal democracy that was promoted in South Korea:

I understand that several interpretations exist for the term, democracy. But American government as well as American citizens believe that all human beings have an innate right which guarantees that, as long as one does not breach the other’s rights, one has freedom to develop his or her own mind, heart and soul in his or her own ways, free from oppressions and fear. According to our [Americans’] opinions, if one who respects the other’s rights, cannot express his or her own faith and conscience

⁵⁴ The first pillar, liberal democracy, clearly reflected the ideals of education in Korea. However, the second pillar, nationalism, was somewhat different from the way in which American policy makers had in mind. The emphasis on nationalism was derived from the belief that national identity [in Korea] had been diluted by Japanese colonial rule (Seki,1987:71).

because of fear of exclusion from his or her own family and friends, that society cannot be called democracy. If we live in a society in which a citizen...lives in fear that his or her pursuits of freedom, happiness and life can be deprived, that society cannot be called democracy (Kim Y. I., 1995: 154-155). [My translation]

Along the line, Ch'oe Hyŏnbae, a prominent educator as well as a Korean language linguist during the US military regime argued that to the extent that liberal democracy becomes a basic principle of Korean society, Korean people can pursue their own activities freely according to their own will and field of interests (Ch'oe, 1959: 9).

However, the concept of liberal democracy, as initially understood by the Korean education administrators in the US military government, was primarily based on reforming the aspects of life-style: in particular, promoting freedom and respect in the lives of individuals, rather than reforming political and economic systems of a country as a whole. Therefore, Korean educators saw the urgency in producing and educating democratic citizens who could pursue freedom and individuality. For them, the realization of a liberal democratic society comes first and foremost by equipping individuals with the ability and providing them with conditions to grow as democratic citizens (Yi, 1982: 66). This aspect is particularly important in that for Korean decision-makers in an educational administration of the US military government, the change for the future would be based on the change of 'individuals' rather than 'a political or bureaucratic system,' as advocated by their counterparts in North Korea. In particular, education leaders and administrations in both North and South Korea were historically conscious of their roles in the build-up of the new education systems but differed in their approaches: Whereas those in South Korea attempted to bring societal changes through gradual, inner changes of individuals' behaviors and thoughts, those in North Korea pursued a more radical version, envisioning that the radical, systematic change would bring about the inner changes of people's behaviors and thoughts. Accordingly, in South Korea, the approach to building a liberal democratic society was based on a gradual, bottom-up approach. Korean education administrators in South Korea expected that educating and training individuals to become democratic citizens would gradually and eventually lead to a desired liberal democratic society. This was opposed to a more systemic, revolutionary approach mainly pursued by communists of the day in North Korea. Therefore, education became a top priority "to present democratic ideals more effectively to entire school population" and "American ideals of individualism, freedom of expression, and liberal

democratic government were reflected in textbooks and in the general discourse on education” (USAMGIK, 1947: 5; Seth, 2012: 19).

However, liberal democracy, as a form of ideology, was still rudimentary and inchoate as understood by the Korean public during this period. Thus, it had to be explicated by elites in order to make it more cohesive, direct and refined to be understood by the public (Mullins, 1972: 508). For this purpose, O Ch’ŏn-sŏk, one of the chief Korean advisors in the education administration of the US military government, explained the concept in terms of reforming individuals’ life-styles. In particular, he explained that since democracy is not a matter of form and theory but of heart and life-style, democracy should get concerned with reforming a person’s behaviors, attitudes, emotions and thoughts, rather than reforming a political system or a country in entirety. From this perspective, he argued that democratic education should help a student to form a proper outlook on life and to become responsible for his or her own tasks and duties (O, 1975: 16-20). In particular, O explained the needs of educational reform and the direction of ‘the New Education’ as follows:

1. To eradicate the feudal and authoritarian vestiges of Japanese colonialism and to introduce a new educational system based on liberal democratic ethos
2. To exclude the educational goal of Japanese colonial government which exploited people for its imperial ambitions and to introduce an educational goal which regards human beings as the supreme value
3. To introduce education which promotes respect and love, treating a person’s freedom and rights as fundamental value of the society instead of a Japanese colonial education which trained people to become obedient citizens for Japanese rule
4. To value individualism, with its respects for individual students’ personalities, capacities, hobbies and hopes, in education, instead of totalitarian education which subjected individuals to a total state
5. To emphasize on the formation of whole personality in education, rather than an education which merely delivers knowledge of the past (O, 1975: 32-35; Hŏ, 2005; 44). [My translation]

The influence of John Dewey in South Korean education

According to the majority of secondary literature, the main philosophical foundation for ‘the New Education’ was the American progressive educational philosophy of John Dewey. The term, the New Education (*Saekyoyuk* in Korean) was borrowed from Dewey’s use of the term in *Experience and Education*, contrasting ‘new education’ indicating a progressive

education with ‘old education’ indicating a traditional education (Kim, J. M., 1975: 77). Dewey’s progressive education became popular during the 1920s and 1930s in the USA and is still considered one of the dominant educational philosophies. Many of the Korean education administrators who laid the foundation of the education system in South Korea during the US military regime had been educated and trained by John Dewey or one of his disciples in US universities (Kim Y. I., 1995: 139). For example, during the 1920s, O Chŏn-sŏk and Kim Hwa-lan who later became chief advisors to US military authorities in the educational administration and Sŏ Ũn-suk, No Chae-myŏng, and Chang Sŏk-yŏng who contributed significantly to the educational build-up in South Korea after the liberation were educated in the Columbia University under the tutelage of Dewey and his disciple, Kilpatrick (Kim J. M., 1975: 78). During the interview, a South Korean professor stated the reasons why Dewey’s progressive philosophy and pedagogy became so influential for educational reforms in South Korea during this period as follows:

Since the end of World War II, the political and economic systems of South Korea were under the enormous influence of the USA. Concurrently, it was the education administrators in the US military government who led the educational reforms in South Korea during this period. Many leading professors and academics in the USA during the 1920s and 1930s were influenced by John Dewey’s progressive philosophy. Many Korean students who studied abroad in the USA at that time (who later became important decision-makers in the US military government after their return, such as Dr. O Chŏn-sŏk) studied in the Columbia University, which Dewey and his disciples taught (Interview, Lee G. S.).

Dewey’s philosophy of education was an attempt to mediate conflicts between discipline-centered education and child-centered education (Westbrook, 1991:168-169), as Dewey argued that education should integrate the educational subject matter with the interests of the child. By allowing the child to “have a question of his own,” and to be “actively engaged in seeking and selecting relevant material with which to answer it,” the link between the interests of the child and the accumulated knowledge of adults would be established (Westbrook, 1991: 169). Moreover, school is a “miniature community,” and “embryonic society” in which students learn and cultivate virtues of democracy since a democratic society entails a type of education “which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control” (Dewey, 1916: 115), and promotes “free intercourse and communication of

experience” (Dewey, 1916: 101). His educational philosophy was deeply related to his understanding of democracy as ‘a way of life’: “a democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience” (Dewey, 1916: 99). Therefore, schools should become the most basic ground in which children learn how to express their individuality and interests in free communications and lively experiences, and, in the process, contribute to building a democratic society that “would serve to develop the talents and interests of each member of those communities in an effort to develop potential and encourage growth” (Hickman, 2006: 68). The intimate link between Dewey’s educational philosophy and his faith in and concept of democracy appealed not only to the US military authorities but also to Korean education leaders and administrators at that time who were navigating an alternative educational philosophy that could replace the traditional, authoritarian one that had been inherited from Japanese colonial, and support the ideology of the US military regime (No, 1961: 74-77, 1975: 9).

The Korean education administrators and leaders in South Korea introduced John Dewey’s educational philosophy to the Korean public through ‘the New Education Movement,’ which was initiated by Korean education leaders and teachers in 1946 with support of the US military government. They thus tried to make it more “action-oriented” by moving the public according to the philosophy and paving the way for an effective policy implementation (Mullins, 1972: 510). The New Education Movement aimed to democratize the curricula and pedagogy of a new Korean education system by means of American educational philosophy as the Korean educators attempted to “relate democratic principles to the educational process” (Adams, 1960: 30). In particular, not only was the New Education Movement “a reaction against the classical and authoritarian systems of the past and a call for recognition of the student as an individual with peculiar characteristics to be considered and personal needs to be met,” but it also satisfied the political interests of the US military which wanted to implant its own liberal democratic ideals to Korean education system (Adams, 1960: 30; Park and Ban, 2005: 68). It becomes obvious that the Korean educational administrators and leaders in South Korea, by adopting Dewey’s pragmatic educational philosophy, wanted to liquidate the old, traditional conception of education whose primary focus was on the acquisition of knowledge. Instead they wanted to fill the educational void, created by the liberation from Japanese colonization, with more pragmatic approach to education with the

aim to build a more efficient, prosperous and democratic society.

Several books and articles were published, introducing democratic education and Dewey's philosophy in Korean language. For example, at teacher training seminars during the summer of 1946, O Chŏn-sŏk introduced American theories, including Dewey's pragmatism, in a book entitled *Minju chuŭi kyoyuk ŭi kŏnsŏl (The Construction of Democratic Education)*, which "played a pivotal role in introducing democratic educational thought in general, and more specifically Dewey's ideas to Korean teachers and educators" (Seki, 1987:103-104; Kim, 2011: 3). Dewey's influential work on education, *Democracy and Education*, was also translated by O and another Korean advisor, Ch'oe Byŏng-ch'ŏl, and the completed volume in Korean was published in 1953 (Son, 2002: 23). Academic journals, such as *Saekyoyuk (Journal of New Education)* and *Sasang-gye (the World of Thoughts Journal)*, were created as outlets to disseminate the progressive educational philosophy. For example, the first issue of *Chosŏn Kyoyuk*, one of the first education journals to be published South Korea, introduced Dewey's philosophy in one of its articles. What was interesting in the article was the contrast it presented with a traditional, Confucian view on education: the article suggested that the traditional education in Korea was detached from everyday life by describing it as "talking about something in heaven" (Kyoyuk Yŏn'gusil, 1947: 43). From reading the article, it could be inferred that Korean educators were drawn to Dewey's pragmatic philosophy because it associated education with ethical, economic, political and societal problems of the day by setting its foot "on the ground" (Kyoyuk Yŏn'gusil, 1947: 43). Dewey's philosophy appealed to Korean educators for its pragmatism since it provided rationale for schools to become a ground to cultivate the spirit of labor, and accordingly students were encouraged to experience various facets of vocational life through artistic, historical, and societal activities in schools (Kyoyuk Yŏn'gusil, 1947: 43-44).

In addition to the various publications, academic associations were formed, such as Association of New Education by O Chŏn-sŏk, and Association of Education and Culture by Paek Nak-chun, another prominent Korean advisor to US military. In 1952 the Society for the Study of Education was created by influential Korean scholars at Seoul National University and its first conference featured John Dewey's life and philosophy (Kim, 2011: 3). These associations continued to publish related books and articles to introduce democratic education to Korean teachers and administrators during the military regime (Son, 2002: 24). As a result,

“Dewey’s educational thought was not only heard and read broadly by Korean educators and teachers, but a Dewey Boom occurred in Korean education, especially elementary schools, with the emphasis on child-centered education” (Kim, 2011: 4). Furthermore, Dewey’s methods of education were picked up by staff at elementary level schools. For example, the headmaster of Ch’ongkye Elementary School, Ch’oe Yun-su, published an article entitled “Democratic national education as an ideology of school management: social study subject and national education” (*Minju chuŭi Minjok kyoyuk kwa Hakkyo kyŏngyŏng innyŏm, sahoe saenghwalkwa wa minjok kyoyuk*) and talked about Dewey’s philosophy as follows:

For a speedy progressive development towards a modern society, if we do not consider Dewey’s theory, what else do we teach?...Moreover, social life in a current society is becoming internationalized with the development of science and technology. The way in which Korea, as a backward country, can speedily acquire the method of fostering men of talents as in developed countries is to adopt the methods of Dewey (Ch’oe, 1949: 46-47). [My translation]

As a result of the efforts by indigenous educational leaders and administrators, after the establishment of the independent government of the Republic of Korea in 1948 followed by the US military government, the foundation of educational philosophy was established on the basis of liberal democratic principles. The Education Laws (No. 86), which was established on 31 December 1949, stated the principle and purpose of education as *Hongik ingan*, which literally meant ‘widely benefiting for the whole humanity.’⁵⁵ According to Article 1 of the Education Laws, the purpose of Korean education was presented as follows:

The aims of education are to assist all people in achieving a well-integrated character, developing the ability for an independent life, and advancing qualifications of citizenship to serve the development of a democratic nation, thus contributing toward the advancement of human co-prosperity which coincides with the spirit of *hongik ingan* (widely benefiting for the whole humanity) (Republic of Korea, Education

⁵⁵ The oldest extant texts from which the term *hongik ingan* was derived were *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms, 1285) and *Chewang un’gi* (Thymed Record of Emperors and Kings, 1287). Both texts were written in the midst of Mongol’s control of Korea after 1259. The ideology of *hongik ingan* did not widely attract attention and was forgotten during the Chosŏn period (1392-1910). However, *hongik ingan* reappeared after the March First movement in 1919, which was organized to call for Korean independence and to demonstrate the anger toward the suspicious Japanese involvement in the death of Emperor Kojong on 21 January 1919 (Chŏng, 1999:)

Laws, Ministry of Education, Law No. 86, 1949, p.1).

The first and foremost aim of education of the new government, in accordance with the ideals of *Hongik ingan*, became the development of democratic citizens who are wholesome in character and patriotic to their own nation (Yun et al., 2008: 84; No, 1961: 75). After the US military came to Korea, *Hongik ingan* was the USAMGIK's choice of educational ideal from the beginning. Tonga Ilbo on 8 January 1946 reported that the Bureau of Education of the USAMGIK chose *Hongik ingan* as educational ideal in the process of planning new curriculum and compulsory education in South Korea (Tonga Ilbo, 8 January 1946). Paek Nak-chun,⁵⁶ who became the Minister of Education from 1950 to 1952, explained the background of creating the *Hongik ingan* ideals: the fundamental spirit of democracy was to be found in equipping individuals to perfect themselves in love and educating them to express their wholesome knowledge and opinions freely and to contribute to their own society (Paek, 1963: 95). *Hongik ingan* was an indigenous term which Korean decision-makers chose in order to communicate their democratic ideals with the Korean public, by enabling them "to understand situations in terms of their moral significance for human beings" (Mullins, 1972: 508), and the language provided conceptual reasons for supporting a social arrangement and a political program based on liberal democracy.

Soviet ideology in North Korean education

In the case of North Korea,⁵⁷ the implementation of the Soviet ideology in the education system worked more systematically and quickly due to the nature of the communist

⁵⁶ Paek Nak-chun (i.e. George Paik) was one of the prominent Christian nationalists who taught at Chosun Christian College during the Japanese colonial period (and later became the Minister of Education in South Korea and the President of Yonsei University). Based on his Christian ideals, he advocated the indigenization of liberal-democracy into Korean society. His active role in coining and defining the term, *Hongik Ingan*, as the most important goal of the new education system in South Korea as well as as a symbol of 'Korean' liberal democracy is well known (Kim I. H., 2015: 22).

⁵⁷ Most of ideological discussions that pertain to educational philosophy of North Korea are referred in Kim Il Sung's name due to the totalitarian nature of the government. Therefore, although the details of the educational philosophy must have been made by different individuals, they are mostly referred to originate from Kim Il Sung's speeches or remarks and thus cited mostly by his publications in this section.

regime. For the Soviet military government, the issue of government agency was rather straightforward, compared to the US military government, since the bureaucratic machine was established much more efficiently in different provinces and domestic political opponents to the government were quickly purged from the beginning of the regime. Thus, in pursuing the organizational goal, “that is an objective whereby their organizational activity is bound together to achieve a satisfaction of their diverse personal motives” (Simon, 1997: 14), the Soviet military government in North Korea did not allow the diversity, which characterized liberal democratic societies. Instead, it followed a single line of authority and order from the onset of regime control. As in all other areas of bureaucracy, the North Korean education system was established under the direct influence of the Soviet military authorities. From the beginning of the military regime, it was decreed that the reform of People’s education should provide the right to education for all people in Korea regardless of economic situations, religion and gender, and, at the same time, aim the development of nation, culture, art, and science in Korea (Kyoyuk tosŏ ch’lp’ansa, 1995). For example, during the talk with educational workers on 3 November 1945, entitled “On establishing a University,” Kim Il Sung stated that “we must...develop education work on a democratic basis” (Kim Il Sung Works Vol. 1, 1980: 339).

In particular, Kim Il Sung viewed that the establishment of a socialist and communist state necessitates the processes in which workers reform economic, cultural, ideological and ethical spheres of the society and for this purpose, education plays the most important role in reforming the workers (Kim I. S., 1979: 369; Kyowŏn Shinmunsa, 1992: 32). In order to achieve this transition of power successfully, the cultivation and training of workers were essential, and educational processes were designed with this purpose in mind (Kyoyuk pun'gwa chipp'il wiwŏnhoe, 1961: 12). This view was in line with Marx’s argument: Karl Marx in his famous book, *Capital*, contends that technical education is necessary for workers to understand and control the means of production since it can enhance the intellectual, physical, ethical and aesthetical dimensions of the workers (Marx, 1970: 483-484). This emphasis on technical and vocational education was in sharp contrast to the stress that was put on humanities education in Western capitalistic society, which was largely reserved for elite class (Ch’oe, 1987: 11). In fact, Marx’s views on education were drawn from his materialistic outlook on the world and life:

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness (Marx, 1859: Preface).

North Korean authorities followed this view, claiming that in order for education to have a practical implication to a man's life which is predominantly shaped by the material forces of production, knowledge or skills to increase one's productivity in the given mode of production should be nurtured in the educational processes (Kyoyuk pun'gwa chipp'il wiwŏnhoe, 1961: 13; Pak, 1991: 144). Communist education was implemented in order to foster "action-oriented" nature of communist ideology in North Korean soil, thus enabling communication among group members to mobilize themselves for chosen policies and goals (Mullins, 1972: 510).

In particular, Krupskaya, who was a prominent educator in the Soviet Union as well as Lenin's wife, laid a strong emphasis on linking education and productive labour, and encouraged students to nurture capacity to plan and implement projects through various activities in and outside the schools (Kyoyuk pun'gwa chipp'il wiwŏnhoe, 1961: 26; Pak, 1991: 151). Krupskaya envisioned that this training would eventually produce "a person who understands all the interrelations between the different branches of production, the role of each, the tendencies of the development of each" (McNeal, 1973: 203). Her theory was a progenitor of polytechnicism, "an all-round study of the labour of the populace" (McNeal, 1973: 203). For her, polytechnic education was to be designed 'democratically' with all children receiving the same education up to secondary level (McNeal, 1973: 203). This was in line with socialist reasoning that "the net results of socialized working conditions and unalienated labor, according to Marx, Lenin and their followers, will be an increase in efficiency and productivity... that will – as Lenin taught us – be decisive for the ultimate victory of socialism over state monopolistic capitalism" (Fishman and Martin, 1987: 32).

Kim Il Sung made a step further from this perspective, arguing that in order to

achieve a truly socialist revolution in the country, workers not only have to possess knowledge on the means of production through rigorous technical education but also should reform and nurture their minds through cultural revolution. The complete victory of socialism internationally cannot be achieved by scientific revolution only but have to be combined with cultural revolution of workers (Speech during the 6th Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea). In this sense, Kim Il Sung's beliefs on communism harbored essential characteristics of ideology. They represented a core set of beliefs such as the views on human nature and the worldview, which in turn acted as an ends (or goal) in his cognitive systems. In other words, communist ideology constituted a basic cognitive framework in which he dealt with specific issues or situations, perceiving the new situation with "historical consciousness" and "evaluating" alternative policies and program to cope with social changes (Mullins, 1972: 508).⁵⁸ Accordingly, education became an important tool to facilitate the cultural revolution by equipping workers with the ability to read and write (Chöng, 2010: 149-150).

In particular, Kim Il Sung argued that students should learn how to implement knowledge acquired at schools into reforming their society (Kim I. S., 1967: 265). Kim Il Sung made numerous cabinet decisions in late 1949 to 1955, which gave preferential treatments to technicians working in various industries, especially those working in mines, coal industry, forestry industry, railway industry, and construction industry. The decisions dictated that technician workers in factories and research institutes be given bonuses in accordance with years of their experiences and levels of their academic degrees (Nodongdang Nodong kwahak yŏn'guso, 1955: 66-107). Thus, one of the most fundamental characters that a socialist man should exhibit was defined as socialist or communist work morale which "involves a willingness to work indefatigably and a sense of duty to accept every task that the society deems as necessary. Marxist theoreticians and educational philosophers regarded this as their most significant goal – a society in which workers gain both subjective and objective satisfaction in their work" (Fishman and Martin, 1987: 33).

In addition to the strong emphasis on technical education, socialist education accentuates the importance of collectivism. Collectivism in the socialist context indicates that

⁵⁸ "Political ideology has particular relevance to the area of political agency because, in addition to providing a relatively structured and consistent conception of the causal forces operating in the social world, it also incorporates the evaluations of what is conceived" (Mullins, 1972: 508).

society as a whole can be changed by educating the citizens into truly ‘communist men’ who adhere to socialist worldviews and revolutionary spirits throughout their lives (Matthews, 1982: 2). A prominent Russian educator, Makarenko, devised the educational theories of collectivism, based on his experiences of running two communes for juvenile offenders and orphans in Ukraine. He defined a collective body as “a rationally organized and effective body” which runs like “a social organism” and never like a crowd, meaning a random collection of people (Makarenko, 1964: 246). Makarenko set the Soviet’s goal of schooling as the upbringing of collective consciousness in the following way:

The profound meaning of educational work...consists in the selection and training of human needs...A morally justified need is, in fact, the need of a collectivist, that is, a person linked with his *collective* by his sense of the *common aim*, of the *common struggle*, by the living and certain awareness of his duty toward society (Spring, 2008:29). [Emphasis added]

Through this collective educational process, a child becomes a disciplined citizen of the Soviet Union, who “always, under all conditions, is able to choose a correct line of conduct which is of greatest service to the community, and who had it in him to go through with it in face of all difficulties and obstacles” (Makarenko, 1964: 174).

Similarly, one of the aims of schooling in North Korea was to create and nurture a collective consciousness. All educational systems and contents should be geared towards producing ‘fighters armed with Marx-Leninist ideologies’ (Pak, 1991: 146-148; Khrushchev, 1956: 315). In particular, the ‘molding’ of personality to become ‘a communist man,’ who is willing to sacrifice himself or herself for a whole society, was the first and foremost goal of communist education in the Soviet Union as well as in North Korea (Kyoyuk pun'gwa chipp'il wiwŏnhoe, 1961: 50, 230). Strong political indoctrination by the strict control of the communication and education in schools, mass media and even families was perceived essential to maintain the communist collective (Lee, 1985: 276). In this regard, communist ideology as exhibited in the education system of North Korea, clearly exhibited cognitive and logical power of ideology by describing “the contours of reality, not merely as it exists, but also it might be shaped depending on the intervention of politically organized human beings in the historical process” (Mullins, 1972: 508). In the process, normal thought processes of individuals belonging to the social group in North Korea were unified, directed and refined to

a thought structure that was ultimately used as an essential tool for revolution. For example, Kim Il Sung presented the role of education in North Korea in his speech entitled “Ideological education of the youth is the basic task of the democratic Youth League Organizations” delivered at the Third Congress of the Democratic Youth League of North Korea on 13 November 1948 as follows:

Books and schools only give knowledge to the youth and provide them with conditions for shaping the progressive world outlook. If the knowledge of the youth obtained from books and at school is to become a *powerful weapon in transforming both nature and society*, it should be linked with actual life and they should be tempered in the practical struggle for the country (Kim Il Sung, Selected works, vol. 1, 1976: 281).

In summary, for North Koreans, the transition from the old ways of life and thinking to new, socialist system and worldview was more drastic since the very ideals of socialism and communism are characterized by radicalism, dictating a complete break from the past and creation of the new world order in accordance with its materialistic, collective, and revolutionary outlook on life. Especially when combined with the workings of totalitarianism, the communist system provided a convenient excuse to overthrow and eliminate elements or persons which deemed unnecessary or contradictory to building a ‘New Communist Society’ and ‘New Communist Men.’ These radical characteristics were shared among most of the communist countries but more pronounced in those states which had to rebuild their nation-states out of revolutions and wars. In particular, the transition process occurred more intensely in North Korea since anti-communists who were fighting against the Soviet authorities in North Korea simply left for South Korea by late 1945 or early 1946 when they saw what was happening. Others in the middle ground simply gave in, seeing the limits of what can be done (E-mail Interview, Lee). In this way, communist ideology was quickly incorporated into the North Korean education system, as a conduit for channeling actions for social reforms (Mullins, 1972). Consequently, the earliest function of the education system in North Korea was the propagator of the communist ideology: it enabled the leaders in North Korea to communicate the esoteric conceptions of socialist-communism to the Korean public, most of whom had experienced of it for the first time in life. As a result, the communist ideology was

established as not only a common view or belief system held by Koreans in North Korea but the Korean public was mobilized as to bring about changes in the whole societal outlook in times of great societal and political changes.

Conclusion

The Korean political and educational leaders who became key decision-makers during the Soviet and the US military governments decided to join the respective administrations out of their ambitions and aspirations to build a strong, independent nation-state in the Korean peninsula. In this sense, they were primarily motivated by nationalism which had been nurtured throughout the Japanese colonial period. However, in doing so, they differed in their approaches: whereas the cultural nationalists sought to bring about gradual changes through educational and diplomatic means, the communist nationalists sought an immediate change of government through militant aggression. With the onset of trusteeship by the two superpowers in the Korean peninsula, the Korean nationalist leaders chose to join either of the governments in accordance with their previously held beliefs and strategies to pursue state-building projects. Therefore, in South Korea, liberal democratic ideology and educational philosophy was introduced and promoted by both American and Korean policy-makers who made educational reforms in accordance with John Dewey's progressive philosophy. In North Korea, socialist-communist ideology was extensively promoted and began to be incorporated into the system through a series of educational reforms by Soviet and Korean policy-makers who made the systemic reforms in accordance with Soviet educational philosophy based on collectivism, polytechnicism and Marx-Leninism.

Although the adoption of liberal democratic and socialist-communist ideologies into the respective education systems of North and South Korea was necessitated by big political changes that the two Koreas were undergoing during the period, the foreign ideologies and educational philosophies needed to be introduced and communicated to the Korean public in order for them to be fully implemented into the education systems. The "cognitive" and "evaluative" components of ideology were clearly displayed in this process by providing the logical coherence or consistency between various components of the beliefs within the ideology and helping to speculate various policies and programs for a social change (Mullins, 1972: 508). The task of 'articulating' the imported ideologies to the Korean public was left to

the Korean educational administrators and leaders in both North and South Korea as they attempted to communicate the new ideologies and philosophies to the general public and to establish various educational policies and programs based on their understanding of the respective ideologies and philosophies. Therefore, in both North and South Korea, “the political and cultural work that has to be done to mobilise both meanings and people in order to realise a project (and the work of disarticulation and demobilization that is necessary to shut out other projects” was conducted by the Korean leaders and administrators (Clarke et al., 2015: 54). Consequently, the roles and motivations of Korean leaders in driving the process of educational reforms as well as policy transfers from the superpowers became one of the most essential elements that guided “the fields of meanings and mobilisations in which policy moves from sites in which emergent identifications, affinities and alliances...are projected, contested and – sometimes temporarily – institutionalized” (Clarke et al., 2015: 54-55)

Chapter 8.

The Practice of Educational Reforms ‘On the Ground’

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the practice of the educational reforms made by the Soviet and the US military in the two Koreas - especially which features of educational policies were reformed in the two Koreas under the pressures and influences of expanding ideological and security interests of the Soviet Union and the USA in the region and how these features were localized in the two Koreas during and after the end of the military regimes. For this purpose, this chapter categorizes the educational reforms into six areas – (i) adult education, (ii) school system, (iii) educational administration, (iv) curricular changes, (v) teacher training, and (vi) higher education – and investigates the dynamics as to how the prevalent ideologies of the Soviet Union and the USA affected the implementation of the reformed policies in each of the six areas, and the development of the education systems in the two Koreas as a result of the reforms. Although there were other areas of North and South Korean education systems, which were reformed by the Soviet and the US military respectively, I chose the above six areas as foci of analysis for this chapter since these six features were directly related to facilitating and expanding ideological influences of the Soviet Union and the USA in the Korean peninsula and thus the clashes between the foreign ideologies and local practice and ideas were most severe. Also, from the data analysis, these six foci were identified as common areas in North and South Korean education systems, which underwent massive reforms during the military regimes. Thus, the details of reforms made in these areas will be juxtaposed to compare the educational reforms in North and South Korea.

Adult education

South Korea

In South Korea, after liberation from Japan, illiteracy was the most serious issue

which the US military government had to deal with. The US military government quoted a study of the Japanese census of 1944 to estimate the number of illiterates. According to this report, the US military government estimated that about 45 percent of the population of South Korea (7,733,000 of 17 million) was illiterate. However, according to Underwood (1947), the literacy level of the time of liberation reached 80 percent. The disparity between the Japanese census and Underwood's figure was caused by the different languages they used for the census. Underwood estimated the number of people illiterate in the Korean language, whereas the Japanese census of 1944 estimated the illiteracy rate in the Japanese language.⁵⁹ In any case, the most urgent project for the US military government in re-building the education system in South Korea was to develop literacy education for adults. This was based on the belief that classes in literacy education could be used as platforms to teach Koreans the basic tenets of democracy and to empower them to participate in democratic processes such as voting for elections. These class activities could also be used as a bulwark against the societal conflicts caused by communists and to prevent communist influences spreading in South Korea (Munkyoju, 1988: 103-104). For this purpose, the Bureau of Adult Education was established in December 1945.

Following the establishment of the Bureau of Adult Education, a conference on adult education was held in Seoul on 14 January 1946. The main subject of the conference was to propose the ways to eradicate adult illiteracy (Summation No. 4, Jan. 1946: 291). During the conference, representatives from every province were required to attend adult training courses, including Korean language, civics, teaching methods and home improvement (Summation, No. 6, Mar. 1946:19). However, the aim of the conference was more practical and immediate: to prepare the Korean people to participate in a procedural democracy. Tonga Ilbo captured

⁵⁹ The fact that (Horace G.) Underwood took the literacy census in Korean language indirectly illustrates the continuity of the influence of Christian cultural nationalism on the US military government. Underwood was a grandson of the famous missionary, Horace Grant Underwood, who established Yonhee College (later, Yonsei University) and he himself taught at Yonhee College during the Japanese colonial period before he was expelled by the Japanese government in 1939 (Miraehan'guk). In fact, Yonhee College was a cradle of Korean cultural nationalist movement and Korean studies during the Japanese colonial period. One of the professors, Ch'oe Hyun-bae, actively promoted the development and teaching of Korean language for the public as a grass-root approach for Korean nationalism, believing that "people and people's language share the rise and fall together." (Ch'oe, 1984: 60). His philosophy of Korean language, termed 'the Korean People's Way to Reconstruction' (*Chosŏn Kaengsaengŭi To*), and his efforts for protecting and developing the Korean language intensified even more after the liberation from Japan (Kim, I. H., 2015: 15).

the essence of the illiteracy campaign at the time of the election in this way:

To prepare for a general election in South Korea at no very distant day, the government in Kyōnggi province promoted a scheme of eradicating illiteracy in the province. The local government set the week as a “week of rapid eradicating illiteracy” and sent propaganda squads and lecture squads across the province from 21 to 27 [April] not to leave out even a single illiterate. In all parts [of province], adult education convention will be held and given responsibilities to each region, district, and village. [We] will honor the result to maximize them. For this, we are making every effort to hold short courses of Korean language in every village, which will enable people, who have five thousand years of glorious culture, to become honorable citizens in the age of democracy which was disrupted by the oppression of Japanese colonial rule (Tonga Ilbo, 16 April 1947). [My translation]

For the first project of the literacy campaigns, over 250,000 copies of Korean language textbook entitled “The First Steps in the Korean Language” were distributed to book dealers, and over 1,000,000 copies of the textbook were distributed for use in adult education (Summation, No. 5, Feb. 1946: 298; Summation No.9, June 1946:11). The language of instruction was Korean and the lecturers were selected amongst town’s people, according to the levels of their education and renown in the locality (Yi K. S., 2007: 26).

As the US military government emphasized adult education, the general public in South Korea showed a zeal for education and respect for learning. Tonga Ilbo reported that “civilians’ zeal for education was increasing day by day. The number of books read approximately totaled 339,328 and the number of readers who used the national library approximately totaled 11,906 by March 1946” (Tonga Ilbo, 10 April 1946). It is not surprising that by the end of the US military rule, illiteracy levels had decreased to 42% in only two years (USAMIK Department of Education, 1947; 1; Chōng et al., 1999: 659).

The US military government also attempted to implement long range educational programs to teach basic principles of democratic government and life to the Korean public. Newspapers, pamphlets, radio and lectures were used as instruments to teach Korean language. (Summation No. 6, Mar. 1946:19). Furthermore, the Bureau built an adult education leaders’ training institute to train teachers and speakers for adult education. Adult education programs and seminars were set up nation-wide in the form of “folk schools,” organized by local educational bureaus and churches (USAMIK Department of Education, 1947: 6). At the same time, the Bureau of Education, together with the Bureau of Public Information, created

“skits and plays to stimulate public interests in national and community affairs” (Summation No.5, Feb. 1946: 298). The Bureau of Education also utilized “radio broadcasts, news releases and the sending of representatives of the Bureau of Education to the various provinces” (Summation No.5, Feb. 1946: 298). The following table summarizes the literacy trends in South Korea from 1945 to 1947.

Table 8-1. Literacy trends in South Korea

Date	Estimated Population (13 years of or more)	% of literacy
31 August 1945	10,255,960	21
31 August 1946	13,087,905	58
31 August 1947	13,320,913	71

Source: Bureau of Research and Special Education, Department of Education, re-quoted from Summation No. 31, April 1948: 190.

As Table 8-1 shows, the literacy rate in Korean language increased greatly from 1945 to 1947 in South Korea, more than tripling the percentage rate in two years. The promotion of literacy education programs by the US military government was closely related to the political situation at that time. From early 1946, South Korea was torn by political strife: parties and groups were divided by ideological lines as well as by their opinions towards trusteeship agreement. In order to secure law and order, the US military government set as one of its chief missions to block the spread of communism and, for this purpose, to inculcate the basic concepts of democracy to the Korean public. The roles and functions of the adult education bureau and programs were defined according to this goal: “conducting general election familiarization” was the main focus of the adult education programs (Yi K. S., 1992: 614) and their materials covered topics such as theories of liberal democracy (Yi K. S., 2007: 19). Also, seminars and activities were pursued in line with this project of political socialization. Consequently, adult education classes were used to provide Koreans with the intellectual foundation to be trained as citizens of a liberal democratic society and to assimilate them into the American ideology and policies (Yi K. S., 2007: 27).

North Korea

The situation was no different in North Korea. From the beginning of its military occupation, the Soviets sought to use education as a means of promoting socialist-communist ideology and of changing the image of the Soviet Union in North Korea. After the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, the Soviets extensively promoted political propaganda and the use of education for political purposes proved effective towards this goal (Kenez, 1983). Thus, adult education, along with literacy programs, was used as an instrument for mass indoctrination. Towards this goal, from the beginning of the regime, Kim Il Sung strongly emphasized the importance of literacy education in North Korea through various speeches:

At present the overwhelming majority of our population is illiterate. If we are to build a new prosperous country, not one illiterate person must remain. We should set up many adult schools and enable all the working people to learn how to read and write (*Kim Il Sung Works* vol. 1, 1980: 342).

The need for political indoctrination was particularly felt at that time since many people in North Korea were against communism as well as Soviet trusteeship. Not only “the Korean response to publication of the Moscow communiqué was a wave of indignation and rejection directed against the trusteeship decision,” but also “every one of the people in the section of Korea north of the 38th parallel thinks that the Russians are really worse than the Japanese” (Slusser, 1977: 139; Letter from K.S. Kim to General McArthur, RG 226). The Soviet authorities were aware of the situation and by early 1946, informal educational institutes for ideological training were established in every municipality and rural town. Adult schools, evening schools, workshop schools and Korean alphabet schools were “set up all over the country for this [ideological training] purpose” (Reed, 1997: 168). For example, in Hamgyŏng province, there were already 50 to 70 institutes, educating 6,000 to 8,000 people from 3 months to 1 year (Kim I. Y., 2004: 167). The Soviet policy for ideological training through informal education reaped considerable success, as reported by the US military, which judged that these educational institutes proved effective in producing a core group of strong adherents to the new Soviet communist regime (H.Q. USAFIK, 1946: 476). The combination of literacy education with ideological training was in line with the Soviet view, which considers education as a primary tool to produce and mold citizens suitable to run a strong statehood:

The Soviet regime aims higher than mere passive acquiescence, so that for positive political commitment among the masses, mass education is again imperative. ‘An illiterate person,’ Lenin remarked, ‘stands outside; he must first be taught the ABC. Without this, there can be no politics; without this, there are only rumours, gossip, tales, prejudices, but no politics.’ Literacy and the highest development of general education are thus regarded as a political necessity for the government and a civic duty for the individual (Grant, 1979: 30).

Similarly, Kim Il Sung emphasized literacy education as a means of promoting democratic development in North Korea in a speech entitled “The Present State of Democratic Construction and the Duties of Cultural Workers,” which was delivered at the Second Meeting of Propagandists of the Provincial People’s Committees, Political Parties and Social Organizations, Cultural Workers and Artists in North Korea on 28 September 1946:

Cultural workers should feel a high sense of responsibility for the fact that the overwhelming majority of our population are illiterate. You should realize that with so many illiterate people we will be unable to promote democratic development and will also meet with difficulties of all kinds. To wipe out illiteracy, a disgrace to our nation, you will have to launch an anti-illiteracy campaign by various methods. This is an important duty the country has placed on cultural workers today (*Kim Il Sung Works* vol. 2, 1983: 409-410).

Accordingly, the ‘Anti-illiteracy Movement Decision No. 113’ was promulgated on 25 November 1946 (Ro, 1984: 65- 66). Thereafter, a nation-wide literacy campaign was launched to educate illiterate people in North Korea. The most interesting event that occurred during the literacy campaign was the Lee Kye-san Movement, which was named after an illiterate woman, Lee Kye-san, who lived in a secluded valley of Kangwŏn province (Ro, 1984: 66-67). During the interview, a North Korean intellectual who was educated in North Korea during the 1940s and 1950s recalled the story behind the Lee Kye-san Movement as follows:

As a result of the land reform in North Korea, Lee Kye-san, who used to work as a peasant, received her own land to cultivate, and felt grateful to Kim Il Sung for receiving her own land. When she brought some of her harvest as a gift to Kim Il Sung on August 1947, he recognized that she was an illiterate and thus encouraged her to learn Korean letters. Lee Kye-san learned the Korean letters in three months and sent Kim Il Sung a hand-written letter (Interview, Chang).

This story of Lee Kye-san, together with the literacy campaign, spread across the country and the Lee Kye-san Movement reaped great success among the North Korean public (Ro, 1984: 68; Ko, 2005: 392-393).

In fact, adult education institutes achieved great success because they combined ideological training with Korean language education. From late 1946, the North Korean government launched an ambitious campaign to eradicate illiteracy, and *Han'gŭl*, the Korean language, was restored to its original position for literacy education. At the same time, the use of Korean language was promoted as a way to legitimize the new regime for eradicating the Japanese influence including its language. For example, several articles on the history and grammar of the Korean language were published during the Soviet regime. These articles highlighted the Japanese colonial government's attempts to eradicate the use of Korean language in schools such as by getting rid of Korean language classes since the end of 1930s, with the rise of Japanese militaristic aspirations in the Korean peninsula. These articles also traced the development of Korean language since its creation by King Sejong, and emphasized the originally "popular" nature of the Korean language with its ease to learn and use, even by common people (Kim C. O., 1947: 47-48, 85).

With the nationalistic appeal of the Korean language in mobilizing literacy education, North Korean educators promoted the superiority of communist education by introducing the history of literacy education in the Soviet Union during the 1930s to the Korean public. In particular, *Kyowŏn Shinmun* reported that Lenin first promulgated literacy education policy in the Soviet Union in 1929 with a motto to eradicate illiteracy among people from 8 to 50 years old in Russia, and, as part of this literacy campaign, many educational institutes and programs were organized for both short-term and long-term literacy classes, even in factories (*Kyowŏn Shinmun*, 5 January 1950). Lankov notes the similarities in literacy educational movements between North Korea and the Soviet Union, by focusing on the characteristics of the literacy education campaign that occurred in the Soviet Union during the 1930s:

On both cases a special nation-wide committee was set up, and local party bodies were held responsible for eradicating illiteracy on "their" territories. In USSR as well as in Korea, this approach proved to be very effective. Pressure of mighty Party machine and its ability to mobilize the cheap, almost unpaid labour of teachers and instructors, as well as to channel genuine public support made it possible to achieve results within a remarkable short time (Lankov, 2000: 62).

In order to learn from the Soviets' success in literacy education, North Korean educators travelled to the Soviet Union and produced reports and books from the trips, applying the lessons to the North Korean cases (Han, 1948; Lee, 1957; Pak I. M., 1949). The first Minister of Education in North Korea, Han Sōrya introduced the Soviet education in the following way: The Soviet Union, as a whole, is "one school and one classroom. Everywhere and every time, students are educated, encouraged to experience more, and reformed in their minds...the whole Soviet citizens are students" (Han, 1948: 155). She also highlighted the fact that in order to elevate the cultural capacity of all its citizens, the Soviet Union extensively mobilized the nation-wide literacy campaign to educate people in Russia as well as in satellite countries in which both their mother tongues and the Russian language were taught regardless of race and gender (Lee, 1957: 87).

After the end of the Soviet military regime, it was reported that 1,500,000 adults had undertaken the literacy education programs (Kyowōn Shinmun, 7 November 1949). This was possible since the literacy education programs were mobilized by local committees and achievement data were shared among the committees for comparison. For example, Kyowōn Shinmun in November 1949 reported in detail the achievement of literacy education in Bongsan *Gun* (county), describing how local committees were actively involved in the whole process (Kyowōn Shinmun, 7 November 1949). By 1949, the North Korean government announced that within two and a half years of literacy education, it had completely eradicated illiteracy among the citizens between 15 and 20 years of age, which amounted to more than 2,000,000 adults (CIA, 1952: 43-20; Lankov, 2000: 62). The North Korean government publication, Chosōn chungang yōngam (Annals of DPRK, 1949: 135) reported that after liberation, the total number of illiterates in North Korea was less than 2 percent and the remained illiterates were only 139,516, arguing that sooner and later there would be no illiterate in North Korea. Although the exact number cannot be entirely trusted as it was mainly used for political propaganda by the North Korean government, the efficacy of the literacy campaign in North Korea had been shown in various sources of newspapers, US government documents and North Korean sources. According to the publications which dealt with the history of educational policies in North Korea, by early 1949, the literacy campaign had been successfully completed by mobilizing "anti-illiteracy workers" in each province and

county and students from Kim Il Sung University. This achievement was also announced through various exhibitions in schools and municipal buildings (Ro, 1984; 68; Sim, 1983: 69-75):

Table 8-2. Pattern of Illiteracy Eradication by Province for the Year, 1947-1948

Province	No. of People Who Became Literate	Rate of Result to Original Plan (%)
P'yŏngyang-si (capital)	22,055	169.7
P'yŏngannam-do	142,937	149.5
P'yŏnganbuk-do	211,692	167.2
Hwanghae-do	199,744	166.5
Kangwŏn-do	138,992	154.4
Hamgyŏngnam-do	154,917	140.8
Hamgyŏngbuk-do	81,283	162.5
Total	951,620	158.7

Source: Sim, Sang-su (1983) *Chosŏn kyoyuksa* (Educational History of Chosŏn – for the use of Kim Hyungjik Teacher's College). Pyŏngyang: Kyoyuk tosŏ ch'ulp'ansa, p. 73

As Table 8-2 shows, the achievement of the literacy campaigns in North Korea during the Soviet military regime was remarkable. In this sense, North Korea followed the pattern of the revolutionary, communist countries “whose achievements in this respect were indeed most impressive, even when the claims to have ‘liquidated’ illiteracy within some implausibly short spell of time were sometimes optimistic” (Hobsbawm, 1994: 295). The emphasis that was put on adult and literacy education by the North Korean government was again corroborated by the CIA report which noted that even during the Korean War, the Department of Education of the North Korean government continued its adult education campaign, augmenting the facilities and filling the vacancies to provide the programs (CIA, 1952: 43-24).

However, the use of literacy programs for political and ideological education was not confined to North Korea. Although not as explicitly as the Soviet military government in North Korea, the US military government used the same tactics in promoting literacy education in South Korea. Adult education programs during the US military regime, with their focus on literacy and political education, were significant institutional agents to transplant liberal democratic ideas and ideals of the US education to Korean soil. In fact, the literacy education was the area which the US military government invested the most financially among various educational reforms undertaken during the military regime since it

acknowledged the importance of literacy education in forming favorable attitudes towards the USA in the long-run among the Korean public (Interview, Yi K. S.⁶⁰). Voluntarily or involuntarily, South Korean administrators, who were involved in promoting the literacy education, facilitated the implanting of the American liberal democratic ideology in the minds of Korean adults. Accordingly, the American liberal democratic and the Soviet socialist-communist ideologies became important foci in South and North Korea respectively, which characterized the practice of the educational reforms in literacy education. In this respect, both the Soviet and US military authorities and Korean administrators were fully aware of the importance of ‘language’ during the period of ‘transitologies’, especially in “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths” (Pratt, 1999: 34).

The School System

South Korea

The school system in Korea during the Japanese colonial period was a dual-track system of schooling for Koreans and Japanese residents in Korea, which was implemented to keep the Korean students separate from the Japanese students. After about two weeks of liberation, the prominent Korean educators in South Korea, who were educated abroad during the Japanese colonial rule and upon the establishment of the US military government in South Korea formed the National Committee on Educational Planning, discussed and planned a single track school system that would ensure equal opportunities for all students (Seki, 1987:60). Later, the National Committee on Education Planning proposed to the US military governor to change the school system into a single track structure comprising of 6 years of primary school, 3 years of middle school, 3 years of high school and 4 years of college, reflecting the school years that were widespread in the USA at that time. This 6-3-3-4 pattern

⁶⁰ This interview was conducted at his office in the National Academy of Korean Studies on 14 January 2014.

was adopted in 1946 and implemented from September that year (Pak P. Y., 2001: 33, 34).⁶¹ Thus, O Ch'ŏn-sŏk later argued that “even though the [6-3-3-4 system of education] was influenced by the US system of education, the decision for the system...reflected Koreans’ intent” (O, 1964:403-404).

The system of education in South Korea was instituted in the form of a 6-3-3-4 organizational progression and the 6-year elementary education was made compulsory during this period (Lee, 1989: 98). The primary focus of reform for the school system revolved around secondary education. The Japanese colonial government had strictly limited the educational opportunities of Koreans by restricting them from progressing beyond elementary education. This meant that the majority of Koreans were educated only at elementary school level, except for a few selected Koreans who were allowed to participate in secondary or higher education, which was normally reserved for Japanese residents in Korea, to work later for mainly low-capacity administrative functions. Thus, the primary motive of the Korean educators to propose the single track structure was to give wider educational opportunities to local people. However, this proposal, although first adopted and implemented in 1946 during the US military regime, had to survive much dispute until it was finally adopted in the Education Laws of the Republic of Korea in 1949. The Education Law No. 86, which was promulgated in 1949, described the system and course of education as follows:

The course of education should be six years of elementary school, three years of middle school, two to three years of high school (only permitted to attend upon the completion of middle school), four to six years of university and two years of community college (only permitted to attend upon the completion of high school), three years of teacher’s school, two to four years of teacher’s college (only permitted to attend upon the completion of high school). Also, kindergarten should be allowed after four years old (McGinn et al., 1980:3).

The major opposition to the single structure was based on the question of funding – whether the government could secure enough funding to implement the system realistically. Another opposition pointed out the length of vocational schools - that 6 years of schooling was too long for vocational training (Chŏng et al., 1999: 661; Kang, 2003: 42).

⁶¹ The 6-3-3-4 school system was also adopted in Japan in April 1947, with the enthusiastic support of liberal educators and the Japanese public for its egalitarian and democratic ideal (Shibata, 2005: 87).

Despite the criticisms from opposing groups, the 6-3-3-4 structure was retained even after the end of the American trusteeship because the majority of the Korean educators in the Korean Committee on Education agreed that this structure, based on the US model, would best promote the democratic ideals in education, which they themselves believed in. Indeed, their belief reflected their backgrounds since most of them were pro-American, largely educated in the USA with the help of American missionaries or educators. They viewed the dual track system, inherited from the Japanese colonial period, as inherently discriminatory, producing separate classes of the ruling and the ruled. So they kept pushing for the single track system, firmly believing that it would give equal educational opportunities for every Korean, regardless of status, family, wealth, sex and religion (Kang, 2003: 43). This reform was also in line with the Ordinance No. 4 of the US military government, which emphasized ‘democratic education’ in the new school curriculum. They expected that it would implant American ideas and lifestyles inside the minds and hearts of Korean people (Yi K. H., 2003: 102). For example, during the interview, a South Korean professor evaluates that the single-track 6-3-3-4 organizational ladder is “the most democratic feature” the US military government inherited to the subsequent South Korean government in educational areas (Interview, Yi K.S.). Therefore, “the decentralization of educational control and the single-track structure were described and, to a certain extent, justified in government documents” and pursued vigorously “with a view to gradual revision until education requirements should parallel those in the United States” (Adams, 1960: 30; Underwood, 1947: 4). The Figure 8-1 demonstrates the school system in South Korea from 1949 to 1950.

Figure 8-1. School System in South Korea (1949-1950)⁶²

Year							Age	
22	Postgraduate						27	
21							26	
20	Under-Graduate	College of Education					Miscellaneous school	25
19								24
18								23
17								22
16								21
15						20		
14	High school	School of Education	Higher Technical School			Miscellaneous school	19	
13							18	
12							17	
11							16	
10	Middle school		Special school	Technical school	Higher civil education school		15	
9							14	
8							13	
7							12	
6	Elementary school			Elementary school	Adult Class	Civil education school	Miscellaneous school	11
5								10
4								9
3								8
2								7
1								6
2	Kindergarten					Miscellaneous school	5	
1							4	

North Korea

Democratic ideals, expressed in the form of an egalitarian school system, were also espoused by the communist North Korea. From the outset of the Soviet military regime, one of the primary educational goals was to “introduce universal compulsory education and widely expand the network of primary, middle and specialized schools and colleges maintained at state expense...[and] to reform public education in line with the democratic state system” (Action Platform of the Korean Communist Party, 6 October 1945; Twenty Point Platform, Radio Speech by Kim Il-Sung on 23 March, 1946).⁶³ In March 1946, Kim Il

⁶² (McGinn et al., 1980:4)

⁶³ Action Platform of the Korean Communist Party (6 October 1945) was quoted from Suh, D. S. (1970) *Documents of Korean Communism, 1918-1948*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. p. 492; Twenty Point Platform, Radio Speech by Kim Il Sung on 23 March, 1946 was quoted from *Kim Il-Sung Selected*

Sung announced 20 ordinances for a new regime, and Ordinance No. 16 dictated that by implementing general compulsory education, the government would expand primary, secondary, technical and higher educational institutes to educate and train workers, and that people's educational system would be reformed in accordance with the democratic system (Kim T. Y., 1949: 62). Accordingly, the Provisional People's Committee determined the school structure, in imitation of the Soviet system, comprising of 5 years of primary education, 3 years of lower secondary education, 3 years of higher secondary education, 3 years of technical college education, and 4 years of higher education (Sim, 1983: 14). Following the proclamation of the ordinance, the North Korean Provisional People's Committee promulgated Decision No. 133 entitled 'the Decision on Regulations and Implementation for the North Korean School Education System' on 18 December 1946 (Kyoyuk tosŏ ch'lp'ansa, 1995: 19). The North Korea Provisional People's Committee founded Kim Il Sung University (composed of seven colleges - Engineering, Agriculture, Medicine, Science, Literature, Railroad Engineering, and Law). The Soviet military sent a significant number of Soviet educators – mostly Soviet Koreans – who actively participated in the establishment of the new education system in North Korea. Through this process, Soviet textbooks and educational materials became preliminary guides in the publication and distribution of educational materials in North Korea (Sin, 2005: 44). Furthermore, on 16 December 1948, the Cabinet Decision No. 92 on 'planning for 1949 to implement comprehensive primary school education from 1950' was made (Kyoyuk tosŏ ch'lp'ansa, 1995: 23). The compulsory primary school education was planned to be implemented from September 1950 but it was postponed due to the outbreak of the Korean War. The following figure demonstrates the school system in North Korea after liberation from Japan.

Figure 8-2. School System in North Korea after Liberation

Year				Age
23	Researcher (3 years)			26
22				25
21				24
20	University (5 years)	College (4-5 years)	Teacher's College (2 years)	23
19				22
18				21
17				20
16		Higher Middle school (3 years)	Middle special School (3-4 years)	19
15	18			
14	17			
13	16			
12	Elementary technical school (3 years)	Elementary Middle school (3 years)	Adult middle school (3 years)	15
11				14
10				13
9	People's school (5 years)		Adult school (2 years)	12
8				11
7			10	
6			Kindergarten (3 years)	9
5				8
4	7			
3		6		
2		5		
1		4		

The North Korean school system has gone through several structural changes since its first reform in March 1946 when the 5-3-3-4 school year pattern was established. In 1949, the general education track followed a 4-3-2-2-4 pattern (4 years of primary education, 3 years of middle school education, 2 years of lower technical education, 2 years of higher technical education, 4 years of college education) in order to extend the years for technical education. For factory workers and farmers who had to combine work and education, a separate education track was created, following a 2-2-2-2-3 pattern (2 years of primary education, 2 years of middle school education, 2 years of technical education, 2 years of high school education, 3 years of college education). This pattern of school years was created in imitation of the Soviet system. For example, the general education track (4-3-2-2-4 pattern) shortened the years of primary school education, following the Soviet reform which shortened it from 4 years to 3 years. Furthermore, for the technical education track, 2 years of lower technical education and 4 years of higher technical education were created in order to reflect the emphasis on technical education by the Soviet Union (Pak Y. H., 1976: 163).

The starkest difference from South Korea, in terms of the school system, was the emphasis on technical education. Not only was technical education highly accentuated in

communist education but it was also necessitated by the economic situation faced by North Korea at that time. Most of the highly skilled workers and technicians from the Japanese colonial era were concentrated in South Korea and the remaining few in the north either escaped to South Korea or were kept under government surveillance as political suspects. As a result, “to meet the situation the government has endeavored to supply factories with supervisory and technical personnel having limited and specialized training rather than with highly trained experts, and has directed its training program toward meeting requirements of this type” (CIA, 1952: 32-23). 3-year junior technical courses for graduates of primary schools and 3-year senior technical courses for graduates of junior middle schools were set up, and the graduates of these courses became technical staff for particular jobs. For example, North Korean intellectual who was educated in the 1950s said the following:

When I entered the advanced middle school, there was much need for construction workers for reconstruction after the war. Although [I knew that] architectural engineering was a difficult subject, I decided to enter a construction college anyway because I saw the demand. I made up my mind to study the architectural engineering [and devoted my life to it for forty years afterwards] *in order to respond to the requirements of the Party enthusiastically* (Interview, Chang) [emphasis added]

As it can be seen from her testimony, the educational opportunities in North Korea, to a certain extent, were engineered by the predominant industrial and economic demands of the state at the time. Furthermore, factory workers were forced to attend evening classes for technical training and factory workshops were established to train selected workers for three to six months. However, “even at the technical college level, indoctrination courses take up as much as ten class hours a week, and the student’s ability to master the maxims of Marxism-Leninism is of primary importance in determining his eligibility to pass the course as a whole” (CIA, 1952: 43-23).

In addition, several North Korean educators were sent to the Soviet Union to study the Soviet school system and to learn lessons for their own school system (Lee, 1957: Pak I. M., 1949: Han, 1948). In particular, Lee (1957: 22), in highlighting the necessity to implement comprehensive schooling in North Korea, traced the history of comprehensive education in the Soviet Union. He pointed out that before the Bolshevik Revolution four fifths of the number of children in Russia were illiterate, as educational opportunities were

restricted to the privileged class. After the establishment of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1930, the Soviet government implemented 7-year comprehensive education for children living in cities and 4-year comprehensive education for children living in the countryside. The Soviet people whole-heartedly supported the comprehensive primary schooling by contributing their labor and money to building school facilities and producing uniforms, stationery, and textbooks through local people's committees. Small schools, of fewer than 40 students, were created in order to give comprehensive, primary schooling to all students in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Pak (1949: 78) and Lee (1957: 7-8, 11-13, 93) carefully described the socialist principles of educational organizations, and qualifications of teachers and students, curricula and finances of different types of schools covered by comprehensive schooling (pre-school, primary school, middle school, and high school) in the Soviet Union. The stated purpose of the book was to digest the Soviet experience in order to successfully implement the educational tasks that were adopted in the Conventions of People's Committees and to share the Soviets' advanced educational experience with educational workers in North Korea (Lee, 1957: 3-4).

From the discussions in this section it becomes apparent that in both North and South Korea, general compulsory education was espoused by educators to promote 'democratic ideals,' although the interpretations of what specifically constituted the democratic ideals in US liberal democracy and Soviet socialist-communism differed. Under the influence of the US military government administrators, the South Korean education system implemented a single track, 6-3-3-4 school organization after much dispute amongst Korean educational leaders and administrators. Similarly, the North Korean government strongly was opposed to the dual-track system inherited from the Japanese colonial era and implemented a single track school system from the beginning of the regime. However, the biggest difference was shown in the communist emphasis on technical education: combined with an urgent need for economic development, the North Korean government added years for technical education to compulsory education. Although many changes in terms of specific school years have been made since then, the combination of academic and technical education throughout the compulsory school years has remained the core characteristic of the North Korean education.

Educational Administration

South Korea

The Korean education system under the Japanese colonial rule was highly centralized to control teachers and students. According to the Military Government Education Department Command No. 352, the general policy of the US military government on the schools of Korea south of 38N was to operate the schools within the existing framework. However, it soon became apparent from the American authorities' perspective that the Korean educational administration was too centralized, revolving around the absolute power of the Department of Education,⁶⁴ and too much politicized under the threats of manipulation from political upheavals. According to the Summation No. 1 report on education, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) analyzed the educational conditions in Korea as follows:

Education in Korea has been highly centralized and controlled in administration, teacher selections and training, and in textbooks. The system including both public and private schools is composed of a university, normal schools, technical, commercial, and primary schools (SCAP, Summation, No. 1. Sept-Oct. 1945: 193).

In addition, the reports on the activities of the US military government from September to October 1945 stated that Korean education was too centralized and controlled, ranging from administration, recruitment and training of teachers, to the publication of textbooks. This was attributed to the influence of the Japanese colonial education, as the following statement affirms:

⁶⁴ Since the administrative structure of South Korea at the time of the liberation inherited that of the Japanese colonial government, the bureaucratic features of South Korea at the time also reflected the highly centralized bureaucratic structure of the Japanese government. The US military authorities in Japan also regarded the Japanese Ministry of Education as too centralized, but, at the same time, efficient to rule the country (Park, 1996: 21). So the US military government in Japan decided to implement an 'indirect' rule (Han, 1996), exercising "authority through Japanese governmental machinery and agencies, including the Emperor, to the extent that this satisfactorily furthers United States objectives" (Shibata, 2005: 63). However, for this purpose, SCAP created the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) for the effective control of the reform process (Han, 1996). In fact, the CIE was in charge of reforms in education, religion and media of both Japan and Korea, but the records on the activities in Korea were deleted in 1948 (Han, 1996; Park, 1996; Iiyama, 1998).

To a certain extent, SCAP's understanding of Japanese educational system was military officers occupying responsible educational positions, textbooks permeated with militaristic propaganda, teachers dispersed, the Ministry of Education a tool of the militarists and liberal educators in hiding from the Thought Police (SCAP, Summation, No. 1. Sept-Oct. 1945: 148).

Thus, Summation No. 9 estimated that the majority of Koreans considered that education should be led primarily by the government and concluded that this perspective was due to the policies of the Japanese colonial government. American advisors who were brought up in the tradition of a decentralized governing wanted to reform the Korean educational administration by devolving authority to local educational bureaux. At this point, one may wonder why the US military government officials decided to 'decentralize' the educational administration while it still maintained centralized administration in other areas. As illustrated in chapter 5 which discussed political contexts for educational reforms, the discourse on 'liberal democracy' remained, to a large extent, in principle, and the very nature of 'military' occupation defined the overall government structure. However, this does not preclude the possibility that those US military officers as well as advisors, who were recruited from Korean leaders and American residents in Korea, wanted to implement liberal democratic ideals on the ground when they were given opportunities and where it was not so politically sensitive. The attempt to reform the educational administration is one of key areas which displayed this desire during the US military regime.

Furthermore, this insistence for decentralizing educational administration was based on political motivations as well. The primary roles of the education department were the re-start of schools and the appointment of school principals and teachers, and directors of local bureaux (Adams, 1956: 87-88). The US military government expected that the decentralization of educational administration would encourage local officials to recommend good candidates for positions in their middle schools.⁶⁵ Additionally, the US military government estimated that in order to reduce the power of Japan as a nation-state and its already widespread ideology in the Korean peninsula, a decentralized administrative system

⁶⁵ In fact, as a result of this decentralizing push, "more than half of the high school principals" were appointed on recommendations of the local offices during the US military regime (History of Occupation of Korea, 1948: 49).

was essential, as expressed in the following:

Autonomous power was bestowed to the local government. The US military government held a conference for provincial leaders in three days (6-8 February), summoned the head of eight provinces of the South Korea up to the 38th Parallel...[In the conference, the US military government] proclaimed that the new system must subdue Japanese war-centered ideology. Instead, education, health, and welfare system must aim at establishing Korean state and promoting peace. Thus, each province established bureaux of education, health, and welfare (Chosŏn Ilbo, 10 February 1946).

For this purpose, strengthening local authorities was perceived to be the best way to build a democratic society, as opposed to a totalitarian, militaristic one. Thus, on the establishment of the US military government, one of the first policies Lieutenant Lockard implemented in the South Korean education department was to set up local education committees in each province and municipality (Yi H. S., 1954: introduction). However, in doing so, the US military government initially took a prudent attitude towards changing the existing educational administration, since the changes would affect the entire system (Official Gazette, 21 October 1945: 1). Thus, the military government commanded its offices to operate the decentralization plan in the following way:

Decentralization will be essential if the national government is not to be saddled with a staggering burden for education. At present a considerable amount of local support is secured on a semi-voluntary basis through "Parent's Associations". There are many abuses of this system and the burden should be spread more evenly over the local community. Decentralization is also essential to a truly democratic system of education (History of United States Army Military Government in Korea (Part 2), 1947: 2).

As part of decentralizing educational administration, the Department of Education implemented a new plan for financing education in South Korea, in which boards of education at the *Kun* (county) level were created and empowered to levy local taxes for education, while the deficit of the budget for local school districts was supplied from national funds to compensate for difference (Werth, August-November 1948: 9). Moreover, the growing demand for teachers in the elementary schools facilitated the US decentralization policy in a

way. Seven normal schools⁶⁶ were placed under local governments in 1946 and the Bureau of Education of the Government of Korea transferred the responsibility for the administration, supervision and control of the seven normal schools to the provincial governments. The normal schools, the responsibilities of which were transferred to the local governments were the following: Ch'unch'ön (Kangwön province), Chǒngju (northern Ch'ungch'öng province), Taejǒn and Kyǒngju (southern Ch'ungch'öng province), Chǒnju (northern Chǒlla province), Kwangju (southern Chǒlla province), and Chinju (southern Kyǒngsang province). However, until 31 March 1947 the Bureau of Education continued to finance these schools and determine the policies and principles of normal school education and teacher training. Moreover, teacher certification to the graduates of these normal schools was made in accordance with Bureau of Education standards (Official Gazette, 12 February 1946: 1).

This new system, however, was highly criticized by hands-on workers from the beginning including staff at normal schools, Korean staff of the Department of Education, and staff at provincial education bureaux. Staff at the normal schools wanted their schools to be under national control, and Korean staff of the Department of Education were concerned that provincialized normal schools would be neglected in the long run. Staff at provincial education bureaux also criticized the order because they thought that there was no means by which these normal schools could be funded by the provincial governments. In fact, the provincial normal schools were brought back into closer supervision by the national education department at the end of the military regime (Outline History of Teacher Training, 1945-48, 26 July 1948: 2-3). American efforts to decentralize the educational administration were met with criticisms even from the pro-American Korean advisors. Since “centralization of authority in matters of education is such a thoroughly ingrained official concept after 40 years of Japanese rule that Koreans are unaware of divergences from democratic practice... he [the Minister of Education in the newly established South Korean government] said local boards were not ready to assume responsibility for financial and educational policies in common schools” (CIA, 1952: 43-13). Even Dr. O Chǒn-sǒk, who had acted as the main Korean advisor to the American head of the education department from the onset of the US military regime argued that educational decentralization was too early for Koreans to adopt on the

⁶⁶ Normal schools are colleges and institutes to train teachers for elementary schools.

grounds that the Korean locality, which largely comprised of underdeveloped countryside, was not sufficiently advanced to adopt the American model. He further insisted that as soon as the US military leave Korea at the end of the military regime, Koreans would overthrow the decentralized administrative structure and resort to the old system (Yi H. S., 1954: introduction).

Despite the opposition from most Korean advisors, the then military governor, Major General Dean, pressed for the implementation of decentralization. He brought Herbert C. Armstrong, an expert on the matter of educational finance and administration, from the general headquarters of the US Army in Tokyo, and they started to make drafts to legislate the ordinances for a decentralized educational administration. As a result, three new ordinances which reformed the establishment of educational districts, the authority of local committees, and the sources of finance, were signed on 12 August 1948. The timing of the legislation was deliberate in that they were signed and promulgated just three days before the end of the US military regime and the foundation of Republic of Korea, in order to avoid disputes with Korean educators and politicians as they were busy preparing for the transition of government. American administrators were convinced that decentralization of educational administration was the key to democratize Korean education so they used every means to secure finance for this purpose (Kim Y. I., 1995a: 150-157). This was evident from General Dean's comment, "I will leave the gift for Korean people," referring to the gift of the legislation of the ordinances of decentralized educational administration (Chōng, 1992: 92). Although the ordinances were not immediately implemented at the end of the US military government, they were implemented four years later. Municipal educational committees were created and their members were elected.

North Korea

In the US, most educational matters were handled by local bureaux and citizens themselves under the decentralized administrative system and, in general, a state government existed mainly to support individual schools. On the other hand, in the Soviet Union, all of educational decisions were made, directly or indirectly, by communist Party members who comprised of only 3 percent of the whole population (Yu, 1964: 183). Furthermore, in the

Soviet Union, even activities conducted outside the schools - various clubs, radio and TV broadcasts, newspapers, and movies - were controlled by the Party for political indoctrination (Yu, 1964: 184). The Soviet Union had a highly centralized civil administration, which was conducted in a top-down manner; educational activities and policies were directed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Azrael, 1972: 318). In accordance with the directions of the Committee, the ministry coordinated educational activities and policies. For example, specific laws that regulate the types of schools to be established, basic principles of schools, basic curricular framework, and regulations on comprehensive education, were legislated in the Cabinet or related ministries with interventions of the Party, if necessary (Yu, 1964: 122). The following comments summarize the highly centralized Soviet educational administration:

The salient features of the Soviet education have remained constant throughout: it has always been a *mass* system and a *planned* system, subject to political control and closely supervised.... One result of this system is a high degree of uniformity all over the country. Whether as a result of direction or emulation, schools, textbooks, curricula, and teaching methods are closely similar throughout the USSR. With few differences children in, say, the fifth form in an eight-year school in places as far apart as Moscow and Magnitogorsk, Tashkent and Talin, wear the same uniforms, observe the same rules of behavior, and study the same subjects from the same textbooks at the same pace. When they complete their course at the age of fifteen, the alternatives available for the next stage of their education are substantially the same wherever they may be (Grant, 1979: 29, 35).

In his report on the Soviet education after a study trip, Lee (1957: 16-17) clearly laid out the Soviet educational administrative system, in an attempt to draw lessons for North Korea. The particular features that he found most applicable to North Korea were as follows. Centralization and tight control by the Party were the main characteristics of the Soviet educational administration. For example, general education was controlled by the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of General Education, whose names varied by different satellite states. Matters of secondary and higher education, including finance and regulations, were controlled by the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Education. Adult education was controlled by the Ministry of Culture. All the decisions in the ministries of the different satellite states should be in line with the directions and regulations set by the central

Communist Party. Specific adjustments to locality were made, however again tightly steered, by the education bureaux of each state, province, and city. The control mechanism worked by regular planning and guidance meetings held every month. The director of the education department set the direction of educational tasks for a new month, organized the seminars where reports for school inspection were checked and exchanged, and held meetings for school principals for further guidance (Lee, 1957: 20-21).

The North Korean educational administration followed the Soviet model in that all educational activities were pursued and centrally controlled with the sole goal of making the citizens obedient to the Party's commands. A CIA report noted that "educational policy, administration, financing, and standards are all dictated by the KLP [Korean Labour Party], ratified by the cabinet and/or the Supreme People's Assembly, and in the main, executed by the Ministry of Higher Education and the Ministry of Common Education in conjunction with provincial and local education offices" (CIA, 1962: 43-11). The main agency which transmitted the Korean Labour Party's decisions for other government bodies was the School, Education and Science Department of the Korean Labour Party's Central Committee. Consequently, educational programs and activities in and out of the schools were under the control of the Party and students' behaviors and words were directed accordingly (Chŏng and Pak, 1982: 160-161). The Ministry of Education held tight reins "on the education sections of the provincial, county and city people's committees" and directly supervised "all school curricula, student enrollment, placement of graduates, student holiday and recreational activities, children's toys, books and theatres, the assignment and lectures of leaders, parents' associations, and the disposition of goods produced in farms and shops attached to technical schools" (CIA, 1952: 43-20). As in the Soviet Union, all schools were established and managed by the state, which determined most aspects of educational programs, from school curricula to education laws, in accordance with the Party's commands. For example, the survey of *Kyoyukkyujŏng Charyojip (DPRK Educational Regulations Resource Book)* published by the pro-Pyŏngyang federation of Korean residents in Japan revealed that the level of centralized regulation extended to details such as the number of meetings to be held for parents' associations and how to bow to teachers and principals in the schools, how to make notes during the classes, and how many hours to preview and review class materials (Choch'ongnyŏn Chungangbonbu Kyoyukpu, 1957).

The methods of control primarily involved “restricting the scope of independent action by subordinate organs. Initial direction was accomplished through carefully delineated and detailed regulations, annual programs, and monthly work plans” (CIA, 1952: 32-20). In addition, detailed reports on activities were required by superior agencies which often inspected the activities. The main apparatus for controlling the schools was the teachers’ union which was again dominated by the members of the Korean Labour Party. From the review of the minutes of the meeting reports of junior and senior middle schools, which were acquired by the US military during the Korean War, it could be seen that teachers in North Korea had to attend weekly and monthly meetings to report their as well as their students’ progress and to conduct self-criticisms and criticisms of other teachers and staff for disciplinary purposes (Cell meeting reports at Pyŏng-yang higher middle schools, primary source acquired from US National Archives and Record Administration). In addition, from the reading of evaluations of teachers, it became obvious that conducts during these meetings were monitored and reported to superiors and these reports, in turn, were considered in application for promotion (Teachers’ resumes and autobiographies in Kŭm-sŏng and Kŭmhwa Middle Schools, primary source acquired from US National Archives and Record Administration). As a result, in North Korea a centralized educational administration was constructed: the authority to establish and manage schools was given to the state and even the number of entrants to the higher educational institutions was rigidly controlled according to the economic, military and cultural needs of the state (Lee, 1957: 8; Yu, 1964: 117). In a nutshell, the educational administration of North Korea quickly became “Sovietized,” featuring the austerity of tight centralization and unilateral commands of statehood. However, it should be noted that the control of educational administration and schools is non-comparable to that of presenttime, in the extent and depth of the control. During the interviews North Korean intellectuals said that the control of students’ and teachers’ behaviors were not so severe at that time as that of today since the North Korean society at that time was politically unstable and the North Korean government did not have enough capacity to control every sphere of students’ and teachers’ lives. It was after the Korean War when the country became stabilized politically and economically that the control tightened. The Kim Jung Il’s regime strained the control further, resulting in the totalitarian system of the present North Korean government (Interview, Chang: Interview, Hyŏn).

Due to the nature of the military governments, both the Soviet and US military governments in the two Koreas displayed centralized administrative systems during the military regimes. This centralizing tendency was intensified due to the authoritarian legacy inherited by Korea from the Japanese colonial government. However, in South Korea, although the US military government in general chose to keep the Japanese administrative system to maintain law and order in the society, it attempted to alter the educational administrative system, reflecting the decentralized pattern in the USA. In doing so, it sought to instill democratic ideals in the education system. In North Korea, the main elements of the socialist-communist administrative system, the central control by political authority and direct supervision of administrative matters, were strictly implemented in the educational administration from the beginning, quickly ‘Sovietizing’ the educational decision-making and implementation processes during the military regime.

Curricular Changes

South Korea

The biggest change in the curricula of the new education system of South Korea under the US military government was the creation of social studies as a subject (Son, 1992: 250). Before the reform, social studies subjects such as history, geography and ethics were taught separately and the Japanese colonial government had a special subject called *sushin* - literally meaning ‘taking care of body’ - which was taught in order to inculcate the superiority of the Japanese empire with its values and ideologies, and, ultimately, obedience to the Emperor of Japan (*tennō*).⁶⁷ The US military government deemed the existing subjects

⁶⁷ One of the fundamental objectives of the US military government in Japan was the eradication of totalitarian, nationalistic elements (e.g. glorifying war as a heroic activity, worshipping the Emperor with absolute loyalty, encouraging participation in war as a patriotic responsibility) in school curricula (Park, 1996). This same approach was applied also in the South Korean reform. However, Yi C. S. (2003) argues that the adoption of the civics subject in Korea and Japan worked in a different manner. Whereas for the Korean reform, the textbook of the Colorado State of the USA was translated into the Korean language without any localization, for the Japanese reform, the textbook was created, taking into account the Virginia Plan for Japanese contexts. As a result, the Japanese civics textbook, as one

incapable of delivering democratic ideology and ideals and thus determined to include a curriculum which involved respect for human dignity, freedom of individuals, and self-determination. Thus, the US military government created a new core-curriculum subject, social studies, which combined studies of history, geography, politics, economics and law into one subject. In fact, social studies, as a single subject, was created in the USA during the 1910s under the influence of pragmatic educational philosophy. In particular, John Dewey, the father of pragmatic educational philosophy, stressed that school curricula should be relevant to students' daily lives and that the experiences and understandings shared by children should be fundamental to the organization and contents of textbooks (Dewey, 2004: 260-265). Pragmatic educational philosophy received increasing attention and interest from the American public in the aftermath of the Great Depression as they came to acknowledge that, in order to reconstruct the poverty-stricken society, children must form clear perspectives on their own society through exposure to various social problems (Son, 2002: 47, 48).

The social studies subject, from its origin, was based on the belief that children should get acquainted with the various aspects of society and its problems; its ultimate goal was to produce citizens who could contribute to their families, communities and countries in building a democratic society (Hong, 1976: 55-58). Class discussions and group activities, as new methods of pedagogy, were encouraged, especially in elementary schools. In particular, the specific framework for social studies curricula in South Korea during the US military regime was borrowed, to a large extent, from that of Colorado State in the US, partly because the American administrator in charge of textbook publication and distribution, First Lieutenant Anderson, was from Colorado. In addition, a significant part of materials for a new breed of civics textbooks was direct translations of the civics textbooks in Colorado (Yi C. S., 2003). The emphasis on the social studies subject by the US military government was demonstrated by the number of textbooks that were distributed during the period, as the following table demonstrates.

of the critical subjects in the school curricula, encourages problem-solving and critical thinking on societal problems, an aspect which is lacking in the Korean civics textbook (Yi C. S., 2003).

Table 8-3. Number of textbooks distributed from 15 August 1945 through June 1948

Subject	Number of textbooks	Percentage (%)
Korean Readers	6,003,535	41.2
Arithmetic	4,375,600	30
Social Studies	2,163,526	14.9
Music	899,300	6.2
Agriculture in Social Studies of Primary School	15,050	0.1
Science	743,150	5.1
Penmanship	69,330	0.5
Vocation	113,031	0.8
Courses of Study	30,000	0.2
Teachers' Guides	155,104	1
Total	14,567,626	100

Source: *South Korea Interim Government Activities*, No. 33, June 1948:176.

As Table 8-3 suggests, Korean language and arithmetic textbooks were the most distributed textbooks, consisting for over 70 percent of the total number. Approximately 15 percent of the distributed textbooks were social studies textbooks. The US military government emphasized the Korean language and arithmetic but their importance was attached to general education, with the aim of enabling students to acquire the ability of “culture, accuracy, and rapidity in the computation of problems arising in actual life, and the acquisition of correct methods of reasoning” (Hopkins and Underwood, 1907: v). The number of social studies textbooks reflected the intention of the US military government in shaping the “ideology” of Korean education. To alleviate the shortage of textbooks for social studies subject, the US military government published a supplementary text called “Primer on Democracy” (Summation No.3, December 1945:201). In particular, the publication of textbooks for subjects, which were deemed essential for ideological control, such as Korean Language, Social Studies, and English Language, was under tight control of the US military administrators. However, the authorship of books on science subjects was delegated to Korean educators, although the Korean authors’ political and ideological stances were still screened in selection processes (Pak P. Y., 2001: 40-42).

This widespread use of social studies textbooks was possible since Korean educators, especially Korean advisors to American administrators, actively supported the implementation of the social studies subject in the newly established curricula (Kim J. H., 1998: 68). For

example, in the core curriculum for junior middle schools, the subject of social studies, together with general science, Korean language, physical education and health, was taught five classes per week throughout grades 7 to 9⁶⁸ (Summation No. 12, September 1946: 68-69). Furthermore, in the core curriculum for senior middle schools, social studies subject was the only subject that was taught five classes per week throughout grades 10 to 12⁶⁹ (Summation No. 12, September 1946: 68-69). The curriculum of the folk schools for adult education was no exception to this policy. Adult courses for pupils over 18 years old with no prior education included Korean language, social studies (civics) and arithmetic. Courses for pupils aged 13 to 18 years old included social studies (civics), Korean language, Korean history and geography, arithmetic, science, music and gymnastics, home economics and sewing and a vocational course (Summation No. 11, August 1946: 82). In a nutshell, the number of hours devoted to social studies subject clearly displayed the significance the US military government attached to teaching 'democratic' ideals to Korean students.

However, the introduction of the social studies subject was not implemented without a problem. Most of all, Korean teachers were confused about the nature of social studies and how to teach the subject to their students (Sim, 1955). Many found it difficult even to understand the syllabus of the subject, which was basically a version of the 8 year-curriculum of Colorado State shortened into 6 years. This was witnessed by a Korean teacher who taught the social studies subject during the military regime⁷⁰:

[The syllabus says] the teaching should be based on the students' lives, experiences, individual characteristics. Although teachers know this, they still teach the subject in a textbook-based, teacher-centered way including the practice of rote memorization due to the lack of teachers and resources. This problem is more serious in middle schools than elementary schools. In particular, new teachers have no idea about

⁶⁸ For example, mathematics was taught five classes per week throughout grade 7 to 8. Vocational subjects and music were taught two classes per week throughout grade 7 to 9. Elective courses, such as music, fine arts, mathematics, foreign language, vocational subjects, and special course (science and Korean), could be added.

⁶⁹ For comparison, science subjects were taught five classes per week from grade 10 to 11. Mathematics was taught five classes per week for grade 10. Physical education and health was taught three to five classes per week throughout grade 10 to 12. Foreign language was also taught zero to three classes per week throughout grade 10 to 12.

⁷⁰ Re-quoted from Yi, C. S. (2003), p. 103

textbooks and pedagogy so they just teach with the lessons they had taken notes during teacher training... If this practice continues, how would we be able to give useful knowledge to students?

Another problem concerns the content of the social studies subject. The subject social studies, as originally developed in the USA, intended to integrate the issues and experiences of the community of which students are part, with the curricula and textbooks of the students' schools. Since the content of the social studies subject in South Korea was directly translated and imported from the US textbooks, especially during the US military regime, and also in the initial period of the Republic of Korea, the content that was tailored to the particular settings of Korean culture and history adjusted to Korean setting were lacking (Yi C. S., 2003). This was contradictory to the original intention of the social studies subject that is to address and include particulars and issues of the communities and societies as experienced by the students (Sim et al., 1994; Cho et al., 2009: 422). For example, Dewey insisted that education should be used as a primary tool to involve young citizens in a democratic procedure in which they learn how to negotiate and argue with others in order to make societal and communal progress together. However, the content of the social studies subject, and, to a large extent, the discourses of the New Education Movement avoided discussion of thorny issues in Korean societal, economic and political affairs, and instead focused on presenting uncontroversial issues so as to avoid unnecessary conflicts which could threaten the political and economic structure which the US military government was building in South Korea at the time (Pak, 2001: 39).

North Korea

Similarly, in North Korea, the ideological influence of the occupying power on the education system through curricular changes was repeated. As soon as the provisional government was established under the rule of the Soviet military on November 1945, Kim Il Sung announced the Provisional Summary of Education Principles, according to which the new North Korean education system would be modeled on the Soviet system, adopting Soviet educational theories and practices for North Korean school curricula. On 10 October 1948 at

the anniversary of the Kim Il Sung University,⁷¹ Kim Il Sung emphasized that the five impending tasks for college students were (1) eradicating the educational remnants of the Japanese colonial period, (2) elevating nationalism and advocating democratic principles in order to establish a great socialist country, (3) supporting the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with clear understanding of international relations, (4) equipping one's mind with Marx-Leninism, and (5) becoming a Communist Party official with revolutionary spirit (Kim I. S., 1981: 384-387). Although these principles were mainly addressed to college students, they symbolized the extent to which the Soviet educational philosophy and goals were adopted in the North Korean system. This was based on the fundamental belief that the communists' ultimate goal is to destroy the capitalistic society and to revolutionize the whole world into communism (Kim I. S., *Selected Works* vol., 1965 1: 326).⁷² Thus, in order to achieve this goal, all possible means including education, should be employed to produce the man, loyal to the Party and devoted to the socialist cause, and, in the process, education was often understood as a means of class struggle (Kim I. S., *Selected Works* vol. 1, 1965: 254).⁷³ Consequently, educators were often called 'career revolutionaries', 'representatives of class consciousness' and 'political firebrands' (Choi, 1987: 8).

At that time, economic development was one of the key objectives of the North Korean government since it was competing with South Korea, so Kim Il Sung sought technical assistance from the Soviet Union in these areas (Hong, 1949: 7; Chosso ch'insŏn , 1949: 3-5). Already in the Soviet Union, great emphasis was placed on science and technical education since these subjects were perceived to be critical to establish and revolutionize civilization (Lee, 1957: 9; Yoo, 1964: 119,120). Thus, "the bias towards natural sciences and mathematics which was typical in the USSR [curricula] is even more evident in North Korea, where the "humanities" have been reduced into mere political indoctrination classes" (Lankov,

⁷¹ Speech for the Completion of the New Building of Kim Il Sung University' quoted from Kim I. S. (1981) *Kim Il Sung Chŏjak sŏnjip*, vol 14. (김일성 저작선집 14권, *Works Vol. 14*). P'yongyang: Chosŏn Nodongdang ch'ulp'ansa. pp. 384-387

⁷² On Eliminating Dogmatism and Formalism and Establishing Juche in Ideological Work (Speech to Party Propagandists and Agitators, December 28, 1955) adopted from (1965) *Kim Il-sung Selected Works*, vol. 1, pp. 315-340

⁷³ On Improving the Class Education of Party Members (Report at a Plenum of the Central Committee of the Worker's Party of Korea, April 1, 1955) adopted from (1965) *Kim Il-sung Selected Works*, vol. 1, pp. 251-272

2000: 64). In the new curricula, 40 hours (approximately 30 percent of all class time) were devoted to natural sciences and 57 hours (approximately 42 percent) to social sciences. In addition, math and physics textbooks for primary schools, as well as many textbooks for secondary schools were translated from the Soviet textbooks (Lankov, 2000: 64). Therefore, by 1949, North Korean students were able to learn advanced science and technology in their own language and 12 scholars who had made achievements in scientific fields were awarded bachelors and doctorate degrees in the Kim Il Sung University (Kim T. Y., 1949: 63, 65).

At the same time, educational methods were determined by the goals and contents defined in the curricula, the underlying assumption of which was “the objective historical progress of the world’s development toward communism”: both teachers and students were “to accept a view of history that is wholeheartedly committed to the objective truth found in the writings of Marx and Lenin” (Fishman and Martin, 1987: 173). The centralized control of the education system was also applied to the organization of curricula in a pattern similar to the Soviet system:

Curricula are almost uniform throughout the country; not only does the Soviet teacher have to work to a set scheme, but he has to go through a stipulated amount of subject-matter every term, month and week, and must keep to the approved methods of putting it across to his pupils. ‘Correct’ teaching techniques are therefore taught in the teacher training institutions, and are enforced in the school by ministerial regulation by the school director (who is expected to hear the teaching of every member of his staff regularly), and by inspectors from the Departments of Education (Grant, 1979: 104).

In fact, the extensive control of the curricula by the Soviet military was possible since the Soviet military government led the planning and management of publishing and translating textbooks and other reference books during the military regime. For example, a CIA report (1952: 43-20) stated that:

The Editorial Bureau, which is responsible for providing acceptable textbooks to all schools [...] directed all phases of the program, including final distribution. The actual work of translation and editing was left to competent professionals working under contract, but final review and approval of the manuscripts was always reserved to top-level bureau personnel.

Hence, although DPRK Labour Party and Department of Propaganda made proposals, it was the Soviet Communist Party which had to approve the publications and provided resources accordingly (Chõng, 1998: 137-138). For example, Colonel General Terenti Shtykov, who was the top representative of the Soviet Union to North Korea, stated in his diary that history textbooks were not North Korean. For example, the review of table of contents of the history textbooks, as described in his diaries, revealed that the majority of historical accounts reflected Soviet influence (Shtykov, 2004: 62-67). Not only did the Soviet officials take charge of planning and revising the purpose and contents of the history and politics textbooks but they also determined the titles of communist classics to be translated (Shtykov, 2004: 62-63). For example, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin's books were selected as 'priority titles': Lenin's *What Is to be Done? One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* and Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto* and Stalin's major works were ordered to be translated (Shtykov, 2004: 67).

Furthermore, Marxist-Leninist ideology was extensively discussed and inculcated to students throughout various subjects. The emphasis on ideological indoctrination throughout school curricula could be seen from the inclusion of stories about Stalin, Lenin and Kim Il Sung and narratives about Soviet military assistance for North Korean liberation in the Korean language textbooks for elementary schools (Kyoyuksõng, 1950: 10). Furthermore, teachers were ordered to clarify the ideological meaning behind each story and to explain the morals to students in order to provide the 'right' perspective (Kyoyuksõng, 1955a: 9). Ideological emphasis was especially pronounced in history. For example, for 1st to 3rd grade students, the goal of historical studies was to understand that the present communist society was achieved through class struggles of the workers against the capitalists (and/or the oppressors). For 4th to 6th grade students, systematic historical studies were provided, including theories about class relations (slaves vs. slave holders; peasants vs. landlords; workers vs. capitalists) and class struggles (peasants' riots and labour movements, revolutions) (Kyoyuksõng, 1955a: 101). This characteristic - the politicization of the entire curriculum - in North Korea shows a clear parallel with the Soviet case, as noted by Azrael (1972: 320, 323):

The major indoctrinational burden [in the Soviet Union] was carried, as one would anticipate, by the social sciences and humanities.... At the lower levels of the system primary reliance was placed upon agitation, with the main effort devoted to

inculcating the “spirit” of Bolshevism... At the upper levels of the educational system.. History was increasingly Party history, and more and more time was devoted to the contemporary period... Increasing attention was devoted to *cultivating* a “class point of view” and to training students to “unmask” and “expose” the “class essence of ideals”. [emphasis added]

Ideological education was often referred to as ‘cultivation’ (*Kyoyang*, in Korean), commonly used in phrases such as ‘cultivation of revolutionary traditions’ (*Hyŏg’myŏng chŏntong koyang*), and ‘cultivation of communist morals’ (*Kongsanjuŭi todŏk koyang*). However, here the term ‘cultivation’ - or *Kyoyang* – does not designate its literal meaning but refers to a translation of the Russian word *vospitanie*, which indicates political indoctrination as a main function and purpose of education (Pak Y. H., 1976: 164-165). For example, the pedagogy textbook for teachers’ colleges in North Korea stated that *Kyoyang* is the formation of communist behavioral disciplines and regulations and the development of physical, intellectual and cognitive abilities of students as a part of educational processes (*Kyoyuk pun’gwa chipp’il wiwŏnhoe*, 1961: 13). Thus, the *Kyoyang* education was highly accentuated in school curricula. For example, from the survey of teachers’ resumés and short autobiographies from 1945 to 1950, it was evident that in many North Korean schools a special position which was entitled *Kyoyang juim* (translated as a political indoctrination director) was created. Interestingly, these teachers had less experience in terms of teaching and pedagogy and many of them did not have college degrees. Most of them received pedagogical training, consisting of a 6-month political seminar course, and their main qualifications for the position were their involvements with local chapters of a national communist party. At the same time, their personal records were carefully screened in order to determine their ideological ‘purity’. For this purpose, previous involvements with capitalistic activities, travel experiences to Japan, the existence of any family members or relatives in South Korea and the level of possessions even by their parents were recorded and evaluated for selection (Teachers’ resumes and autobiographies in Kŭm-sŏng and Kŭmhwa Middle Schools, primary source acquired from US National Archives and Record Administration). From these records it could be inferred that for ideologically driven subjects, teachers were selected primarily for their political and ideological leanings and backgrounds. Those teachers were often dispatched by central government to individual schools, in order to ensure the tight ideological control even at a local level (*Kyowŏn Shinmun*, 20 June 1950).

In the process, the cultural hegemony of the Soviet Union was incorporated into North Korean textbooks. For example, the purpose of the 3rd reform of Korean language textbooks in 1949 was “to reflect the ideology of the Soviet Union and its leaders, Lenin and Stalin into the textbooks for peaceful unification of two Koreas” and the contents included the stories of Lenin’s student years, contributory and praise songs to Stalin, and stories showing admiration and gratitude to the Soviet military to liberate the Koreans from the Japanese (Sin, 2001: 62-63). Accordingly, even national (Korean) history was taught in relation to international revolutionary movements such as by making connections between the Bolshevik Revolution and communist movements in Korea and between the liberation of the Korean peninsula by the Soviet military and Kim Il Sung’s struggles against Japanese imperialists (Kyoyuksöng, 1955b: 12-13).

This pattern was repeated in the world history subject in North Korea. A pedagogy book for teachers stated that in teaching ancient history, teachers should emphasize the role of Russians. For example, struggles by Central Asian people against the Persian King Darius and the Macedonian Emperor Alexander were noted as important historical facts and teachers were encouraged to highlight this fact during their classes (Kyoyuksöng, 1955b: 5). In fact, the reading of the pedagogy book for North Korean teachers disclosed that the world history curriculum in North Korea followed the Marxist-Leninist understanding of world history in that modern world history was divided into two pivotal periods: first, bourgeois revolution (Marxist term for the English Revolution) in the mid-17th century when feudalism was overturned by capitalism, and, second, the Bolshevik Revolution in the early 20th century, when capitalism was overthrown by communism in the Soviet Union (Kyoyuksöng, 1955b: 2). Furthermore, in geography, countries were divided into two zones of communism and capitalism, and the economic and political systems of the two separate zones were explained in order to teach students about the inherent differences between the two systems and to instruct a didactic materialist worldview to students (Kyoyuksöng, 1955b: 5).

In a nutshell, the curricular changes during the Soviet and US military governments in the two Koreas clearly reflected the emphasis on the respective ideologies of the military governments. The Korean educational administrators and leaders, in line with the Soviet and US administrators, wanted to fill the ideological void, which had been created by liberation

from an authoritative Japanese colonization, with values and ideals of the new ideologies. This policy also matched the long-term strategies of the Soviet and US military to weaken the traditionalism and nationalism of Koreans and to establish the two states in Korea under their respective spheres of influences. As a result, in South Korea civics (or social studies) was created and introduced to the core curriculum during the US military government, making Korean pupils become favorable to the USA and accept an American-centered worldview, however, without careful evaluation of their relevance to the Korean context and tradition. In North Korea, a Marxist-Leninist philosophy and worldview were extensively incorporated into the curriculum, in subjects such as history, geography and languages, even dictating specific methods of teaching and learning.

In this respect, the educational transfers in the ‘linguistic, methodological levels’ that were made in the areas of curricular reforms essentially became “epistemological and theoretical...[providing] a new understanding of the world” (Clarke et al., 2015: 60). Since the Soviet and US military governments exhibited characteristics of ‘transitologies’ which involved not only the transfers but also translations and transformations of system and values, the curricular reforms were the key area in which both transfers of the textbooks and contents from the Soviet Union and the USA and the translation of the texts into Korean language tailored to the Korean context occurred. However, the transformative aspect of the curricular reforms can only be analyzed when the time element is incorporated, since the ideological level is the most surface layer in the transformation process of society initiated by external pressures (Fukuyama, 1995). The cultural level is the most difficult to change and thus ‘the culture of Korea’ at the time of division and ‘the cultures of the two Koreas’ over time need to be compared for this analysis (Fukuyama, 1995; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012b).

Teacher Training

South Korea

One of the most urgent problems in reforming education system in Korea when the US military government entered South Korea was the acute shortage of Korean teachers and educational administrators. The US military government reported that “the Koreans are faced

with problems for which they have had no adequate training, especially training directed for *democratic ends*” (Program of Educational Aid from America, 7 January 1946:2). For example, one middle school in Seoul had only eight teachers for eight hundred students. Such conditions were common in schools of all levels (History of the Occupation of Korea, 1960: 597). The dismissal of the Japanese teachers created many vacancies in schools: however, Korean teachers were reluctant to accept the vacancies since most were ill-paid positions. The US military government constantly stated the difficulties in recruiting Korean teachers due to insufficient salary. Reflecting the situation, Tonga Ilbo reported that the most serious issue in recruiting teachers was “rice” (*munjenŭn ssal iyo*), highlighting the problem of the insufficient salary offered to teachers at the time (Tonga Ilbo 24 November 1946).

In addition, existing teachers needed to get re-training since their pedagogy and perspectives were shaped by those of the Japanese colonial government “under the close supervision of Japanese inspectors” (Hyun, 1994: 11; Werth, 26 July 1948: 5). More importantly, traditional, authoritarian attitudes that characterized the relationship between teachers and pupils needed to be reconstructed. Under these circumstances, the US military government announced this policy for teacher training:

In order to prevent selection of pro-Japanese or otherwise unqualified Koreans, all appointments are first cleared through Army Intelligence. The problem of replacements has been given to the Korean Committee of Education (SCAP, Summation, No. 1, Sept-Oct. 1945: 194).

Following the proclamation, seminars to re-train teachers were first held during the winter of 1945 and, as a result, approximately 7,800 teachers, more than half of the Korean teachers at that time, were trained (Kim J. H., 1998: 10). The remarkable speed of the training was also indicated by the following report:

The Bureau of Education sponsored an Institute for secondary school teachers during the winter recess. Three hundred and fifty teachers from all provinces in South Korea attended a 10 day intensive course in Korean language, history, and civics (Summation No. 4, Jan. 1946: 291).

Short-term training was advocated as the most efficient way for teacher training by both Korean and US military educational administrators. According to the report of the Bureau of

Education, which was signed by Korean director, Yu Uck-kyum, and military director, Lieutenant Lockard, the quickest way to bridge the deficiencies was “for foreign experts to stand beside the Korean educators in the first year or two of the new Korea, ready to counsel, advise, demonstrate, analyze” (Program of Educational Aid from America, 7 January 1946: 2).

Furthermore, in order to meet the rapid expansion of primary schools, in 1946 six normal colleges were established across the nation (Munkyobu, 1958: 80). The shortage of teachers was more pronounced for secondary schools so the US military government, in accordance with Ordinance No. 102, created a teachers’ college as one of the colleges of Seoul National University (Hyun, 1994: 17). The following table indicates the increase in the number of teachers, students and schools in each level of schools during the US military government.

Table 8-4. The increase in the number of population in each school under the USAMGIK

School	Number	August 1945	October 1946	May 1947	1948
Elementary school	Number of schools	2,884	3,172	3,314	3,443
	Number of teachers	19,729	28,338	30,519	38,591
	Number of students	1,366,024	2,159,330	2,183,449	2,426,115
Middle school	Number of schools	97	344	385	380
	Number of teachers	1,810	4,899	111,924	7,933
	Number of students	50,343	111,924	159,950	287,512
High school	Number of schools	68	-	-	184
	Number of teachers	3,214	-	-	5,070
	Number of students	83,514	-	-	110,055
Higher Education Institute	Number of schools	19	24	24	31
	Number of teachers	1,490	949	1,075	1,265
	Number of students	7,819	10,315	13,485	24,000

Source: Ministry of Education, *A Survey of Statistic in the Ministry of Education*, 1963: 336-343.

As Table 8-4 demonstrates, the number of teachers for elementary schools doubled and for middle schools more than trebled, reflecting the rapid expansion of elementary and

middle schools during the period. In order to provide more teachers, teacher training programs were conducted mainly in three ways.

The first included seminars and lectures held by Korean educators across the country; the second was the invitation of American educational experts to Korea to train Korean teachers; and the third was the dispatch of Korean educators to the USA for training. Although most of the lectures and seminars were delivered by Korean educators, “in many cases these have been organized and carried on by the American advisors in special subjects and branches, and in almost all cases American advisors have participated in and often quietly guided the program” (SKIG Department of Education, 1947: 5). These seminars were held mostly during the summer and winter vacations in primary and middle schools, along with separate seminars held during class hours at teachers’ colleges. The teacher training courses also became more comprehensive. For example, discussions and lectures on Korean educational needs and programs were provided and subject specialization in chemistry, school administration, English, home economics, commercial education, music, physical education, vocational education and zoology for university-level courses was given. For the courses of study, college credit was given to those who satisfactorily completed the course (Summation No. 16, Jan. 1947:85).

The importance of these seminars lay in the “first-hand experience with democratic educational procedures” which Korean teachers were able to grasp through the seminars. This was important since the majority of Korean teachers at that time were infused with the authoritarian atmosphere and ideology nurtured from their experience during the Japanese colonial government (Hyun, 1994: 19; USAMGIK, 1949). For example, Minjukyoyuk yŏn’guhoe (the Democratic Education Association) initiated workshops to educate democratic education and the detailed curriculum for the workshop held on 8-10 November 1946 is described in the following table.

Table 8-5. Seminar on Democratic Education, 8-10 November 1946

Subject	Name	Affiliation
Theory on Korean Language Education	Cho Yun-je (Professor)	Seoul Nat’l University
Philosophy of Democratic Education	An Ho-sang (Professor)	Seoul Nat’l University
Theory on Educational	James E. Fisher	Education section, Wilson

Administration	(Ex-Chief.)	College
Practice of Democratic Education	Yi Ho-sǒng (Chief.)	Elementary Education Section
Theory of Democratic Education	Frank L. Eversull (Ex-Chief.)	Education Section, Univ. of Southern California
Theory of Social Studies Education	Sim Tae-jin (school manager)	Sǒngtong elementary school affiliated with Seoul Nat'l University
Theory of National Language Education in the USA	Anderson Paul (Military officer)	Department of Education
Criticism of Current Thoughts and Education	Hǒ Hyǒn	

Note: American lecturer was highlighted.

Source: Eiko Seki, 1986: 105.

As Table 8-5 shows, theoretical courses of democratic education were mainly taught by Americans and the aim of seminar was to cover various aspects of democratic education from philosophy and theory to practice. In addition to teaching the principles of democratic education, implanting anti-communist awareness was another important objective of teacher training, since the conflicts between left-wing and right-wing political factions were fierce at that time. In particular, the infiltration of communist ideology among college students was perceived as the most serious problem by the US military government. Korean advisors in the educational administration recommend that anti-communist education should be conducted in every class, including teacher training colleges (Son, 1992: 258). Through these efforts, by the end of the US military regime, approximately 30,000 teachers had been trained by these seminars (National Archives of Korea website).

Also, by bringing “to Korea a limited but carefully selected number of advisors to assist Koreans in various branches and in the methods and techniques,” the Educational and Informational Survey Mission to Korea, led by Professor Arndt of the State University of New York, visited Korea for 18 days in 1947 (SKIG Department of Education, 1947: 6). After the visit, the mission produced an extensive report which suggested the establishment of a teacher training institute in Korea for more intensive teacher training. As a result of the report, 340,000 dollars were invested from GARIOA (Government and Relief in Occupied Areas) aid, in addition to financial support from the military government in Korea, to build the Central Teacher Training Institute. The institute was situated in the campus of Seoul National University’s medical school and held 8-week long seminars twice in August and October

1948. 20 American professors, recruited nation-wide from the USA, were sent to Korea for the seminars. They taught pedagogy based on experiential learning and pragmatic educational philosophy to some 567 Korean educators who were selected by a committee of Korean advisors and US military administrators.

In March 1946 the Korean Educational Mission including several prominent Korean professors and education administrators visited the USA for three months, meeting and discussing with American counterparts for educational assistance and cooperation. 20 Korean students were selected by the US military government for training and education in US colleges in the areas of agriculture, engineering, medicine, media, public administration, law, and diplomacy (Han and Kim, 1990: 143). Through these missions, the US military government expected that the following influence would be made on Korean teachers and administrators:

They would then see democracy and a democratic educational system at work. For persons who have never been outside of a totalitarian country like Japan, the impact of such a trip is tremendous and these teachers on their return would have an influence throughout the community far wider than the schoolroom...Much has been made of the numbers of teachers from north of 38 who have been sent to Moscow for training. In addition to the educational benefits, the propaganda value for the United States would be very great indeed (SKIG Department of Education, 1947: 6).

As seen from this report, many teacher training programs organized by the US government included elements aiming to inculcate the concept of democracy and its applications to educational methods and theories. Pedagogy for new subjects such as civics (social studies) was introduced, based on the thoughts of Dewey's pragmatic educational philosophy. For example, during the three years of the US military regime in South Korea, Dr. O Chŏn-sŏk proactively introduced and explained Dewey's democratic education during the teacher training seminars for approximately 30,000 Korean teachers (Kim J. M., 1975: 80). Several schools offered experimental classes as showcases to demonstrate to Korean teachers how they can teach 'democratically' and in a 'student-centered' way (Ch'oe, 1949: Son, 2002: 29).

However, despite the extensive efforts by both American and Korean education administrators in the US military government, Korean teachers were slow to understand the newly introduced, progressive educational philosophy, nor prepared to adopt such principles

to their classrooms. To make things worse, most of the teachers at the time were under enormous pressure, as described by Chungang kyoyuk yŏn'guso (Central Education Research Institute) in the following:

Many teachers were de-motivated and in poverty. All they had in hands for teaching were a few memories from the seminars and lectures they were taught in the past and one pedagogy book which was 10 years old... Their salary was very low but they had to sustain their families with that bare salary... Most of teachers did not receive proper teacher training. Since many of these teachers did not specialize in the field they were supposed to teach, they sometimes made up specific contents or just read supplement materials they were provided with. They were very unfamiliar with such words as 'educational evaluation,' 'curricular structure,' and 'school planning.' Under this situation, some teachers began to miss the educational contents and authoritarian classroom environments of the Japanese colonial period. (Chungang kyoyuk yŏn'guso, 1961: 94-98) [My translation]

The criticisms became worse after the Korean War. According to the report produced by UNESCO-UNKRA, *Preliminary Report on Korean Education*, Korean teachers responded to the teacher training seminars with 'surprising apathy' (Lee, 2004: 57). Moreover, several Korean education leaders argued that technical assistance from the USA, which primarily focused on teaching US pedagogy and educational theories should be replaced with material assistance to schools and students. This stance was shared in the assessment of the Ministry of Reconstruction which criticized the Peabody College's technical assistance to Seoul National University, evaluating that the funding to sustain activities for teacher training precluded funding for economic reconstruction. For example, the teacher training seminars organized by Peabody College education missions were criticized for their use of 'luxurious facilities and utensils' such as microwaves and laundry machines used for their demonstration classes (Dodge, 1971; Lee, 2004: 58). In fact, throughout the 1950s, education was seriously underfunded in South Korea so the efficacy of US technical assistance as well as the activities of various US education missions was open to questions and doubts (Chungang kyoyuk yŏn'guso, 1961: 90). For example, the educational statistic published by Chungang kyoyuk yŏn'guso (Central Education Research Institute) (1962: 227) reported that, as of 1961, 42% of teachers at public middle and high schools did not receive any re-training for the past 5 years, and the number of the private school teachers with no training amounted to 60%, indicating that these teachers training seminars were geared towards mostly educational administrators such as

principles and vice-principles and excluded a large chunk of private school teachers (Lee, 2004: 60).

North Korea

As much as the teacher training was pursued with passion by the Korean education administrators and leaders in the US military government, the issue of training teachers and educational staff was one of the critical areas for reform for the Soviet military government in North Korea. The biggest obstacle faced by the Soviet military government in administering civilian affairs in local bureaux was the lack of appropriate staff who were Koreans. In order to re-start the schools as soon as possible, the Soviet military officials began to recruit and train teachers. Some teachers were directly selected from a pool of intellectuals who were engaged in other businesses, but the majority of them were recruited as long as they had secondary education. The following table summarizes the backgrounds of teachers in a province in North Korea.

Table 8-6. Backgrounds of teachers in North Hamgyŏng Province in 1949

Background	Number of Teachers	Percentage
Poor Peasant	169	58
Middle Peasant	88	30
Rich Peasant	6	2
White Collar Workers (Samuwŏn)	13	4.4
Workers	7	2.4
Petit Bourgeois	4	1.4
Other	3	1.0
Total	294	99.2

Source: Armstrong, 2003: 177

As Table 8-6 indicates, for middle and high school teachers from North Hamgyŏng Province in 1949, over 58 percent of teachers came from poor peasant families and about 90 percent were from peasant families. They were trained at the short-term teacher training institutes and sent to schools to teach immediately (Sin, 2003: 73-77). However, short-term teacher training programs were thought to produce low-caliber teachers, as the CIA report evaluated that fewer than 50 percent of primary and middle schools teachers and 40 percent of technical

school teachers met the actual graduation requirements (CIA, 1962: 43-2). However, for the North Korean government, the ideological control of teachers was a more urgent task since education in the North Korea was a product which was considered to be a means of achieving the objective of the party (Armstrong, 2003:176). For example, in Kim Il Sung's speech entitled "On Improving and Strengthening the Work of Teachers' Training College" at a Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea on 5 January 1948, the objective of teacher training was set as follows:

Political and ideological content and scientific accuracy must be fully guaranteed in education so that all students are thoroughly equipped with progressive thought and a wealth of scientific knowledge...Party organizations should intensify education to eliminate the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism lingering among teachers and to equip them with progressive, democratic thought. They should be brought to understand fully our Party's line, decisions and directives and informed of the internal and external situation in good time (Kim Il Sung Selected Works vol.4, 1983: 5-10). [emphasis added]

As indicated in the speech, the Party's educational objective was to train the younger generation, who could "serve the country and the people with devotion." Therefore, the key element in teacher training was to bring the Party's line of ideology to the next generation with "*political and ideological content and scientific accuracy*" (Kim Il Sung Selected Works vol.4, 1983: 5-10). For this purpose, while accepting candidates of low caliber, the government strengthened the screening procedure to check personal backgrounds not only for selecting new teachers but also promoting existing teachers to administrative roles. There is a discrepancy among different records about the level of rigor in screening personal background for teachers during the Soviet military regime as well as throughout 1950s. While the reading of the records of resumes and evaluations of teachers and staff at schools in Pyongyang revealed that from the onset of the Soviet military regime the personal backgrounds of teachers and staff were carefully recorded, the extent to which these records were actually used for selection and promotion of teachers augmented greatly during the 1960s after political and economic stability was secured in North Korea. Background screening intensified even more during the 1970s as Kim Jung-Il rose to power and began to tighten

ideological control of the party (Interview, Hyun).⁷⁴

Teachers were required to provide detailed information on their personal backgrounds including their place of birth, their own as well as their parents' jobs and amount of land they owned, records of participation in party activities (communist party as well as other parties), educational background, foreign travel experiences, foreign language ability, details about their family members, religion, and previous political activities. In particular, their political and professional activities had to be recorded by months, along with the places of residence at the time. Although teachers who had graduated from teachers' colleges, which were established or sanctioned by Japanese colonial government (e.g. Keijō Teachers' College), were not excluded from the teaching posts, their activities and personal traits were monitored and, based on external evaluations usually done by party members, their future status was determined (Teachers' resumes and autobiographies in Kŭm-sŏng and Kŭmhwa Middle Schools, primary source acquired from US National Archives and Record Administration).

For example, a principal of Kŭmsŏng Middle School was selected for the post based on his previous educational and professional experiences during the Japanese colonial era (Teachers' resumes and autobiographies in Kŭm-sŏng and Kŭmhwa Middle Schools, primary source acquired from US National Archives and Record Administration) but his evaluation report stated that he was not reliable "politically and ideologically" so he needed to receive further ideological training and administrative caution was sought to monitor his activities. On the other hand, a teacher in Kŭmbuk Middle School was recruited primarily for his involvement with communist party activities such as in a local chapter of the North Korea-Soviet Union Cultural Association, after graduating from a short-term teacher training institute. He was evaluated very positively for his family background (e.g. all of his immediate family members were farmers and some distant family members worked in offices) and the report recommended to use the 'strength' of his personal background to promote democratic education in the school and to promote him to a higher position at a later stage. As these examples show, loyalty to the party was stressed more than professional caliber in recruiting and promoting teachers. Furthermore, all the teachers were members of the Educational, Cultural, Public, Health, and Office Workers Trade Union, which was an

⁷⁴ This interview was held at a café in Seoul on 19 February 2014.

instrument “to control the teaching profession, among others, and to channel and clarify governmental directives pertinent to the educational field,” and most of the teachers were involved with the Labour Party and mass organizations activities (CIA, 1962: 43-24).

In order to complement their low qualifications, the North Korean government mandated teachers to take night and correspondence courses, which were again heavily loaded with ideological indoctrination. In order to fill the void created by the eradication of the Japanese colonial legacy, Soviet pedagogy was taught to North Korean teachers during the training and re-training seminars and the training produced far-reaching consequences in reframing North Korean education. In fact, “at primary and secondary school levels control is assured by the thorough training and indoctrination of teachers, who are compelled to take periodic retraining courses” (CIA, 1952: 43-22). In particular, the North Korean pedagogy clearly reflected the Soviet curricular characteristics in humanities and social sciences - “a carefully organized plan designed to synchronize substance and method with the maturation process as understood by Soviet educational psychologist” (Azrael, 1972: 320).

For example, the Teachers’ Guidelines, published in 1950 by the North Korean Ministry of Education clearly stated that the purpose of including stories of communist heroes in Korean language textbooks was to “inculcate the Soviet military goal of liberating North Korea, the Soviet Union internationalism, and to encourage nationalism and respect for Kim Il Sung” (Kyoyuksǒng, 1950: 10).⁷⁵ Furthermore, the manual for national [North Korean] history subject stated that it followed the decision of the Soviet Communist Central Committee on the history subject: “The most critical factor in teaching history to students is to consciously remind them of the most important historical phenomena, historical activists, and historical events, and to make the right chronological order in interpreting historical accounts” (Kyoyuksǒng, 1955b: 2). It is no wonder that around this time “pictures of Russian heroes appeared in Korean schools and students were exhorted to ‘learn from the Soviet Union.’...Famous Soviet pedagogues such as N. K. Krupskaya...and A.S. Makarenko were stressed in North Korean educational materials” (Reed, 1997: 168-169).

⁷⁵ Again, this storytelling method proved very similar to the Soviet pedagogy during the period: “[In the Soviet Union] Primary school readers were replete with tales of the careers of political leaders (above all Lenin and Stalin), valiant soldiers, famous scientists, and production heroes. Full identification was encouraged by including many “heroic” children.... Almost all the “biographies” of adults began with glimpses of the childhood years of their heroes” (Azrael, 1972: 321-322)

Reflecting the intensive ideological indoctrination that was required for North Korean teachers, the teacher training system of the Soviet Union was described and analyzed in great detail in various North Korean publications throughout late 1940s and 1950s (Lee, 1957; Pukhan kyoyuksŏng, 1956; Kyowon Shinmun, 1956). Pak (1949) provided a detailed observation of Soviet pedagogy, by sharing his experiences in the re-training seminars in Pyongyang and his subsequent study trip to the Soviet Union, through his book, *Ssoryŏn kyoyuk Kyŏnch'algi (My First-Hand Study of the Soviet Union Education)*. He attended seminars on pedagogy for middle school teachers during the winter vacation of 1946, learning about the basics of Leninism, dialectical materialism and historical materialism. He was selected as one of the few teachers who were given opportunities to study in the Soviet Union the following year. During the three months of his stay in the Soviet Union, he took classes in Russian language, laws and history of the Soviet Union, communist pedagogy, and oriental history in the Central Institute for Improvement of Teachers' Qualification in Moscow (Pak I. M., 1949: 1-2, 69). Furthermore, Kyowŏn Shinmun, a main government newspaper for teachers in North Korea, published articles describing the benefits and salaries of the teachers in the Soviet Union, as well as detailed descriptions of various seminars and correspondence courses to re-educate them (Kyowŏn Shinmun, 1950 January 5).

Furthermore, Lee (1957), in his report on Soviet education, drew lessons from Soviet experience during the 1930s in an attempt find how the problem of the lack of teachers in North Korea could be solved. He concluded that not only should the government expand and strengthen the teachers' colleges but it should also institute correspondence courses which could shorten the lecture time to 25-40 percent of ordinary courses. This report also included exhaustive details on the pedagogical methods, textbooks and structure for the correspondence courses (Lee, 1957: 174, 181-187). Although his report was published in 1957, it could be seen that these recommendations were already implemented in North Korea during the Soviet military regime. North Korea began to create many teacher's training centers and correspondence courses. For example, in 1946 training centers for primary and junior middle school teachers were instituted in the provincial capitals and in some counties, and Pyongyang Normal College created a separate faculty for correspondence courses, the duration of which was almost the same as regular courses (CIA, 1952: 43-22).

In the same report, Lee (1957) also proposed a monitoring system to improve

teachers' qualifications, again drawn from Soviet experiences. He recounted that in the Soviet Union, an educational cabinet was established in every designated district and the director of the cabinet held quarterly seminars to discuss pedagogy for primary and middle schools and to share advanced educational experiences. Based on this, he concluded that the same cabinet could be applied to North Korea to improve the caliber of teachers (Lee, 1957: 187-192). Again, these recommendations were already in place in the 1940s, as the minutes for cell meetings at middle schools in Pyongyang revealed. According to these sources, teachers were constantly monitored and chastised by fellow teachers and school administrators to improve their political involvement in the schools, to discipline their students better, and to manage their classes and school facilities effectively.

In conclusion, in both Soviet and US military government in Korea, the lack of teachers and educational staff was one of the greatest challenges faced by educational administrators in re-constructing the education systems in the two Koreas after liberation from Japanese colonization. Therefore, both short-term and long-term teachers' training programs and colleges were established by the military governments and successive North and South Korean governments in order to re-train the continuing teachers as well as to recruit and educate the new teachers. In both cases, reforming the educational contents and pedagogy based on the ideologies of the occupying powers was the key objective in implementing the programs. For this purpose, several educators from the Soviet Union and USA were invited to deliver seminars at the programs and many Korean teachers were given opportunities to visit the Soviet Union and the USA in order to strengthen further the ideological and educational ties between the two Koreas and the occupying powers. However, the degree of success in terms of Korean teachers' responses to new pedagogy and methods differed in North and South Korea, reflecting teacher-centered pedagogy and authoritarian school culture they had been used to from the previous experiences of colonization and traditional society.

Higher Education

South Korea

The sudden liberation from the Japanese resulted in inevitable chaos in higher education in South Korea since higher education was predominantly run by the Japanese. Under the Japanese rule, there were 19 higher educational institutions⁷⁶ in Korea with around 3,000 students and 900 professors in the whole country. The lack of capable Korean professors and the lack of finance to pay for professors were the biggest problems, as pointed out by the following US military document:

Low salaries for the teachers at Seoul National University [formerly, Keijō Imperial University] was the chief problem because many instructors resigned to take positions in the middle schools “where parent-teacher associations subsidize teachers’ salaries to an amount in some cases two and three times what is paid at the University” As a result, approximately 25 per cent of scheduled classes had to be closed due to the shortage of teachers (Summation No. 13, Oct. 1946: 77).

Although major assistance to restructure higher education in South Korea came after the Korean War, the US military government already began to reform higher education in South Korea upon their arrival in 1945.⁷⁷ The Summation of US military government activities recorded the preparation for re-opening of Keijō Imperial University as follows:

Preparations to reopen Seoul (formerly Keijō) University are being made. Japanese staff members have been relieved of their positions and a Korean staff under the acting presidency of an American officer has assumed control (SCAP, Summation, No. 2, Nov. 1945: 193).

As the document indicated, Japanese staff members were slowly dismissed and Korean staff members were re-organized in the University under the guidance of an American acting

⁷⁶ Higher educational institutions in Korea during this period included a university and colleges. A university consisted of various departments whereas colleges specialized in one field of studies such as medicine, agriculture, and theology.

⁷⁷ In Japan, the reform in higher education during the US military government worked in accordance with the 6-3-3-4 school system (Iiyama, 1998; Shibata, 2005). According to Article 5 of School Education Law stipulated on 31 March 1947, the university degree period became 4 years and, in the following year, 12 public and private higher education institutions were approved as universities in the new system (Iiyama, 1998: 192). Also, in April 1949, the military government decided that new post-graduate schools should involve a two-year masters and a five-year doctoral course (Shibata, 2005: 92). The higher education reform during the US military government marks the transition from the pre-existing German style to the current American style undergraduate and postgraduate system in Japan (Iiyama, 1998).

president. Along with Keijo University, the US military government also prepared to reopen other higher educational institutes carried over from the Japanese colonial period, including Suwŏn Agricultural College, Suwŏn Agricultural Experiment Station, Taegu Agricultural College, and Taegu Medical School (Summation, No. 2, Nov. 1945: 193). From American standpoint, higher education in South Korea seemed underdeveloped so, from early on, American advisors recommended their military governors “to retain and/or secure from abroad a considerable number of foreign advisors and that so far as possible these be given the means and authority to not only advise and teach but to actually carry out such reforms and changes in methods as may be approved by the Department of Education” (Joint Commission Decision No. 6, 1947: 3).

The first ordinance related to higher education was Ordinance No. 15 through which Major General, Archibald V. Arnold, who served as Military Governor under Hodge, proposed that the name of Keijō Imperial University should be “hereby, changed to Seoul National University.” The Bureau of Education in the USAMGIK, with the guidance of Korean educators, such as Yu Ŏk-kyŏm and O Ch’ŏn-sŏk, announced its plan to merge Keijō University and other professional schools into Seoul National University. On 22 August 1946, the US Military government promulgated Ordinance No. 102, entitled “Establishment of Seoul National University” or the so-called “*Guktae’an*.” According to Ordinance No. 102, the purpose of the establishing Seoul National University was “to provide for and make available to the people of Korea improved facilities for higher education,” so that “the youth of Korea may take advantage of the benefits and opportunities accruing there from, for the betterment of themselves as individuals and the Korean people as a nation in a modern society.” The plan was to merge ten colleges - Law, Agriculture and Forestry, Commerce, Dentistry, Education, Engineering, Fine Arts, Liberal Arts and Sciences, and Medicine, the School of Nursing and Nursing Education - into a single university, Seoul National University. For this purpose, a US army colonel, Harry B. Ansted, was appointed to be the chancellor of the merged Seoul National University (HUSAFIK, 1948: 81-82).

However, the plan to merge ten colleges into Seoul National University was strongly opposed by students and faculty members of the colleges, who demanded the abolition of the Seoul National University plan through various protests and strikes. According to the extreme leftist press, such as *Chosŏn Inminbo*, 90 percent of the students and faculty members were

against the plan (HUSAFIK, 1948: 128-138) for the following reasons: the plan was undemocratic; the technical merge was bureaucratic; the plan of merging faculty members and facilities was unrealistic; and the plan should be discussed after the founding of the Republic of Korea (Seoul Sinmun, 1 December 1946; Ch'oe, 1990:181). Moreover, protestors argued that “the president of the university and members of the Board of Regents should be replaced with “capable Koreans” instead of the Americans (HUSAFIK, 1948:130). Consequently, students protested against the plan by refusing to register for school in early September 1946 (Ch'oe, 1990: 180-181). The US military government estimated that “concern of students over resignations and dismissals of left-wing professors” was the key driving force behind the protests and that 10 percent of communists in Korea utilized the plan as a means of political campaign or agitation against its government (HUSAFIK, 1948: 128-138). Hodge’s secret report to SCAP (Supreme Commander of Allied Powers) illustrated the protests as follows:

On the 9th registration of students for Seoul National University, whose establishment 22 August was opposed by many quarters both right and left, began. Prospective students picketed the University and dissuaded all but 93 from registering. In addition, 226 members of the faculty threatened to resign but failed to carry out their threat when they were informed that their resignations would be accepted. On the 11th registration was resumed and further riots ensued. (There is definite evidence that this opposition was communist inspired.) However, by the 14th opposition to registration dissipated and 5000 students registered, 500 more than the combined registration of the component nice colleges last year (SCAP, 25 September 1946).

The US military government estimated opposition to the plan was driven by political motives. As a result, at the deans’ meeting, it was agreed to expel “all known trouble makers” in the university and to automatically drop those who failed to register from the rolls of the University (Weekly Summary, September 1948: 5). As a result of the strike and the refusal to register, about 4,956 students of 8,040 in nine colleges were expelled and 380 faculty members of 429 were dismissed (Yi. 1990:125). By early 1947, Seoul National University was “turned over to an all-Korean board of Regents and the board selected the Korean president for the University” (Underwood, 1947:5). In the process, many of the left-wing faculty members were excluded from the establishment of Seoul National University and a significant number actually left for North Korea to join the faculty at Kim Il Sung University. The re-structuring of Seoul National University exhibited the non-rational, non-linear

characteristics of policy transfers in that the reform was politically sensitive, fraught with “unintended consequences”, “unexpected failures of original policy objectives” and driven by “complex and contradictory entities” that in turn promoted certain policies that “work to enact or advance some social interests despite their technocratic neutrality” (Clarke et al., 2015: 33).

The US military government officials also gathered the presidents and deans of other higher educational institutions and organized the Korean Association of Colleges and Universities in 1947. Through this association, they encouraged the Korean higher education leaders to implement curricula in the American style, such as by modeling the course titles and courses of study on the American system (Lee, 1989: 101, 102).⁷⁸The following table summarizes the percentage increase of higher educational institutes, faculty members and students from 1945 to 1947.

Table 8-7. Progress in Higher Education (May 1945 to September 1947)

	HEIs	Teachers	students
Before liberation as of 31 May 1945	19	261	3,039
After liberation as of 31 December 1945	21	753	7,110
% increased as compared to before liberation	111	289	234
As of 30 September 1946	21	977	15,317
% increased as compared to before liberation	111	374	537
As of 30 September 1947	26	1,938	19,241
% increased as compared to before liberation	137	743	633

Source: Bureau of Research and Special Subjects, Department of Education; re-quoted from South Korea Interim Government Activities (April 1948:191).

As Table 8-7 indicates, the number of higher educational institutes doubled every year and the number of faculty members and students continuously increased accordingly. The article, titled “not only you but also I can establish colleges” in *Donga-Ilbo*, reported that this rapid and, somewhat excessive increase in the establishment of higher educational institutions was

⁷⁸ However, as illustrated in Chapter 3, it is important to note that American-style curricula were already existent even before the coming of the US military government since many of private, Christian colleges, such as Yonhee and Ewha were run by American missionaries during the Japanese colonial period. So, the external pressures to reform were in line with the continuing efforts by American and Korean educators to reform their own colleges throughout the colonial period.

enabled by the investment of Korean land-owners (3 December 1946). Lee K. H. (1990: 66) argues that the Korean land-owners' primary motivation for investing their money in higher educational institutions was their fear of upcoming land reform. Land reform was already being conducted in North Korea at the time, and they feared the same reform to happen in South Korea. Thus, these land-owners divested their property into educational foundations. This was also illustrated in the remark of Yoo Eok-gyŏm, the then Minister of Education:

Landowners, by investing their own resources, try to establish *our* higher educational institutions with *our own hands*, how can the government thwart their enthusiasm? The beginning is half the work done so if we allow them, since they are educational entrepreneurs, they will manage the institutions *conscientiously* (Han'gukkyoyukshimnyŏnsa P'yŏnch'anwiwŏnhoe, 1960: 94). [Emphasis added]

However, as shown in the above quote, the approach taken by the Ministry of Education towards the establishment and management of higher education institutions is, at best, *laissez-faire* (Lee K. H., 1990: 66). This brought unexpected problems in Korean education in later years, as will be discussed later in this section.

In addition to the growth in the number of higher educational institutes, the most salient change in higher education during the US military regime was the training of highly skilled technical workers through the institutes. There was a significant lack of this type of skilled workers since the Japanese did not allow Koreans to obtain technical skills during the colonial period. Therefore, the US military government provided American consultants who helped establish departments in colleges such as engineering, agriculture, medicine, civil administration, education to train the skilled professionals (Lee, 1989: 102). The following table summarizes the college level institutes in South Korea by the end of the US military regime.

Table 8-8. Higher educational institutions in South Korea, 1948

Name	Province	Support	Founding date	(Original) Founding date ⁷⁹
Seoul National University (Keijo Imperial University)	Kyōnggi do	National	1946.7.13	1926.4.1
Yonsei University (Yonhee College)	Kyōnggi do	Private	1945.11.20	1917.4.7
Koryō University (Posōng College)	Kyōnggi do	Private	1945.10.5	1905.5.5
Ewha Women's University (Ewha College)	Kyōnggi do	Private	1945.10.22	1925.4.24
Tongguk University (Hewha College)	Kyōnggi do	Private	1945.11.24	1940.06.19
Sōnggyunkwan University ⁸⁰	Kyōnggi do	Private	1946.9.25	
Severance Union Medical College	Kyōnggi do	Private	1945.9.28	1899. 4
Seoul Women's Medical College	Kyōnggi do	Private	1945.10.19	
Seoul Pharmaceutical College	Kyōnggi do	Private	1945.10.13	
Sukmyōng Women's College	Kyōnggi do	Private	1945.10.5	1938. 5. 12
Chungang Women's College or Central Women's College	Kyōnggi do	Private	1945.10.1	
Seoul Catholic College	Kyōnggi do	Private	1947.4.30	
People's Higher Institute	Kyōnggi do	Private	-	
Kukhak College or National Literature College	Kyōnggi do	Private	1947.11	

⁷⁹ The original founding date indicates the date when the private colleges were originally established (except Keijo Imperial University which was the only public one during the colonial period) before 1945, and the founding date indicates the date when it was recognized and granted the status of degree-awarding higher education institution by the US military government. However, some of the colleges in the table were established during the US military regime, and, in this case, the original founding date is left blank.

⁸⁰ Sōnggyunkwan University is a unique case among the colleges listed in the table since it was established as the only higher education institute by the first King of Chosōn Dynasty more than six hundred years ago (Sōnggyunkwan University Website). Thus, although it was recognized as a 'modern' university by the US military government, its history spans from Chosōn Dynasty, Japanese colonial period, up to the present.

Hanyang Technical Institute	Kyōnggi do	Private	1947.	
Seoul Theological Seminary	Kyōnggi do	Private	1945.11.20	
Methodist Theological Seminary	Kyōnggi do	Private	1935.4.5	
Chosen Theological Seminary	Kyōnggi do	Private	1947.7	
Han'guk Institute	Kyōnggi do	Private	1947.10.22	
Tan'guk college	Kyōnggi do	Private	1947.11.1	
Ch'ōngju commercial college	Ch'ungch'ōng Pukto	Private	1947.6.6	
Taegu College of Medicine	Kyōngsang Pukto	Provincial	1945.11.23	1933. 3
Taegu Agricultural College	Kyōngsang Pukto	National	1946.9	
Taegu Education College	Kyōngsang Pukto	National	1946.9	1923. 4
Taegu College of Liberal Arts & Science	Kyōngsang Pukto	Private	1947.9.22	
Pusan College of Fisheries	Kyōngsang Namdo	National	1945.12.1	1941.3.28
Pusan Liberal Arts and Science College	Kyōngsang Namdo	National	1946.5	
Kwangju Medical College	Cholla Namdo	Provincial	1945.11.1	1944.3.31
Ch'unch'ōn College of Agriculture	Kangwon do	Provincial	1947.6.14	
Iri Agricultural College	Cholla Pukto	Provincial	1947.10.15	

Source: adopted and modified from *Statics Concerning Education of Koreans in the United State since September 1945*, 2 March 1948: 10. (Original founding dates are cited from the websites of the universities.)

As Table 8-8 indicates, alongside liberal arts colleges, technical colleges, agricultural colleges, medical colleges and theological colleges were established. In addition, 11 police academies, 1 national police specialized school, Chosŏn Military Academy, Naval Academy, and Chosŏn Shipping School were also established during this period (Tonga Ilbo, 16 December 1947). Many of these colleges had been established before the US military government by Christian missionaries and Korean leaders. However, most of them were not recognized as degree-awarding higher educational institutions during the Japanese colonial period due to the government's segregation policy (Kim S. H., 1990; Kim T., 2001). After the liberation from Japan, many of these private colleges were recognized as universities or colleges by the newly established US military government. Although many of the policy documents did not make

explicit the connections between the Christian colleges and the Korean administrators in the US military government, the analysis of their educational and religious backgrounds indicates that prominent Korean education administrators and leaders during the US military government, such as O Chŏn-sŏk and Kim Hwal-lan, taught at these colleges (Han, 1986; Kim, S. H., 1990; Han and Kim, 2001).

In this respect, these Christian Korean administrators became ‘in-between’ actors who played the role of bridging between the US military authorities and the Korean educators, contributing to the educational reforms and the localization of policies that were transferred from the USA (Gardinier, 2015). It was possible since these Korean administrators were able to translate the rationale behind the imported policies and to predict the impacts that would be made to the Korean society as a result of the reforms (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012a). The active roles displayed by these Korean administrators were possible since their interests and beliefs matched the ideological motivation of the US military government to expand and ensure their influence among Korean elites in the long-run. Furthermore, the expansion of higher education institutions was pursued with this goal around this period (Lee K. H., 1990). This was also evidenced by the fact that the US aid to Korean education focused on the higher educational sector. For example, aid for HEIs was 2.6 times more than aid for elementary schools and 79 percent of HEI aid was invested in Seoul National University alone. (Han and Kim, 1990)

Furthermore, several Korean students were given opportunities to study in the US by the US military government. The following table summarizes the backgrounds of students who went to study in the US in 1948 according to the subjects of study.

Table 8-9. Statistical table on South Korean students in United States in 1948

Subject of study	Range of ages (M-Male/F-Female)	Total number of students (M/F)	Average ages total students
Theology	20-43(M)/22-37(F)	22 (16/6)	30.5
General College (undergraduate)	17-29(M)/18-34(F)	17 (9/8)	23.1
Medicine and pre-medicine	19-40(M)/28,36(F)	15 (13/2)	30.9
High school	15-31(M)/13-29(F)	12 (8/4)	19.6
Music	28(M)/18-40(F)	10 (1/9)	26.5
Political science	21-28(M)/None(F)	9 (9/None)	25.0
Education	21-52(M)/21-44(F)	8 (3/5)	30.6
Nursing	None/20-46(F)	5 (None/5)	31.8

Engineering	19-27(M)/None(F)	4 (4/None)	21.8
English literature	45(M)/23,32(F)	3 (1/2))	33.3
Agriculture	22,27(M)/None(F)	2 (2/None)	24.5
Business	28,38(M)/None(F)	2 (2/None)	33.0
Chemistry	30(M)/21(F)	2 (1/1)	25.5
Economics	19,20(M)/None(F)	2 (2/None)	19.5
Sociology	26(M)/21(F)	2 (1/1)	23.5
Veterinary Medicine	21,22(M)/None(F)	2 (2/None)	21.5
Biology	49(M)/None(F)	1 (1/None)	49.0
Dietetics	None(M)/35(F)	1 (None/1)	35.0
Law	29(M)/None(F)	1 (1/None)	29.0
Mining	28(M)/None(F)	1 (1/None)	28.0
Physics	25(M)/None(F)	1 (1/None)	25.0
Physiology	24(M)/None(F)	1 (1/None)	24.0
Total	Avg. 27.2 (17- 43, M) / 13-46)/Avg. 26.6(13-46,F)	123	27.0

Note 1: The specific subject categories include both graduate and undergraduate students who indicated intention to pursue the course of studies in the field. Those undergraduates who stated no preference are listed under "General College".

Note 2: 22 of the 123 students were permitted to go to the United States only after arrangements had been made for them to study English there in a special course. Many other students evidenced only marginal abilities in English. Few were really adequate, and those few were largely post-graduates.

Source: adopted and modified from *Statistics Concerning Education of Koreans in the United State since September 1945*, 2 March 1948:5.

As Table 8-9 shows, the top three subjects which Korean students studied in the USA in 1948 were theology (22 students, 18 percent), medicine (15 students, 12 percent), and music (10 students, 8 percent). It worth noting that undergraduates (17 students, 14 percent) and high school students (12 students, 10 percent) were also sent to the United States. Although the number of students who went to study in the United States was not large, the US influences on Korean higher education began to be felt around this period through the technical assistance the American educators gave to Korean colleges especially in terms of science and technology majors as well as the exclusive membership to pro-American academics in the Seoul National University and the Korean Association of Colleges and Universities during the US military regime.

However, the reforms in HEIs that had been conducted during the US military government resulted in unexpected side-effects in the school system (Lee K. H., 1990). Since the number of HEIs increased without a careful control of the government, especially in accordance with the increase in the number of middle and high schools and the economic and

industrial demands of the time, many middle and high school graduates chose to enter colleges because they found no available jobs after graduation. According to a survey that was conducted in early 1950s, of 1,500 students at a vocational school, 64 percent expressed their hopes to enter colleges and 36 percent to work after graduation (Lee K. H., 1990: 167). The expansion of HEIs ironically resulted in the weakening of the vocational education sector as those graduates of vocational schools chose to enter colleges upon their graduation. Also, the vocational schools began to follow the curricula of academic schools for college entrance examination (Lee K. H., 1990: 149). This trend also intensified the excessive emphasis on schooling and education as a means for college entrance, a tradition which had been nurtured throughout the Confucian and Japanese colonial education systems in Korea.

North Korea

In North Korea, the first and foremost important project in higher education was to train a national cadre⁸¹ (*Minjok kanpu*) in various sectors. In fact, before the Soviet military entered into the northern part of the Korean peninsula, there was not a single university – at least in a modern, Western sense - that existed in North Korea except a few specialized technical colleges. The urgency of establishing cadre schools was derived from Kim Il Sung’s belief that “if we have about five hundred trained cadres, then we can dispatch one hundred to each of the five provinces to solve the shortage problem. But we do not have such trained cadres” (Kim, 2006: 59). Consequently, immediately after the liberation, various cadre training schools began to be established and the People’s Temporary Committee of North Korea (*Puk Chosŏn Imsi Inmin Wiwŏnhoe*) to manage the progress was formed on February 1946. The following table summarizes the cadre training schools, which were established during the Soviet military regime according to different sectors.

⁸¹ Cadres or *Kanpu* in Korean referred to the elites in the communist Party who acted as agents to spread the communist ideology and the Party’s policy line to the general public in North Korea (Kim, S. C., 1997: 6).

Table 8-10. Cadre (officer or *kanpu*) training schools in main sectors in 1948

Sector	Main cadre training schools
Industry	Central Industry Cadre Training School, Provincial High Technology Training School
Agriculture	Central Agricultural Technician Training School, Central Livestock Technician Training School, Hwanghae High Sericulture Technician Training School, Central Meteorological Technician Training School, Haenam, Hampuk, Kangwŏn, P'yŏngbuk Agricultural Technician Training School
Transportation	Central Railroad Technician Training School, Hamhŭng Railroad Technician Training School, Wŏnsan Maritime Cadre School, P'yŏngyang Automobile Technician Training School
Postal service	Central Postal Service Technician Training School, Provincial Postal Service Technician Training School
Commercial	Central Commercial Cadre Training School, Hamhŭng, Ch'ŏngjin, Sinŭiju Commercial Cadre Training School, Commercial Cadre School affiliated with Ryonggang Economic Special School
Finance	Central Accounting School, Central Banking Cadre Training School

Source: Chosŏn chungang t'ongsinsa (1949) *Chosŏn chungang yŏngam*, p. 131; Chosŏn chungang t'ongsinsa (1950) *Chosŏn chungang yŏngam*, p. 350.

As Table 8-10 shows, by 1948 various cadre training schools were established to train cadres in sectors such as industry, agriculture, transportation, postal service, commercial, and finance. Students, who were mainly selected from the families of workers, peasants, and other labor backgrounds by each of the People's Committees, were trained in these schools from three months to two years (*Chosŏn chungang yŏngam*, 1949: 130-131). In addition, in order to train high-ranking cadres, the Central School for High-Ranking Cadre (*Chungang kogŭp chito kanpu hakkyo*) was opened with the sanction of the Soviet Central Committee. The curriculum was organized by instructors dominated by Soviet-Koreans and the school was managed under the supervision of Soviet officers. Thus, the influence of the Soviet Union was great in producing elites and policy makers even from the initial stage of higher educational development (Kim, December 1997: 215-217).

With the establishment of the cadre training schools, the first university in North Korea, Kim Il Sung University, was built in Pyongyang. This was the first university established in North Korea, incorporating seven departments (mathematics, literature, law, engineering, agriculture, medicine, transportation) with 70 faculty members and 1,500 students (Chŏng, 1984: 37). In the same year, two teachers' colleges in Pyongyang and

Ch'ongjin, and one medical college in Hamhŭng were established (Ch'ong, 1984: 39). The majority of college and university students were educated on state scholarships and, by September 1948, the number of state scholarship recipients reached over 160,000 (Kim, 1949: 66).

By 1949, fourteen colleges were established in North Korea including two engineering colleges, one agricultural college, three medical colleges, one normal college, three teachers' colleges, and two arts colleges (Jung, 1984: 40-41). Furthermore, the significant Soviet influence on North Korean higher education were featured in the North Korean statistics which claimed that, by 1949, 15 colleges was created and some 130,000 students were educated in those colleges⁸² (Lee, 2012: Lankov, 2000: 65). These colleges were created under the slogan, "intellectualization of all people," in order to expand educational opportunities to all people regardless of their economic status, gender, and class (Lee, 2012: 478). The following table summarizes the college-level institutions in North Korea by 1949.

Table 8-11. College level schools in North Korea, 1949

Type	Name	City	Founding date
University	Kim Il Sung University	P'yŏngyang	1946.10.1
Technical college	P'yŏngyang Techincal college	P'yŏngyang	1948.9.27
	Ūngnam Technical college	Hŭngnam	1947.9.15
Agricultural college	Wŏnsan Agricultural college	Wŏnsan	1948.9.1
Medical college	P'yŏngyang medical college	P'yŏngyang	1948.9.28
	Hamhŭng medical college	Hamhŭng	1946.10.15
	Ch'ŏngjin medical college	Ch'ŏngjin	1948.9.1
Teacher's college	P'yŏngyang Teacher's college	P'yŏngyang	1946.10.1
	Ch'ŏngjin Teacher's college	Ch'ŏngjin	1946.10.1
	Sinŭiji Teacher's college	Sinŭiju	1947.10.10
	Haeju Teacher's college	Haeju	1948.10.5
	Wŏnsan Teacher's college	Wŏnsan	1949.10.15
Foreign language college	P'yŏngyang Russian Language college	P'yŏngyang	1949.11.5
Art college	National school of music	P'yŏngyang	1949.3.1
	National school of arts	P'yŏngyang	1949.9.16

Note: adopted and modified by the author.

Source: Chosŏn Chungang t'ongsinsa, *Chosŏng Chungang nyŏngam*, 1950:348

⁸² Since these colleges included 2-year community college-type institutes as well as correspondence institutes, the quality of education offered in these newly established colleges was questionable.

As Table 8-11 shows, technical colleges, medical colleges, teachers' colleges, and an agricultural college were established during the Soviet military regime. In tracing the development of higher education from 1945 to 1950, the then academic director of Kim Il Sung University concluded that the establishment of a democratic educational system in North Korea, including science and technology education, universal primary education and higher education, was possible due to the assistance from the Soviet Union. In particular, he pointed out the fact that the Soviet Union gave comprehensive guidance to establishing higher education system to North Korean educators who had no experience of managing higher educational institutes. He noted that the introduction of advanced theories in science and technology was helpful to enhance professors' skills and knowledge (Kyowŏn Shinmun, 10 August 1950). For example, the Soviet military officials in North Korea sought help from Moscow to provide technical and financial assistance for the establishment and management of Kim Il Sung University: even down to the details such as the kinds of literature that were to be sent to the university and the development of lecture programs for Korean lecturers (Shytykov, 2004: 53, 55, 160). Also, most of the equipments in Kim Il Sung University, Pyongyang Medical College, Kim Ch'aek Industrial College were provided by the Soviet Union (CIA, 1962: 32-14).⁸³

Furthermore, from 1948 to 1950, thirty Soviet scholars – mostly ethnic Koreans - were dispatched to North Korea in order to assist the establishment of Kim Il Sung University, the first university in North Korea. Most of them were given responsibilities to organize programs according to their specialties (Shytykov, 2004: 160). The most notable person was Professor Pak Il, the Soviet Korean scholar who became the vice-president of the Kim Il Sung University and laid the framework for establishing the higher education system in North Korea during his stay (Yoon, 2008: 68). Pak testified that there was great pressure from the Soviet military officers to align the curricula of the university with Soviet interests and communist ideology and his activities were constantly monitored by the military authorities. Since he refused to follow the order by incorporating nationalistic (Koreans') perspectives

⁸³ However, the Soviet Union was not the sole provider for equipment and facilities at higher educational institutions in North Korea. Sariwon Normal College was built out of assistance from China, Hamhŭng Medical College by Eastern Germany and Wŏnsan Agriculture College by Poland (CIA, 1962: 43-14).

into the history curriculum, he was fired from the position and sent back to the Soviet Union (Interview, Pak).⁸⁴ A significant number of North Korean scholars and professors were also sent to the Soviet Union for education and training. The following table summarizes the number of North Korean students sent to study in the Soviet Union and other communist countries from 1946 to 1957.

Table 8-12. North Korean students in the Soviet and Soviet-aligned countries

Year	Students	Others
1946 (46/47)	Soviet- Higher educational institute (230) Total number (299)	Observation mission team (30)
1947	Soviet- undergraduate (120), post-graduate (20)	-
1948	Soviet (60)	-
1949	Soviet- undergraduate (60), postgraduate (20)	
1950	Soviet (165)	
1951	Soviet (129)	
1952	Soviet (262)	
1953	Soviet- special school (250), undergraduate (200), postgraduate (60) / Poland- higher educational institute (130) /Czechoslovakia- special school (200), higher educational institute (200)	Soviet- training in Arts for one year (11), science experts for three months (25), industrial training (414), Democratic Youth League (30) /China- Democratic Youth League (75)/ Poland- War orphans (1,000)Romania- War orphans (1,500) and (additionally 220) /Czechoslovakia- war orphans (700)
1954	Soviet- undergraduate (80), postgraduate (20)	Soviet- Agricultural experts training for eight months (65), vocational training for six months (10), highest institute in the Soviet Communist party (25), the Soviet Communist Youth League, central party school for one year (15), Democratic Youth League for one month (12-15) /Poland-professional technician, engineers, workers (100)
1955	Soviet-higher educational institute (40),	Soviet- worker training (4), Soviet

⁸⁴ Referred to from Kim, K.S. et al. (김기석 외) (2011) *Haeoe sojaj Pukhan kyoyuk kwallyŏn charyo kuch'uk kwa hwallyong* (해외 소재 북한 교육관련 자료 DB 구축과 활용 *Establishment of Database of North Korean Resources Abroad and Their Applications*). Seoul: Sŏultae t'ong'il p'yŏn ghwa yŏn'guwŏn

	Foreign relations university (5)	construction training (20)
1956	Soviet- North Korean the USSR Academy of Social Sciences (5), National academy of Science (10)	Soviet- training in the Ministry of Domestic affairs (23), party project training for two months (20), observation team for educational institute for one month (5)
1957	Soviet: undergraduate (38), post-graduate (37)/special school (2)/ music school (2)/ China-several thousand students and orphans/Poland (445)/East Germany(380)/ Czechoslovakia (500)/ Hungary (20)/ Rumania (270)/ Bulgaria (140)/ Albania (5)	

Source: adopted and modified from Sin, H. S. (2000) Pukhan sahoe ūi pyōnhwa wa kodŭng in'nyōk ūi yangsōng kwa chaep'yōn, 1945-1960 (Changes in North Korea and training and re-formation of skilled workers). *Hyōndaee Pukhan yōn'gu (Studies on Contemporary North Korea)*, 8(2), pp. 58-59

As Table 8-12 shows, the number of North Korean students who studied in the Soviet Union from 1946 to 1948 reached 479. The number of North Korean students (479) in the Soviet Union was greater than the number of South Korean students (123) in the USA around the period. The primary destination to which North Korean students were sent to study abroad was the Soviet Union until 1952. However, after the Korean war, a large number of North Koreans, including orphans, were also sent to other Soviet-aligned countries, such as Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. Many of the North Korean students who studied in the Soviet Union majored in science and technology since technical workers were in great demand during the Soviet military regime as well as afterwards, especially for the reconstruction after the Korean War. They assumed important positions in government at least until the 1960s, when Kim Il Sung conducted a series of political purges on Soviet-trained officials and scholars who conspired a counter-revolution against his leadership (Interview, Chang).⁸⁵

In summary, in the field of higher education, the reforms during the US military regime in South Korea were largely conducted by short-term visits of American educators. In particular, left-wing academics and students were excluded through the reform of Seoul National University, and a college association that was newly established by the US military government introduced democratic ideals and methods of education to South Korean higher

⁸⁵ This interview was held at the interviewee's house in Seoul on 27 March 2014.

educational institutions. Educational assistance from the USA greatly expanded after the Korean War, enabling the full-scale adoption of US educational ideas, systems and policies, especially in the field of higher education. This was done by long-term stays of American educators and technicians from established American institutions as well as by increasing numbers of South Korean students studying and training in the USA. The result was a durable cooperation between American advisors and Korean educators in structuring the South Korean higher educational system mainly based on the American model throughout the decades to come (Lee, 2004: 49). In North Korea, the initial reforms in higher education were conducted in terms of the extensive establishment of cadre schools to produce and train communist officers for the Party. In addition, the Soviet assistance in terms of personnel and equipments was critical to the establishment of Kim Il Sung University, the only university in North Korea at that time, and of technical colleges during the Soviet military regime. In particular, these higher educational institutions and the opportunities to study abroad in the Soviet Union proved pivotal in providing the technical workers who were in great demand to North Korea at that time, and also in inculcating the communist ideology to North Korean students who mostly became high-ranking officers of the North Korean government.

Conclusion

The Soviet and US military regimes in Korea marked a prelude to the increasing influence of Soviet and US education on the development of the education systems in the two Koreas for the decades to come. In particular, the Soviet and the US influence on the Korean education systems was the most salient in terms of their ideological influence on the education systems, in accordance with their long-term strategic interests in the region. In South Korea, Dewey's educational philosophy was introduced and promoted by both American and Korean policy-makers, and in North Korea a socialist-communist educational philosophy was promoted by both Soviet and Korean policy-makers. They reformed the education systems in accordance with the respective ideologies and philosophies in the areas of adult education, school system, educational administration, curriculum, teacher training and higher education among others. Accordingly, the implantation of the respective ideologies affected the process to implement the educational reforms in the two Koreas, and enabled

policy-makers in both Soviet and US military governments “to frame the action in particular ways: first, the making of a decision, then its implementation – and ideally, evaluation to ascertain that the intentions of decision-makers have been accomplished” (Colebatch, 1997: 55).

However, the trajectory as to how the educational reforms were localized in North and South Korea diverged, as noted by different scholars and commentators. In particular, the localization process of educational policy transfer in the two Koreas was affected by the authoritarian legacy of previous era, which had been nurtured throughout the Confucian Chosŏn Dynasty and the Japanese colonial period. This is in line with Schwinn’s (2012) critique that emphasized the importance of the social and cultural heritage of countries and societies in shaping and influencing the forms of modern institutions as well as the lifestyles of actors within the societies in the process of policy transfer. In particular, the forms and functions of the education institutions and systems in the two Koreas that were created as a result of policy transfer from the Soviet Union and the USA should undergo ‘transformative’ process of implementation and localization in accordance with the cultural norms and values of Korea. The epistemological foundation of Korea (i.e. dominant worldview) that defines its cultural and national identity was formed throughout 600 years of Confucian Chosŏn Dynasty and 35 years of Japanese colonization, so it is not easy to erase these deeply rooted cultural values with reforms that were made in 3 years of military government (Cho, 2014).

In particular, For Koreans who had only been exposed to the centralization of authority throughout the previous dynasties as well as the Japanese colonial period, the authoritarian structure of the communist government should have been less awkward to adopt than the liberal democratic ideology and its decentralized structure of government and administration. The comments from Armstrong clearly illustrate this point:

Communism in Korea was absorbed and transformed by the very “hierarchical structure and Confucian social values” of Korea’s “deeply conservative society.” Communism took root in North Korea in part because Korean society was so “conservative” – the possibility of breaking down old hierarchies was deeply attractive to many at the bottom of the social ladder, but the revolution created new hierarchical structures even more rigid than the old, and just as resistant to change...North Korea developed with less exposure to Western liberal versions of modernity than any other society in Asia, moving directly from neo-Confucian monarchy to Japanese colonialism to Stalinism virtually without a break (Armstrong,

2003: 7).

The authoritarian and hierarchical drive of the communist ideology not only suited the conservative Korean society better but also enabled a quicker restoration of law and order in the politically torn society because the system justified a complete control of the state and government, resulting in the eradication of opponents to the state's directions and commands. This provided Kim Il Sung with a solid political ground and legitimacy to strengthen his grip of the Party, to run the government and to reconstruct the economy with a centralizing force. The Soviet communism proved a good model to develop a strong statehood within a short period of time since under the system, the state ran like a huge machine, strictly controlling the spheres of politics, economy, language and culture for the pursuit of the state's agendas and goals.

Along with the political, economic and social spheres, education system worked in a mechanized fashion, following the orders and commands of the authority and subjugating the interests and desires of individuals for the common goal of developing and strengthening statehood. Thus, North Korea was purported to be the first socialist country outside the Soviet Union which established a government in accordance with the Soviet model of communism (Armstrong, 1999: 123-124). In a nutshell, the Soviet influence was starkly felt and quickly adopted in North Korea due to "the political weakness of a new regime which was heavily dependent on initial Soviet support" (Lankov, 2000: 74). The North Koreans, by the end of 1950s, adopted Soviet communist ideology and its systemic features much more radically than its precursor. This path became more prominent in mid-1950s when, after the demise of Stalin, Soviet Union began to 'revise' its past and distance itself from Stalinism. The intense ideological indoctrination began to infiltrate all the sub-systemic areas of North Korean education, along with other salient features of a communist education system, such as emphases on polytechnicism and collectivism, which has defined the characteristics of North Korean education system since then.

In South Korea, where liberal democracy was promoted by the US military occupation, the new ideology was destined to clash with the authoritarian culture of Korean education and society. However, the opposing voice to the US military-driven educational reforms in South Korea was expressed under the rhetoric of 'nationalism.' Some Korean

educational leaders called the New Education Movement as ‘educational idolatry’ and ‘new education illness,’ as following statement illustrates:

Despite the circumstances and situation [of Korea], sycophancy among Korean educators who merely follow US system with servile imitation pervades and this situation makes Korea subordinate to a closed form [of the US]. [The people] introduce American system, American curriculum, and a myriad of theories and circumstances from the USA. Thus, educators in the Korean educational circle are misled and confused...All of sudden, as we conduct educational reform [in Korea], we have education without our spirit (Yi K. P., 1949: 89-97). [My translation]

As the above statement describes, there was a widespread disagreement among Korean educational leaders as to how much the Korean education system should adopt American features for its development and reforms. Even the first Minister of Education of the Republic of Korea, Dr. An Ho-sang, did not fully embrace ‘democratic education’ originated from the USA and rather disliked it as the following statement suggests:

Dr. An Ho-sang detested democratic education and the New Education Movement. [When he was the Minister of Education,] Dr. An always stated democratic nationalistic (*minjok*) education, [instead of new education or democratic education]...[When I was a school commissioner under Dr. An], I tried to avoid using the terms, “democratic education” or “new education.” Instead, I used the term, “modern” education (Sim, 1995). [My translation]

In fact, after An was selected as the Minister of Education, he pushed forth ‘One Principle of the People (*Ilmin juŭi*)’ in educational areas, continuously arguing that educational features in Korea should reflect “nationalistic (*minjok*) education” (An, 1950: 57). In fact, the ‘One Principle of the People,’ as a Korean indigenous ideology, was adopted by the first president of the Republic of Korea, Dr. Syngman Rhee, to make political reforms nation-wide (Shin, 2006: 100-101). Other nationalistic educators also agreed, arguing that if education does not strengthen national identity, it should not be called education. According to them, nation should come first before individual and individuals are meaningful only within the context of nation (An, 1948: 22; Son, 1946: 11; Seki, 1987: 105-106).

Indeed, Dr. O Chŏn-sŏk, who introduced Dewey’s progressive education to South Korean educators, later reflected on the limitations of the New Education Movement,

admitting that the Movement was motivated by a superficial imitation of the US educational philosophy and system, at least to some degree. Then, he concluded that it should have been accompanied with a deeper analysis and assessment of the Korean education history and structure (O, 1960). Consequently, the New Education Movement quickly died out by the end of 1950s and in schools, “curricula have remained highly formalized at all levels of education, reflecting the influence of Japanese teaching methods (CIA, 1952: 43-13). For example, many schools retained authoritarian pedagogy in which teachers dominated and controlled most aspects of teaching and learning in the classrooms and totalitarian practices such as students’ march and regular early morning meetings were conducted without resistance in many schools (Ch’oe, 1987: 361-362). Thus, the observation of a US scholar on Koreans’ response to the Western implantation of ideology holds a partial truth:

Superficial overlay of Western thought patterns has changed the outward appearance of many [young people]. Because of this overlay of Western dress and manners, some Westerners mistakenly assume that the inner man has changed. Relatively few persons, outside of some in deeply religious groups and some who have receive advanced training abroad, have undergone substantial changes in their basic ways of thinking and acting (Crane, 1978: 144).

Chapter 9.

Re-conceptualization of Educational Policy Transfer

Introduction

This study set out to challenge a state-centric, linear and static understanding of educational policy transfer, through an analysis of the educational reforms undertaken by the Soviet and US military governments in relation to North and South Korea. These educational reforms were conducted under military occupation, thus enabling the imposition and coercion of policies. So one might expect ‘hard evidence’ from the Korean case to illustrate the straightforward ‘borrowing’ of a set of policies from the Soviet Union and the USA by North Korea and South Korea respectively, as a conventional definition of ‘policy transfer’ would indicate (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996: 357). However, in-depth investigation of the Korean case revealed that even under military occupation, the ‘transfer’ was not a case of simple imposition or borrowing of a set of policies by the Soviet and the US military authorities. Rather, the trajectory of ‘transfer’ was determined by a combination of multiple bureaucratic procedures, institutional actors and individual decision-makers that were unique to the two military governments during the period. Therefore, an analysis of who the actors were, what roles they played, and what motivated them in the process of ‘policy transfer’ became critical in explaining ‘educational policy transfer’ as adopted and localized in the two Koreas. For example, the complicated and sometimes ad-hoc interactions of different individual actors, influenced by their diverse roles and motivations, constituted a part of the decision-making processes for the educational policy transfer, and the established routines and procedures, unique to the institutions in which they worked, also influenced the processes. This chapter presents a theoretical critique of the linear model of policy transfer by summarizing the theoretical insights drawn from the Korean case (i.e. multiple levels of actors and various political interests and interactions that are associated with each level) and illustrating contextual factors that affect the process of localization.

Multiple levels of actors

Study of the educational reforms implemented by the Soviet and the US military governments in the two Koreas served to support the argument that the process and practice of educational policy transfer cannot be explained as a simple, linear adoption of a policy by one state from another state, but should include the complex interactions and roles of various actors and contextual factors at international, domestic and individual levels (Clarke et al., 2015; Gardinier, 2015; Cho, 2014; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012a). First of all, policy transfer is not enacted by a single, rational actor, as is often referred to as the name of a nation-state in question such as Finland, Germany, North Korea, or South Korea. Rather, policy transfer involves multiple actors from different levels including international, domestic and individual players (Stone, 2004).

The international players include primarily nation-states, international organizations and trans-national think-tanks. In the Korean case, they were mainly the four nation-states, the Soviet Union, the USA, North Korea and South Korea. The second level of players are primarily domestic institutions including government bureaux, policy institutions, interest groups and domestic NGOs. For the Korean case, the domestic players included the educational administrations of the Soviet and US military governments, and the Ministries of Education in North Korea and South Korea (after the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea were established in 1948) and educational and teachers' associations. The third level of players are prominent individuals who are either directly involved with educational policy transfer or influence the processes of implementation and localization practices of borrowed policies. For the Korean case, the individual actors were prominent Korean politicians and educational leaders who became decision-makers or advisors to the Soviet and US military authorities in the respective educational administrations.

In analyzing the process and practice of educational policy transfer, identifying actors and their roles becomes the most important step (Rappleye et al., 2011). This step provides a useful analytical tool to question the uni-directional approach of transfer from a stronger (or more attractive) country to the other, which dominates the current thinking of educational policy transfer, and propose an alternative analytical lens to examine the process of educational policy transfer (Clarke et al., 2015). As the Korean case revealed, many of the

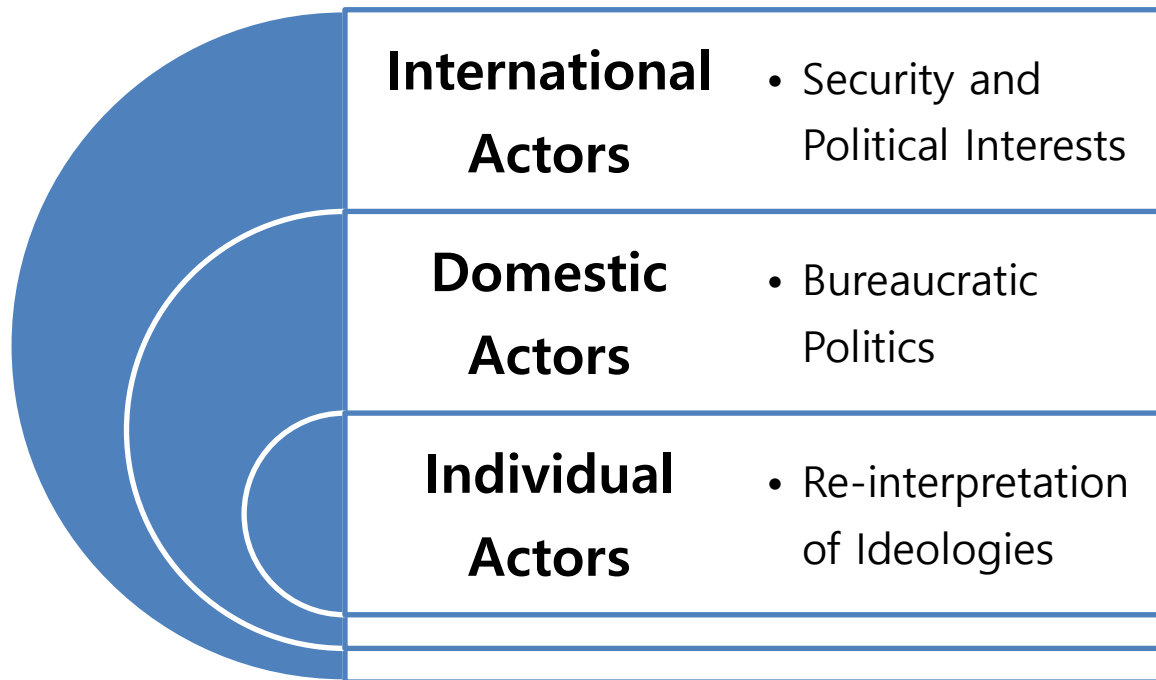
new policies created as part of the reforms were created by the initiatives of Korean bureaucrats and leaders, and even the policies proposed by the Soviet and US military authorities were often approved only after significant support and advice from Korean decision-makers and advisors were secured. For example, imposed policies, such as the decentralization policy of the South Korean educational administration by the US military authorities, had to face much opposition and debate for legislation and quickly died out after the change of government due to lack of support and interest by the Korean public and leaders.

The focus on individual actors is also important both to illustrate the human dimension in the complex process of educational policy transfer and to analyze the values and norms that are engrained within a 'borrowed' policy (Gardinier, 2015; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012a; Rappleye et al., 2011). The process of adopting, implementing and localizing the 'borrowed' policies on the ground takes a long time, and the original intention or meaning of the policy, when implanted into a different 'soil,' is easily lost or re-interpreted in the process of transfer (Dussage-Laguna, 2013; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012b). This change was evident especially in the areas of the education system that affect ideas, beliefs and values of a society and a people. In such areas, it becomes increasingly difficult to negotiate the differences between the policies in their original versions and the new policies as they are transplanted into a different context (Clarke et al., 2015). In the Korean case, the most notable example was found in curricular changes. For example, in South Korea the introduction of liberal democratic ideals and values to Korean society was made through the introduction of the subject social studies and the New Education Movement. However, despite the enthusiastic efforts initially shown by Korean educational administrators and leaders, this reform failed to achieve its original intention since the Korean public (including teachers and students) who had been brought up in the authoritarian educational culture could not grasp what liberal democracy was, including the educational values and practices entailed by its ideology.

The following figure aims to illustrate the multi-dimensionality of actors and contextual factors that need to be considered for a re-conceptualization of educational policy transfer. The figure highlights the relationships among international, domestic and individual actors and the main contextual factors that were identified as influencing the process and practice of educational policy transfer, based on an analysis of the educational reforms made by the Soviet and the US military governments in North Korea and South Korea during the

early Cold War period.

Figure 9-1. Key Elements in the Process and Practice of Educational Policy Transfer



Security and Political Interests of International Actors

As Figure 9-1 shows, reflecting the power struggles in the international politics, the security and political interests of the nation-state which engages with educational policy transfer set the ultimate rules of the game for domestic players. For example, in the two Koreas during the Soviet and US occupation, the initial educational policy transfer followed the organizational goals of the newly established US and Soviet military governments - extending the ideological influences of the occupying powers in order to maximize their long-term security interests in the Korean peninsula. Since domestic politics in Korea reflected the dynamics of international politics at the time which had undergone big ideological and political clashes between liberal-democracy and socialist-communism, the division of the two Koreas marked a prelude for the fundamental transformation of the societies, institutions and

cultures of the two Koreas. In this respect, the political contexts in the two Koreas clearly exhibited the case of ‘transitologies,’ characterized by the clash between the globally converging forces of two dominant ideologies of the Cold War, albeit in two different spheres of influence, and the local reactions, resistances and divergences as expressed and indigenized by Korean local politics, bureaucracies, actors and cultures (Cowen, 2009b).

Bureaucratic Politics of Domestic Actors

The bureaucratic politics of the domestic institutions including the decisions made on organizational procedures and personnel of the domestic institutions serves the overarching goals set by international actors. The domestic actors have to undertake the most urgent tasks that face them domestically, and the decision-making process for educational policy transfer is determined by a set of priorities determined by the organizational goals and procedures of domestic actors (Carney, 2009). In such cases involving large-scale policy transfer, which entail systemic alteration as in the Korean case, the selection of personnel and organizational procedures of the domestic actors follows the logic of pursuing the political and security interests of the international actors. This was also illustrated in the Korean case in which, reflecting the security and political interests of the Soviet and US military governments, Korean policy-makers and educators whose ideological inclinations were supportive of the rules of the occupying powers were selected and appointed to key positions of the civil and educational administrations of the military governments. This was the key decision made by the Soviet and US military authorities to dominate the Korean bureaucratic politics. However, it was also noted that these Korean policy-makers “chose” to join the respective Soviet and the US military governments because they thought that by joining the administrative bodies, they could pursue their nationalistic agendas for state formation in North Korea and South Korea. Accordingly, the decision-making and implementation of educational policy transfer were conducted as a result of the negotiations between the Korean decision-makers and American and Soviet military authorities.

Re-interpretation of Ideologies by Individual Actors

By adding a human dimension to the complex policy-making and implementing process, the conceptual and contextual focus on the individual decision-makers can yield critical insights to understanding the specific mechanism of domestic educational policy-making in the process of educational policy transfer under increasing international pressures (Rappleye et al., 2011). Furthermore, these individual actors are crucial in the process of educational policy transfer since they play the significant role of ‘translation,’ not only introducing the ideologies of the country from where the borrowed policies originate, but also modifying them so as to make them understandable and applicable to the people and the culture of their own country (Clarke et al., 2015). They do so by re-interpreting the ideologies of the countries of origin in accordance with their own beliefs. The inner process of understanding and interpreting the ideologies, happening within the minds of individual actors, becomes the critical point which links and transforms the policies so as to fit one context from the other.

Thus, a new conceptualization of educational policy transfer needs to include a mechanism for understanding what constitutes ideological beliefs that are inherent in a set of policies and how they are re-interpreted in a new country in the process of transfer. This is where an analysis of the roles and motivations of individual actors can shed light on the debate of educational policy transfer (Gardinier, 2015). More importantly, the individual actors’ beliefs (including their understanding and interpretations), regarding the ideologies and educational philosophies of the countries from which they attempt to ‘borrow’ policies, become a key element which links the meaning and values of the original policy to those of the policy adopted in a new country. For example, both Soviet and US military governments chose Korean educators and leaders, who were supportive of the ideologies of their regimes, for the key positions of educational administrations (Lee S. Y., 2011; An, 2009; Yi, G. S., 1992; Lee K. H., 1990; Interview, Chang). These Korean elites were also given opportunities to visit and study in the Soviet Union and the USA in order to learn about their education systems and to internalize the ideologies of the occupying countries in the process (Shtykov, 2004; Crane, 1978; Tae, 1946). In turn, as ‘transfer’ agents, these Korean administrators and decision-makers used their beliefs and understanding of the ideologies of liberal democracy and socialist-communism when devising and implementing specific programs and policies for the educational reforms in the respective systems of North and South Korea. Again, it was found that investigating the beliefs of these Korean elites helped to analyze how the

ideologies of the Soviet Union and the USA that were engrained within the original policies were modified into different meanings and forms in the two Koreas in the process of educational policy transfer.

Forces of Localization

Finally, societal and cultural factors that affect localization, specific to the country that attempts to ‘borrow’ policies from abroad, need to be addressed in order to examine how the transferred policies are localized on the ground. The aspect of localization is especially important for a study that takes a comparative, historical approach since “comparative historical researchers explicitly analyze historical sequences and take seriously the unfolding of processes over time...The events that engage comparative historical researchers – such as social revolutions, the commercialization of agriculture, or state formation - are not static occurrences taking place at a single, fixed point; rather, they are processes that unfold over time and in time” (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, 2003: 12). Thus, a multi-faceted analysis provides a robust conceptual angle to understand policy: not merely as what is written in the government documents but as what is implemented and localized ‘on the ground’ to bring meaningful changes for the development of people and society.

Contemporary cases of educational policy transfer or borrowing, as discussed by educational scholars, mostly illustrate policies that were transferred under non-binding international pressures such as the Bologna Process or as a result of international comparisons such as PISA results. Consequently, these cases often address aspects of ‘attraction,’ which do not produce a significant systemic alteration for the whole education system of a country. Therefore, for the purpose of analyzing the impact of educational policy transfer, cases of educational policy transfer under ‘crisis’ circumstances provide powerful empirical data, since the influence of educational policy transfer in these cases tends to be more profound and lasting (Cowen, 2009b).

In particular, large-scale educational reforms, which affect and/or change a whole education system, occur only in times of national crisis such as reconstructions after war, and state formation as a result of de-colonization (Cowen, 2009b). Newly established countries or those which are now recognized as nation-states by the international community as a result of

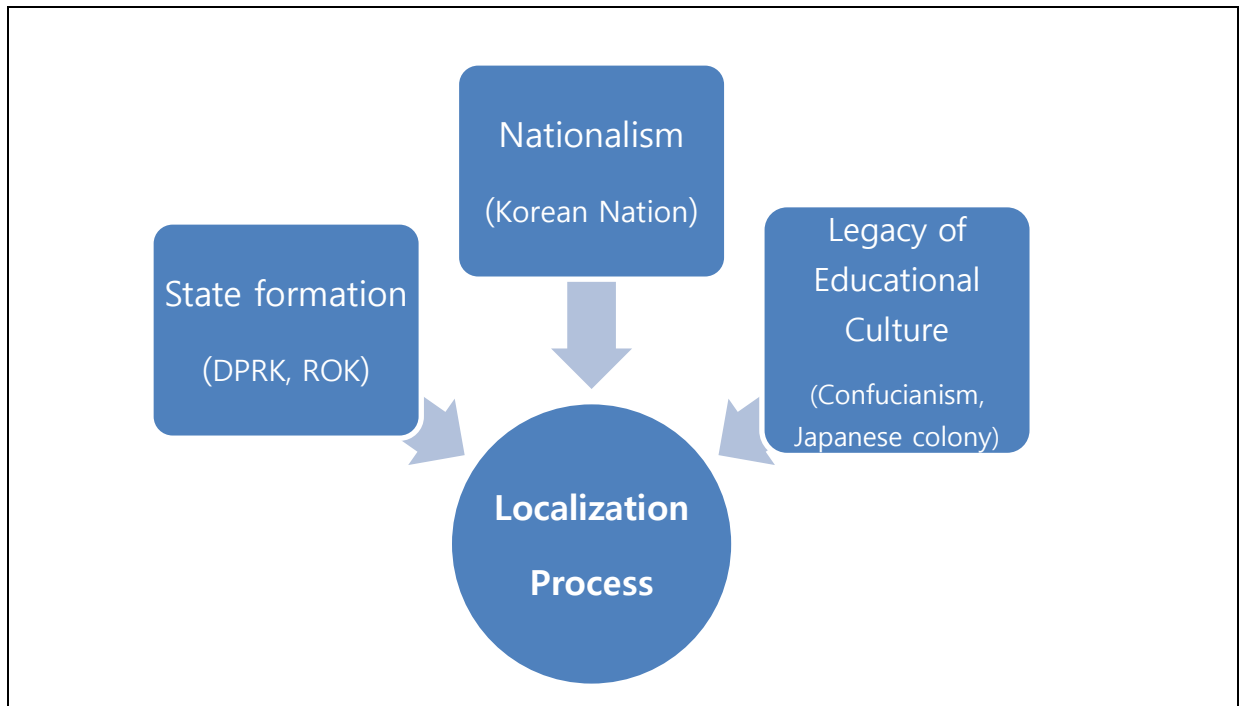
de-colonization or the fall of the communist bloc, have an urgent need to reform their educational policies for national reconstruction and development. Since they lack resources and personnel internally, they tend to seek aid from foreign powers and in the process educational policy transfer occurs. In this sense, the concept and nature of state formation and development needs to be clarified and incorporated as one of the most important societal and cultural factors affecting the practice and process of educational policy transfer occurring in these countries. In addition, the rise and consolidation of nationalism, which is often necessary in the process of creating and strengthening the ideological and cultural solidarity in a newly formed nation-state, also needs to be incorporated for analysis, especially regarding its influences on the localization process of educational policy transfer (Green, 1990). The indigenous nationalism was created out of the unique cultural, historical pathways experienced by the country, and domestic and individual actors are also influenced by the indigenous nationalism in pursuing their reform agendas.

In addition to the influences of state-formation and indigenous nationalism that grew out of the state-building process faced by the country, another critical cultural factor for the localization process is found in the unique educational culture that has been formed out of a country's past experiences, which is where an examination of the educational history of a country provides good insights. In particular, the actions and beliefs of individual actors are affected by the unique historical and cultural legacy of education inherited by the country from its past, which resonates strongly within the hearts and minds of the general public (Schwinn, 2012). One way is to evaluate how the newly 'borrowed' policies are received by the locals including teachers and students and which aspects of the borrowed policies are in conflict with the existing culture and norms of the country.

These societal and cultural elements which affect the localization process of educational policy transfer also provide clues to understand how the borrowed policies have unfolded in different meanings and forms 'on the ground' with the passage of time. The significance of local actors and their roles in re-interpreting and re-formatting the borrowed policies prevails as time passes, specifically because only the local actors can effectively take into account the changes that occur in the local circumstances and contexts over time. In this sense, an analysis as to how the societal and cultural elements, specific to the country, affect the localization process challenges the static notion of educational policy transfer that

assumes the consistency of circumstances and relationships not only between the countries but also within a country where the policy transfer occurs. Figure 9-2 illustrates the three societal and cultural factors that were identified to affect the process of localization for educational policy transfer in North and South Korea.

Figure 9-2. Factors of Localization in North and South Korea



It was found in the South Korean case that many features of the educational reforms during the US military governments such as the decentralization of educational administration and the New Education Movement did not continue to be adopted into the newly established Republic of Korea (ROK) because they did not fit the legacy of educational culture in South Korea. In addition, there were also opposing voices against the reforms initiated by the US military authorities and Korean educational administrators, mainly based on nationalistic rhetorics. In fact, the nationalistic rhetorics dominated political and educational discourses in South Korean society after the end of US military regime, and Korean decision-makers in the newly established Republic of Korean government had to respond to the voices in localizing the reforms that were made during the US military regimes.

Although the process of localization for North Korea worked in a rather different

fashion from South Korea, it was also under the influence of the cultural legacy and nationalism. Many of the authoritarian features of the reforms during the Soviet military government, such as the central, tight control of educational matters, survived even after the change of government into the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). In addition, other features of the educational reforms, such as technical education and a close link between economy and education, were emphasized and strengthened, even after the end of military regime, under the nationalistic pursuits of North Korean political leaders. Both North Korea and South Korea faced urgent tasks of state formation and development after the end of military regimes. Consequently, many of the features of the previous reforms, which did not meet the new organizational goals set by the new governments of North and South Korea and Koreans' cultural legacy, were not successfully localized on the ground.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that a revised concept of educational policy transfer should address international, domestic and individual levels of actors, each of which works within the political interests and interactions that define the boundaries of actors' activities. The overall goal that defines and characterizes the process of educational policy transfer at the international level is the political and security interests of the countries that engage with educational policy transfer. Following the security and political interests of the nation-states which also reflect power struggles in the international politics, the domestic institutional actors select and appoint individual actors to the key positions of administrative bodies in accordance with the logic of bureaucratic politics. The individual actors become the ultimate agents who decide, implement and evaluate the specific policies to be transferred, and their beliefs and interpretations of the ideologies that are reflected in the transferred policies become the critical juncture which re-interprets the meaning (i.e. values and norms) of the original policies into a different context. However, the 'transferred' policy needs to undergo a process of localization if it is to be adopted 'on the ground.' This process of localization is again affected by societal and cultural factors specific to the country. In cases of educational policy transfer for newly established states such as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea after the end of the Soviet and the US military regimes in

1948, these factors are likely to be state formation (and the rise of nationalism as a result of the process) and the educational culture of the country that is often shaped by the historical legacy of the past educational systems. Again, the theoretical insights gathered from the Korean case defy the singular assumptions held by earlier models of policy transfer about space (i.e. nation-states as single units of comparison) (Carney, 2010) and agency (i.e. dichotomy between active ‘providers’ and passive ‘recipients’) (Cho, 2014). They also challenge the modernist epistemology that dominates the diffusion theories based on neo-institutionalism in that “the modern ontology of One World” (Escobar, 2011) collapses into the process of translation and transformation over time: policy transfer, understood in this more relational and pluralistic terms, moves beyond “a new context for an old policy” but directs our attention to a “new understanding of the world” (Clarke et al., 2015: 60).

Chapter 10.

Conclusion

The purpose of this comparative historical study was to consider a re-conceptualization of educational policy transfer, based on an analysis of the reforms undertaken by the Soviet and US military governments in North Korea and South Korea. In doing so, this study aimed to investigate the process and practice of educational reforms during the intense political upheavals of state formation and the influence of the reforms on the educational development of North and South Korea from 1945 to 1959. The Korean case indicated that a new conceptualization of educational policy transfer needs to address the political contexts that surround the implementation of educational policy transfer and identify multiple layers of actors which are involved with the process and practice of educational policy transfer. The analysis of individual actors' roles and motivations to promote educational policy transfer in turn provides critical insights to examine the practice of educational policy transfer as localized 'on the ground.' Following is a discussion of the major findings and final conclusions drawn for this research, ending with the theoretical implications of this study and the suggestion for further research.

The political contexts for educational reforms

The political contexts that characterized the educational reforms made by the Soviet and the US military governments in the two Koreas began with the end of World War II which gave rise to two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the USA, dominating the world politics in subsequent four decades (Gaddis, 1997). Reflecting the security interests of the Soviet Union and the USA in the Far Eastern region with the defeat of Japan, the Korean peninsula was divided into the two separate zones of occupation, which were governed by the Soviet Union in the north and the USA in the south (Koo, 1975). The conflicts in the Korean domestic political scenes, which had already been polarized by the lack of strong leadership and political consensus, deteriorated further with the advent of two ideologies, socialist-communism by the Soviet Union and liberal democracy by the USA into the Korean

peninsula (Im, 2008). It was within this political context in which the US and Soviet military regimes were established and lasted for three years, from 1945 to 1948, eventually giving a way to Koreans leaders to establish their own governments of Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north and Republic of Korea in the south in 1948. The political, economic and social characteristics of the two newly established governments followed the patterns of their previously occupying powers (Scalapino and Lee, 1972). Under the dominant influence, both ideological and political, educational reforms began and were augmented, in order to meet the urgent needs of the state-building projects that both South and North Korean government faced at the time.

Actors and their roles in educational policy transfer

For both Soviet and US military regimes in North and South Korea, the educational reforms followed the logic of extending ideological influence of the occupying powers as a design to maximize their long-term security interests in the Korean peninsula (Slusser, 1977). In accordance with their political agendas, the Soviet and US military governments selected a group of Korean policy-makers, who gave active support to the rules and ideologies of the respective occupying powers (Lee S. Y., 2011; An, 2009; Yi, G. S., 1992; Lee K. H., 1990; Interview, Chang).

In South Korea, due to the lack of preparation and knowledge on Korean matters on the part of high-ranking officers who were commissioned to govern the American zone of Korea, the US military government selected Korean advisors who would assist the US military officers in matters of civil administrations including the establishment of the new education system, especially with the help of former American missionaries or their descendants in Korea (Kim, Y. I. 1995b; Hø, 2005). Due to the influence, Korean nationals, who were mostly educated abroad (with the majority in the USA and Japan), politically conservative and anti-communist and religiously Christian, were selected not only to advise but also to plan and make educational policies during the occupation era (Kim H. C., 2003).

In North Korea, the Soviet military government, compared to the US counterpart, was better prepared to implement the occupation regime by including more than 200 Soviet Korean officers in the military upon its arrival in the Korean peninsula (van Ree, 1989: 121;

Lankov, 1999: 106). Moreover, to garner Koreans' support, it chose to control the civil administrations from behind by employing Korean nationals as the formal leaders and administrators of the newly established government and setting the Soviet officers as "their" advisors (No, 1985). However, the Soviet military maintained even stronger grip of the government and politics in North Korea by quickly purging political opponents to the Soviet rule and selecting the Korean leaders and administrators who gave loyalty to the commands of the Soviet military in the country (Sö, 1982). Due to this political situation, Korean administrators selected by the Soviet military government were not so highly educated as their counterparts in the south (many of them educated only in Korea), relatively young (mostly in their 30s and 40s) and affiliated with the Workers' Party (communist) (Rodong Newspaper, 23 February 1947; Kim H. J., 2003). The most important criteria for selection were their political inclinations and experiences.

These Korean leaders, in negotiation with the American and Soviet military officers, imported and adopted certain features of educational policies from the Soviet Union and the USA into reforming and developing the education systems of the newly established governments. During this stage of decision-making, the influence of the American and Soviet military officers was significant due to the nature of military occupation as well as the political legitimacy the Korean leaders had to seek from the two superpowers in order to secure their power amidst domestic and international political struggles (McCune, 1950). However, it also meant that the responsible Korean administrators within the respective bureaucratic machines could mobilize their resources and networks to pursue reform agendas in accordance with their local political and educational needs (Carney, 2009).

Individual actors' motivation and re-interpretation of ideologies

Although the Korean administrators were selected and controlled by two superpowers which had very distinct ideologies and political systems, the fundamental motivation that drove Korean administrators in the military governments of the two Koreas was the same: nationalism. In fact, the Korean leaders, although very different in their political and religious outlooks, shared a common political background in pursuing independence movements against the Japanese with a desire to build an independent government in Korea (Chang,

2001). Towards this goal, the cultural nationalists in Korea sought to build an independent 'nation' through a gradual approach by educating and civilizing Koreans who would be transformed to build a strong, prosperous nation in the long run (Wells, 1990). Their approach was mainly based on their Christian beliefs since many of them were educated in Christian mission schools during the early 20th century and believed that intellectual enlightenment and moral awakening of the Koreans, through active efforts in education, would eventually ensure Korea's independence from Japan (Ch'oe, 2010). With these beliefs, many of them received higher education abroad, especially with the help of Christian missionaries, and later returned to Korea, devoting themselves to teaching at private, Christian colleges such as Yonhee, Posŏng and Ewha College during the Japanese colonial period (Kim S. H., 1990; Kim, T., 2001). With the coming of the US military government in South Korea, many of the cultural nationalists, such as O Ch'on-sŏk and Kim Hwa-lan, became Korean administrators and advisors in the civil and educational administrations of the US military government.

On the other hand, the radical nationalists in Korea aimed at a systemic change of the country through the means of military aggressions and political revolutions (Ronbinson, 1988). The rise of radical nationalism, based on socialist-communism, rose in Korea after the failure of March First Independence Movement, which had many disappointed Korean nationalists turn to Moscow to garner support for their independence movement (Kwon, 1992). Many of them thus became militant guerrilla fighters outside Korea against Japanese imperialists throughout the Japanese colonial period (Suh, 1970). These leaders later came back to Korea and became leaders of the newly established North Korean government during the Soviet military regime.

Under the pressures and interests of the two dominant powers, the Korean leaders chose to align themselves with either of the powers, the Soviet Union or the USA, in accordance with their beliefs and strategies for state formation, and espouse the respective ideologies as they struggled to consolidate the political bases in newly established governments. However, still the most urgent task that concerned the Korean leaders of both North and South Korea was state formation projects of their motherland (Sawa, 1992; Wells, 1990). In the field of education, their reform efforts worked in ways to consolidate the ideological and political solidarity of the government and country, and the training of administrators and workers for economic development. For this purpose, in South Korea,

Korean educational administrators and leaders began to introduce and implant liberal democratic ideology and philosophy into the new education system, in an attempt to link education with the reformation of students' life-style and their participation in a democratic community (Yi S. K., 1982). In North Korea, Korean administrators and leaders conducted extensive educational reforms based on the Soviet ideology and philosophy of historical materialism, polytechnicism and collectivism, under the control of Soviet advisors (Sim, 1983; Kim and Kim, 2005). The influence of the Soviet ideology on North Korean education was intensive and far-reaching during this period since many North Korean leaders were attracted to the Soviet Union as the model for a new society and state to which they should aim to build (Pae, 2012).

The practice of educational policy transfer 'on the ground'

As the previous discussions indicated, the selection and the control of the key personnel in the politico-bureaucratic machines of the newly established Soviet and US military governments in accordance with the long-term security interests of the two superpowers facilitated the promotion and incorporation of their ideologies in the respective education systems of the two Koreas. It was within this political parameter of the military regimes that educational reforms in the two Koreas were initiated and facilitated. Korean education leaders and administrators in north and south chose socialist-communist and liberal democratic ideology and philosophy respectively to replace the traditional, authoritarian ways that dominated the previous education system and scenes in Korea (H.Q. USAFIK, 1946; CIA, 1952).

Along the line, in the US military government in South Korea, several educational reforms were conducted in order to promote the liberal democratic ideals in the educational system, covering areas such as adult education, school system, educational administration, curricula, teacher training and higher education. For example, democratic ideology and political system were taught to adults through literacy programs and seminars, which proved popular among Koreans (Summation No. 6, Mar. 1946). Furthermore, in schools, curricular and systemic changes were made to teach democratic procedures and concepts to pupils such as by adopting the subject social studies in the new curricula, establishing a linear school

system (as opposed to a discriminatory, two-tier system during the Japanese colonial period), and introducing student-centered and project methods especially for primary school students (Lee, 1989; Hong, 1976). Teachers became key players to implement the new ideals, and considerable efforts were made to recruit and train teachers to teach democratic values in their classrooms (Hyun, 1994). All these features gave rise to the New Education Movement among Korean educators who actively introduced John Dewey's pragmatic educational philosophy as they attempted to build a new education system in South Korea based on the US liberal democratic principles (Adams, 1960).

Similarly, in North Korea, the socialist-communist ideology was extensively promoted and incorporated into the education system through a series of educational reforms. In case of North Korea, the features of the educational reforms covered extensive areas, including adult education, school system, educational administration, curricula, teacher training and higher education. Therefore, communist ideological and political indoctrination, along with praises of the Soviet Union as a model state to follow, was absorbed in the adult education and school curricula (H.Q. USAFIK, 1946). A school system also underwent a series of reform, which strengthened technical education to produce necessary workers for economic development (Sim, 1983). Soviet literature and publications, especially classics on Marx-Leninism, were translated extensively as textbooks for schools and colleges (Sin, 2005). The nature of government during this period, military occupation, combined with a political and ideological void that was created as a result of de-colonization, enabled a rapid and comprehensive adoption of educational policies from the Soviet Union (Lankov, 2000).

The localization of the educational policy transfer in North and South Korea was influenced by the authoritarian legacy from the previous era – Confucian Chosŏn Dynasty and totalitarian Japanese colonial period - and nationalism that was fostered and manipulated by politicians for the purpose of state-formation (CIA, 1952). As a result, some features of educational reforms influenced by US liberal-democratic education, such as the New Education Movement failed to be adopted 'on the ground' in South Korea after the end of the US military regime (O, 1960). In North Korea, many features of the educational reforms influenced by the Soviet socialist-communist education, such as technical education and the tight, central control of education matters were effectively adopted even after the Soviet military regime since they met the needs of state formation and the authoritarian educational

culture inherited from the past (CIA, 1962).

Re-conceptualization of educational policy transfer

The Korean case suggests that the process and practice of educational policy transfer cannot be defined as a simple, linear transplantation of policies from state to state, but needs to be revised so as to capture the multiplicity of policy process and practice ‘on the ground.’ (Clarke et al., 2015; McCann and Ward, 2012). For example, although in North and South Korea the educational reforms were made by the Soviet and US military in order to maximize their long-term security interests in the Korean peninsula, the key actors to implement the reforms were Korean policy-makers, who were appointed to the key positions of educational administration through bureaucratic politics between military authorities and Korean polity. In addition, although the overall objective of the educational reforms was to extend the ideological influences of the Soviet Union and the USA in the Korean peninsula, specific programs and policies for the reforms depended on the Korean policy-makers’ understanding and interpretations of the ideologies of the Soviet Union and the USA.

The Korean case indicates that the state-centric, linear and static view of educational policy transfer should be replaced by a new conceptualization which includes the complex web of decision-making and implementation processes that involve negotiations and compromises among various politicians and administrators (Carney, 2009). In the Korean case, these Korean actors were driven by their long-standing desires to build a strong, independent nation-state in Korea, which had been strengthened throughout 35 years of Japanese colonization (Wells, 1990). Although the Korean actors in North and South Korea differed in their ideological beliefs and thus strategies for independence, in this respect, their motivations were the same: nationalism (Robinson, 1988). Thus, an analysis of educational policy transfer needs to address the multiple layers of international, domestic and individual levels of actors, and their roles to translate and articulate the policies to their own contexts and people (Clarke et al., 2015). Although the overarching goal of educational policy transfer might be determined by the political and security interests of the nation-states engaged with educational policy transfer, individual actors become the ultimate agents who decide, implement and evaluate the specific policies to borrow. Individual actors’ beliefs and interpretations of the

ideologies that are reflected in the policies become critical to understanding and negotiating the differences between the original policies and the new policies in another context.

In addition to the multi-level analysis of actors and the political interests and interactions that characterize each level, the trajectory of the localization of practice on the ground is affected by indigenous cultural and historical factors (Cho, 2014, Schwinn, 2012). In the Korean case, the localization for the educational reforms made by the Soviet and the US military governments was affected by the authoritarian legacy of Confucianism and the Japanese colonization of the previous era, and the nationalism that had been fostered and intensified for the purpose of state-formation in Korea (CIA, 1952). However, the process was also characterized by the continuity in which the values and ideas of Western civilization entered, first through Christian missionaries in late 19th century and 20th century, and more systematically through the Soviet and US military governments. These ‘Western’ values and ideas were adjusted into the land by interacting with the traditions that had been engrained in the Korean culture (Yi Y. H., 2006). In other words, it was marked by a series of transformations that occurred out of collision and conjugation between the traditional and foreign civilizations (Cowen, 2006). In a similar manner, in cases of educational policy transfer for newly established states, which are often large-scale and have profound and lasting impacts, factors such as state formation (and the rise of nationalism as a result of the process) and the educational culture of the country that is often shaped by the historical legacy of the past educational systems need to be considered in the analysis of the localization process.

Final Reflections

Originally, I began this study on Korea (or the two Koreas) with the ambitious goal of finding insights that are ‘transferable’ to other countries, especially to students and scholars from developing countries who want to learn from the experiences of North and South Korea. But at this point, I come to acknowledge that the transfer does not simply involve the transplantation of a set of policies, programs or systems from one country to the other but entails a deep understanding of the cultures, histories and contexts of the countries involved. Most importantly, it requires actors who can play the critical roles of understanding,

interpreting, and translating the values and ideas behind the policies and programs, and have dedicated motivations to make transformations of the imported policies happen in the local contexts. The ‘particularity’ of the contexts is further overshadowed by the difficulty of comparing the two education systems, which, notwithstanding their common origin, is a complicated task, as the complexity has been widely acknowledged by scholars of comparative studies. Fishman and Martin aptly summarize this difficulty as follows:

In writing the preceding work we have taken a certain risk. The works that attempt a comprehensive comparison of two systems of education are few; in itself this attests to the difficulty of the problem. Systems of education are incredibly complex. They are, at best, difficult to describe and, in their totality, virtually impossible to measure and compare. They are books, buildings, and budgets, and they are innumerable sets of human interactions, between parents, teachers, government officials, and pupils. How then can one begin to draw a comparison between two such systems? Is it possible? (Fishman and Martin, 1987: 186)

Since I acknowledge the complex reality behind each system and the problem of ‘what to compare,’ at this point I want to express the limitations of this study. I do not attempt to deliver a comprehensive ‘description’ of the education systems of the two Koreas, nor ‘measure’ successes or failures of them. My doctoral project was neither a descriptive study of comparing the two systems nor a normative study of evaluating which of the two was better. Rather, it aimed to be an analytic study which aimed to investigate the process and practice of educational policy transfer from the Soviet Union and the USA into developing the education systems of the two Koreas.

Furthermore, by conducting a historical comparative scholarly study of the two systems, I hoped to explore the concept of policy transfer and, in particular, attempted to re-conceptualize the state-centric, linear and static notion of educational policy transfer with one that reflects its process and practice on the ground. This is closely related to the debate on what constitutes ‘policy,’ as originally discussed in Chapter 2 for the conceptual framework of this study. If policy were defined as ‘what is written in the government documents,’ then to call ‘the state-centric, linear transplantation of a policy from one country to another’ as ‘policy transfer’ would be possible since one (be that international, domestic or individual actor) can borrow a certain term to be written in another document. However, if policy were understood as embracing the process and practice of decision-making, implementation and

localization, then this would entail a different conceptualization of ‘transfer.’ In particular, this enlarged definition of policy opens up the possibility that the original meaning of a policy is easily lost in the process of decision-making by multiple layers of actors (Johnson and Hagström, 2005). In fact, the meaning of ‘borrowed’ policy is re-interpreted by local decision-makers and implementers in the process, and the forms and contents of the ‘borrowed’ policy are re-shaped through local bureaucratic procedures and routines so as to be adjusted and communicated into a different setting and people.

As the Korean case suggested, what is called ‘liberal-democracy,’ ‘socialist-communism,’ or ‘democratic education’ in one country comes to have a completely different meaning and produce a different set of policies and programs in other countries. For example, the rhetoric of ‘liberal-democracy’ was used as a way to strengthen anti-communist movement in South Korea, excusing the dictatorship of an authoritarian government in the subsequent decade of South Korea after the end of US military government (Oh, 2011). In North Korea, ‘socialist-communism’ was transformed to the nationalistic *Juche* philosophy, legitimizing the dictatorship of Kim Il-Sung in the coming decades after the Soviet military government (Kim I. S., 1965). This also illustrates the “the danger of deciding, too early, that we know what something means, and of making decisions that provide closure to the research process” (Clarke et al., 2015: 52). In this respect, a more developed diachronic comparison of the pre-1945 and post-1945 situations in both North and South Korea, with implications for the continuity and the transformation of the values, ideas and forms behind the imported policies from the West, would enhance the understanding of policy as it moves globally and “close to every practice while also attendant to the globalness of policy circulation” (McCann and Ward, 2012: 330). Furthermore, a deeper understanding of policy transfer through time could then be balanced by an extended application of the concept of space. This can be achieved through a more extensive synchronic comparison of the Korean and Japanese cases of the education reforms during the US military occupation. This further research is suggested here with the hope to “think about policy as always ‘unfinished,’” and embrace “the fluid and dynamic nature of the social world, encompassing ‘displacement’, ‘dislocation’, ‘transformation’ and ‘negotiation’” in the analysis of policy transfer (Clarke et al., 2015: 34-36).

List of References⁸⁶

Primary sources

An, H.S. (안호상) (1948) Minjok kyoyuk ūl Oech'inora (민족교육을 외치노라 I shout for national education). *Sae kyoyuk* (새교육 Journal of New Education), 1(1)

------(1950) *Ilminjuūi ūi pon patang: ilminjuūi ūi ponjil* (일민주주의의 본바탕: 일민주주의의 본질 The Basis of One Principle of the People). Seoul: Ilminjuūi yŏn'gwŏn

Bureau of Education (1920) *Manual of Education*.

Cell meeting reports at Pyŏng-yang higher middle schools (RG242 BOX58 ITEM201261, US National Archives and Record Administration)

Chang, C. S. (장종식) (1946) Puk Chosŏn kyoyuk ūi Tang'myŏn kwaje (북조선 교육의 당면과제 Impending Problems of the North Korean Education). *Inmin* (인민 Journal of People), 1(1), pp. 20-21

Chang, I. S. (장인숙) Interview. 27 March 2014

Choch'ongnyŏn Chungang ponbu Kyoyukpu (조총련중앙본부교육부 PFKRJ Department of Education) (1957) *Kyoyuk kyujŏng Charyojip* (교육규정자료집 DPRK Educational Regulations Resource Book).

Ch'oe, C. H. (최재희) (1947) Kyoyuksang ūi chayujuūi (교육상의 자유주의 Liberalism in Education). *Chosŏn kyoyuk* (조선교육 Journal of Korean Education), 1(7), December 1947

Ch'oe, H. P. (최현배) (1959) *Nara rŭl kŏnji nŭn kyoyuk* (나라를 건지는 교육 Education that saves the country). Seoul: Chŏngŭmsa

Ch'oe, Y. S. (최윤수) (1949) Minjujuūi minjok kyoyuk kwa hakkyo kyŏngyŏng ūi i'nyŏm, sahoe saenghwalkwa wa minjok kyoyuk (민주주의 민족교육과 학교경영의 이념, 사회생활과와 민족교육 The philosophy of democratic ethnic education and school management and social studies and ethnic). *Sae kyoyuk* (새교육 Journal of New Education), 2(1), pp. 46-47

Chŏn, S. K. (전성근) (1956) *Kyowŏn ūn kyegŭpjŏk chŏnsa ga toeŏya handa* (교원은 계급적

⁸⁶ For common surnames in Korea, Kim, Yi and Pak, I have added initials for the first names in the chapters in order to avoid confusions. Also, for the bibliography I will arrange them alphabetically according to their initials (rather than chronologically).

전사가 되어야 한다 Teachers have to be the class warriors). *Inmin kyoyuk* (인민교육 Journal of People's Education), vol. 6

Chosŏn haebang kwa Puk Chosŏn ūi Minju palchŏn (조선해방과 북조선의 민주발전 Liberation of Korea and Democratic Development of DPRK) (1947) Pyongyang: Minjujosŏn Ch'ulp'ansa

Chosŏn Chungang t'ongshinsa (조선중앙통신사) (1959) *Chosŏn chungang nyŏn'gam* (조선중앙년감 Annals of DPRK)

Chosso ch'insŏn (조소친선 Journal of DPRK-Soviet Cooperation) *10 wŏl hyŏngmyŏng kwa Chosŏn inmin ūi Haebang* 10월혁명과 조선인민의 해방 The October revolution and the liberation of the North Koreans). November 1949. P'yŏngyang: Chosso munhwa hyŏphoe

Chōsen Government-general (1914) *Results of Three Years' Administration of Chōsen*. Keijō: Chōsen government-general

Chosŏn Ilbo (조선 일보 Chosun Newspaper)

CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) (1952) *National Intelligence Survey, Korea*. Section 43: Religion, Education and Public Information. Washington D. C.

----- (1962) *National Intelligence Survey: North Korea*. Washington DC

Editorial Notes (1918) *The Korea Mission Field*, 14(1) (January 1918)

Embassy of the USA, United States Department of State, *Korean Independent Movement Chungking*. 14 November 1943. [United States National Archives and Records Administration, No. 1815]

Fisher, J. E. (1928) *Democracy and Mission Education in Korea*. New York: Columbia University, Teachers College

Foreign Relation of the United States (FRUS) (1945) Policies of the United States towards Korea, September 15, Vol. 6, Washington DC: United States Government Printing Office

----- (1946) Letter from Ambassador Edwin W. Pauley to President Truman, June 22 in United State Department of State, Vol. 8, The Far East. Washington, D.C.: United State Government Printing Office

----- (1946) Letter from Patterson to Acheson. The Far East Division, United State Department of State, Vol. 8, Washington, DC: United State Government Printing Office, vol. 6, pp. 625-628

----- (1946) Policy Paper adopted by the SWNCC: Political Policy for Korea, SWNCC 176/18 (January 28, 1946), Vol. 8, Far East division, pp. 623-625

----- (1946) Proposed Message to MacArthur Drafted in the Department of State in 28

February 1946 by United State Department of State, the Far East Division, Vol. 8, Washington, D.C.: United State Government Printing Office, pp. 645-46

------(1948) Hickerson, J. D. Memorandum of Conversation with Lord Inverchapel, 21 January 1948. HUSAFIK, Part II, Chapt. II, pp. 94-95

[can be accessed online via University of Wisconsin Digital Collection:
uwdclibrary.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS]

Fraenkel, E. (1948) *Structure of the United States Army Military Government*, 22 May. Suitland: WNRC

Gilmore, G. W. (1892) *Korea from its Capital: with a chapter on missions*. Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Government-General of Chosen (1912) *Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen (Korea)*. Keijo (Seoul): Government-General of Chosen.

Haebang Ilbo (해방일보 Liberation Newspaper)

Han, Sör-ya (한설야) (1946) Kukche munhwa ũi kyoryu e taehaya (국제문화의 교류에 대하여, Regarding the exchange of international culture). *Munhwa Chönsön* (문화전선), vol. 1.

------(1948) *Repporütajyu Soryön yöhaenggi* (레포르타주 소련여행기 reportage of travel to the Soviet Union). Pyöngyang: Kyoyuksöng

Hayes, W. (May 1948) *The Financial Support of Korean Education*. Prepared by William Hayes, University of California, Special Consultant to the Secretary of the Army

History of United States Army Military Government in Korea (Part 1 Period of 1945.9-1946.6.30) (1946). Published by the Statistical Research Division of the Office of Administration, Headquarters United States Army Military Government in Korea

History of United States Army Military Government in Korea (Part 2 Period of 1945.9-1946.6.30) (1947). Published by the Statistical Research Division of the Office of Administration, Headquarters United States Army Military Government in Korea

H. Q. USAFIK, (September 1945 – December 1948) *G-2 Periodic Report (Vol.1-10) & Weekly Summary (Vol. 11-15)*

HUSAFIK (History of the U.S. Armed Forces in Korea) (1948) Washington, D.C., US Army, Historical Manuscript File

Headquarters XXIV Corps Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff (1945) G-2 APC 235, 27 September 1945 To the Headquarters of the Allied Forces

----- (1947) G-2, APO 225, 23 April 1947, *Soviet Political Strategy in Korea*

History of the Occupation of Korea, 1948 (1960) United States Department of the Army. Washington, D.C.

- Hong, S. C. (홍순철) (1949) Yōnggu pulmyōl hal Ssoryōn kwaūi ch'insōn hyōpjo nūn uri cho'guk paljōn ūi sūngnijōk tampo ida (영구불멸 할 소련과의 친선협조는 우리 조국발전의 승리적 담보이다 Cooperation with the Soviet Union Is the Road to Victory for Our Country). *Cho-Sso ch'insōn*(조소친선 Journal of DPRK-Soviet Union Cooperation), October 1949
- Hopkins, J. W. and Underwood, P. H. (1907) *Hopkins and Underwood's new arithmetics*. London: Macmillan
- Hulbert, H. (1904) The Educational Needs of Korea. *Korea Review*, Seoul: Kyōngin
- Inmin wiwōnhoe Sapōpbu (인민위원회 사법부) (1947) *Puk Chosōn Pōpnyōngjip 1947 palch'we*. (북조선 법령집 1947년 발췌 extracts from DPRK Laws 1947)
- Johns, G. (1910) Education in Korea. In Moore, J. Z. (ed.) *Korea Quarter-Centennial Documents*. New York: The Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, N.Y.
- Kim, C. O. (김종오) (1947) *Han 'gūl Tokbon* (한글독본 Studies of Korean Language). Pyongyang: Chosōnnyōsōngsa
- Kim, I. S. (김일성) (1950) Cho-Sso ryanggukgan ūi kyōngjejōk mit munhwajōk hyōpjo e kwanhan hyōpchōng ch'egyōl 1 chunyōn e chehayō (조소 량국간의 경제적 및 문화적 협조에 관한 협정 체결 1주년에 제하여). In Kim H. J. (김학준) (1985) *Pukhan chōngkwōn hyōngsōnggi wa Chōngkwōn ch'och'anggi ūi Pukhan kwa Soryōn ūi kwan'gye* (북한 정권형성기와 정권초창기의 북한과 소련의 관계 North Korean - Soviet Russian Relations During the Soviet Occupation of North Korea). *Tonga yōn 'gu* (동아연구), vol. 5
- (1952) *Kim Il Sōng sōnjip* (김일성선집 Kim Il Sung selected works, vol. 1-3). Kim Il Sōng sōnjip kanhaeng Wiwōnhoe p'yōn: Samil sōguk
- (1955) On Eliminating Dogmatism and Formalism and Establishing Juche in Ideological Work (Speech to Party Propagandists and Agitators, December 28, 1955) adopted from (1965) *Kim Il-sung Selected Works, vol. 1*, pp. 315-340
- (1955) On Improving the Class Education of Party Members (Report at a Plenum of the Central Committee of the Worker's Party of Korea, April 1, 1955) adopted from (1965) *Kim Il-sung Selected Works, vol. 1*, pp. 251-272
- (1967) *Kim Il Sōng chōjak sōnjip, vol 1*. (김일성 저작선집 1권 Works Vol. 1). P'yongyang: Chosōn Nodongdang ch'ulp'ansa
- (1969) *Sahoe kwahak ūi immu e taehayō* (사회과학의 임무에 대하여 About responsibilities of social science). Tongkyōng: Chosōn Nodongdang ch'ulp'ansa

- (1972) *Kim Il Sung hyökmýöng üi widaehan suryöng Kim Il Sung tongji üi ch'önjaejök kyoyuk sasang* (김일성 혁명의 위대한 수령 김일성 동지의 천재적 교육사상 Genius Educational Philosophy of the Great Leader Kim Il Sung). P'yongyang: Kyoyuk Kwahak Yön'guhoe
- (1974) *Kim Il Söng Chöjak sönjip, vol 3.* (김일성 저작선집 3권 Works Vol. 3). P'yongyang: Chosön Nodongdang ch'ulp'ansa.
- (1976) *Kim Il Söng Selected Works vol. 1.* Pyongyang: Foreign Language Publishing House.
- (1979) *Kim Il Söng Chöjak sönjip, vol 4.* (김일성 저작선집 4권 Works Vol. 4). P'yongyang: Chosön Nodongdang ch'ulp'ansa
- (1980) *Kim Il Sung: Works vol. 1.* Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House
- (1981) *Kim Il Sung Works vol. 4.* Pyongyang: Foreign Language Publishing House
- (1981) *Kim Il Söng Chöjak sönjip, vol 14.* (김일성 저작선집 14권 Works Vol. 14). P'yongyang: Chosön Nodongdang ch'ulp'ansa
- (1983) *Kim Il Sung Works vol. 2.* Pyongyang: Foreign Language Publishing House
- (1983) *Kim Il Sung Selected Works vol.4.* Pyongyang: Foreign Language Publishing House
- (1984) *Kim Il Sung Works, vol. 16.* Pyongyang: Foreign Language Publishing House
- (1992) *Kim Il Söng Chöjak chönjip, vol 3.* (김일성 저작선집 3권 Works Vol. 3). P'yongyang: Chosön Nodongdang ch'ulp'ansa
- Kim, O. S. (김오성) (1949) *Minjok munhwa paljön üi sae tan'gye: Cho-Sso hyöpjöng e kwanryön hayö* (민족문화발전의 새단계: 조소협정에 관련하여 A New Step for Ethnic Cultural Development: About North Korea-Soviet Union Cooperation). *Choso munhwa* (朝蘇文化 Journal of North Korea-Soviet Union Culture), May, Pyöngyang: Chosso munhaw hyöphoe
- Kim, T. Y. (김택영) (1949) *Chosön minjujuüi inmin konghwaguk kongmin üi Kibonjök kwöllli mit üimu* (조선민주주의인민공화국 공민의 기본적 권리 및 의무 Basic rights and responsibility of the citizens of the DPRK). Pyöngyang: Minju Chosönsa
- Kojong sillok* (高宗實錄, Veritable Records of the Reign of King Kojong)

Kodŭng Mit Kilsul kyoyuk (고등 및 기술교육 Journal of Higher and Vocational Education), 1959

Kyoyuk yŏn'gusil (교육연구실) (1947) Chŏmyŏng kyoyukga yŏlchŏn: Chon Dyu'yi
(저명교육가열전: 존 듀이 Prominent Educators Series: John Dewey). *Chosŏn Kyoyuk*
(조선교육 Journal of Chosŏn Education), vol. 1

Kyoyukguk (教育局) (10 April 1947) *Puk Chosŏn inmin wiwŏnhoe chikwŏn*
Chosasŏ (北朝鮮人民委員會 職員調查書 Report on Personnel in North Korea People's
Committee). Captured Document

Kyoyuksŏng (교육성) (1948) *Taehakyong* 「Kyoyukhak」 Che 2 p'yŏn (Kyosuron) Chŏnmun –Vol. 2
(대학용 「교육학」 제2편(교수론) 전문 Pedagogy for Universities)

------(1950) *Kyoyuk yogang - Inminhakkyo yong* (교육요강 인민학교용 Educational
Principles for Primary Schools). Pyongyang: Kyoyuktosŏ ch'ulp'ansa

------(1955a) *Kyoyuk yogang - Inminhakkyo yong* (교육요강 인민학교용 Educational
Principles for Primary Schools). Pyongyang: Kyoyuktosŏ ch'ulp'ansa

------(1955b) *Kyoyuk yogang - Ch'ogŭp chunghakkyo yong* (교육요강 초급중학교용
Educational Principles for Middle Schools). Pyongyang: Kyoyuktosŏ ch'ulp'ansa

Lee, C. S. (이정식) E-mail Interview. 28 December 2014

Lee, G. S. (이길상) Interview. 14 January 2014

Lee, K. Y. (리기영) (1954) *Kongsanjuŭi t'aeyang ūn pitnanda* (공산주의 태양은 빛난다
Communist sun is shining). Pyŏngyang: Chosso ch'ulp'ansa

Lee, I. K. (리일경) (1959) Ch'anggansa (창간사 Address of the first issue). *Kotŭng mit kilsul kyoyuk*
(고등 및 기술교육 Journal of Higher and Technical Education), vol. 1

Lee, N. S. (리남선) (1957) *Soryŏn ūi kyoyuk saŏp ūl ch'am'gwan hagosŏ* (소련의 교육사업을
참관하고서 After observing educational projects of the Soviet Union). Pyŏngyang: kyoyuk tosŏ
ch'ulp'ansa

------(1959) Int'eri tŭl sok esŏ Kongsanjuŭi kyoyang ūl kanghwa hagi wihan che munje
(인텔리들 속에서 공산주의 교양을 강화하기 위한 제 문제 The problem of
strengthening communist education among intellectuals). *Kodŭng mit kilsul kyoyuk* (고등 및
기술 교육 Journal of Higher and Technical Education), vol. 1

Lee, T. H. (리태흡) (1959) *Kilsul ūimu kyoyukje silsi chunpi wa kilsul kyowŏn yangsŏng saŏp* (기술

의무 교육제 실시 준비와 기술 교원 양성 사업 Preparation of compulsory technical education and training of technical workers). *Kodŭng mit kisul kyoyuk* (고등 및 기술교육 Journal of Higher and Technical Education), vol.1

Letter from K.S. Kim, to General McArthur, *Russian Occupation in Korea*. From General Headquarters United States Army Forces, Pacific 10 October 1945, Headquarters XXIV Corps, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2 APC 235, RG226 Record of the Office of Strategic Services Entry 19 XL #26109

Lim, M. (림만) (1959) Hang'il mujang t'ujaeng ūi pitnanŭn hyōngmyōng chōnt'ong ūl kyesŭng paljōn sikinŭn kōtŭn uri ūi sung'gohan ūimu ida (항일 무장 투쟁의 빛나는 혁명 전통을 계승 발전시키는 것은 우리의 숭고한 의무이다 It is our responsibility to inherit and develop the revolutionary tradition of militant struggles against Japanese). *Kodŭng mit kisul kyoyuk* (고등 및 기술교육 Journal of Technical and Higher Education), vol. 1

Lockard, E. N. *History of Bureau of Education from 11 September 1945 to 28 February 1946*, Mimeograph, no date

Manual of Education in Chosen (1913) Government-General of Chosen

Masuda, M. (増田道義) (July 1943) Chōheisei jisshi to Chōsen (徴兵制実施と朝鮮 The Enforcement of the Korean Conscription System). *Chōsen gyōsei* (朝鮮行政 Journal of Chosŏn Administration), 21(7)

McCune, G. M (1950) *Korea Today*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge

Meade, E. G. (1951) *American Military Government in Korea*. King's Crown Press: New York

Memorandum from American Vice Consul Alexis Johnson to American Consul General Harold B. Quarton, *Korean reaction to present war and anti-Japanese activities*. General Headquarters United States Army Forces, Pacific 10 October 1945

Minjujuŭi minjok chōnsŏn p'yōn (민주주의민족전선편) (1946) *Chosŏn haebang yōn'po* (조선해방연보 Annals of Chosŏn Liberation). Seoul: Munuin sōkwan

New, I. H. (1943) A memorandum prepared as a partial plan for more effective participation by the Korean people in the present war and as a guide to an understanding of her present and postwar problems, her economic status and the capacity of her people to carry-on an enlightened and stable self-government, the United Korean Committee in America, 1368 West Jefferson Boulevard Los Angeles, California 1943)

----- (1943) Letter to Charles Ho Kim, the United Korean Committee in America, 1368 West Jefferson Boulevard Los Angeles, California

Nodongdang nodong kwahak yōn'guso (노동당 노동 과학 연구소) (1955) *Nodong pōpkyujip* (로동법규집 A Compilation of Labour Laws vol. 2). Kungnip ch'ulp'ansa

Office of Public information (1955) *A Handbook of Korea*. Seoul, Republic of Korea

Official Gazette, USAMGIK. Headquarters, United States Army Military Government in Korea (HQ, USAMGIK). Seoul: USAMGIK

Ohlinger, F. ed. (1892) *The Korean Repository vol.1*. Seoul: The Trilingual Press

Outline History of Teacher Training, 1945-48. South Korean Interim Government, Department of Education

Paek, N. J. (白樂濬) (1963) *Han 'guk ūi hyönsil kwa isang* (韓國의 現實과 理想 Reality and Ideals of Korea). Seoul: Tonga ch'ulp'ansa

Paek, N. U. (백남운) (1950) *Soryöŋ Insang* (소련인상 Impressions of the Soviet Union).

Paik, L. G. (1970, originally published 1929). *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press

Pak, I. (박일) Interview. 20 & 21 June 1999. In Kim, K.S. et al. (김기석 외) (2011) *Haeoe sojae Pukhan kyoyuk kwallyöŋ charyo kuch'uk kwa hwallyong* (해외 소재 북한 교육관련 자료 DB 구축과 활용 Establishment of Database of North Korean Resources Abroad and Their Applications). Seoul: Söultae t'ong'il p'yöŋghwa yön'guwöŋ

Pak, I. P. (박인빈) (1959) Kodüŋ mit Kisul kyoyuk pumun kyowöŋ tülün saengsan kwa könsöl esö Chegi toenün kisu rironjöŋ munje haekyöl e Chökkük tongwöŋ toeja (고등 및 기술 교육 부문 교원들은 생산과 건설에서 제기되는 기술 이론적 문제 해결에 적극 동원되자 Educational workers at higher and technical education, let's actively solve technical and theoretical problems for production and construction.). *Kotüŋ mit kisu kyoyuk* (고등 및 기술교육 Journal of Higher and Technical Education), vol. 1

Pak, I. M. (박일민) (1949) *Ssoryöŋ kyoyuk Kyöŋch'algi* (소련교육견찰기 A Report on the Soviet Education). Pyöngyang: Potök ch'ulp'ansa

Pak, Y. S. (박용선) (1949) Cho-ssö ch'insöŋ kwa ssobet'ü munhwa sun'gan e itösöüi hyöphoe saöp üi söngkwa (조소친선과 소비에트 문화순간에 있어서의 협회사업의 성과 The accomplishments of the cooperation between North Korea and Soviet Union in cultural areas). *Cho-ssö ch'insöŋ* (조소친선 Journal of DPRK-Soviet Union Cooperation), November, p. 8

Pravada (English translation) (March 21, 1949) The Soviet-Korean Communique on the Moscow Visit

of the Korean Government Delegation

Program of Educational Aid from America. GHQ, 7 January 1946

Puk Chosŏn Nodongdang (북조선 로동당) (1995) *Haebanghu 10 nyŏngan ūi Konghwaguk Inmin kyoyuk ūi paljŏn* (해방 후 10년간의 공화국 인민교육의 발전 Development of the DPRK education for 10 years since liberation). Pyŏngyang: Kyoyuk tosŏ ch'ulp'ansa

Pukhan kyoyuksŏng (북한 교육성) (1956) *Kyosu kyoyang saŏp kyŏnghŏm* (교수 교양 사업 경험 Experience of teacher training). P'yŏngyang: Kyoyuk tosŏ ch'ulp'ansa

Pŭ Ppŭ Yessippobŭ (trans.) (브.쁘.예씨쁘브) (1954) *Kyoyukhak* (교육학 Pedagogy). Pyŏngyang: Kyoyuktosŏch'ulp'ansa

Report of Commission III: Education in relation to the Christianisation of National Life (World Missionary Conference, 1910). Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier

Nodong Shinmun (노동신문 Labour Newspaper)

Quarton, H. B. (1942) *Survey of Current Political Thought and Temper of the Korean People*. American Consul General, (15 August)

SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) *Summation Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea, No. 1-5*. September 1945 - February 1946. Tokyo

Seoul National University, Institute of Education (1994) *Kyoyukhak yong'ŏ sajŏn* (교육학 용어 사전 Korean dictionary of education terms). Seoul: Ha-u

----- (1998) *Kyoyukhak taebaekgwajŏn, I* (교육학 대백과 사전 A Unabridged Dictionary of Education). Seoul: Ha-u

Shtykov, T. E. (Chŏn, H. S. trans.) (2004) *Swit'ik'op'u ūi ilgi* (쉬티코프의 일기 Shtykov's Diaries). Seoul: National Institute of Korean History

Son, C. T. (손진태) (1949) *Minjujuŭi Minjok kyoyuk ūi i'nyŏm* (민주주의 민족교육의 이념 Philosophy of Democratic National Education). *Sae kyoyuk* (새교육 Journal of New Education), 2(1)

South Korean Interim Government. *South Korean Interim Government Activities, United States Army Military Government in Korea*. No. 23-34, August 1947-August 1948. Prepared by National Economic Board

Tae, S. S. (태성수) (1946) *Hyŏndae Ssoryŏn munhwa ūi tonghyang* (현대 소련 문화의 동향, Cultural Trends of the Modern Soviet Union). *Choso munhwa* (朝蘇文化 Journal of DPRK-Soviet Union Culture), November

- Teachers and autobiographies of teachers at Kŭm-sŏng and Kŭm-hwa middle schools (RG242BOX12 ITEM16.2)
- The Korean Mission Field* (1918) “Editorial Note,” 14, No.1 (January)
- Tolbaegae Pyŏnjippu (돌베개 편집부) (ed.) (1988) *Pukhan Chosŏn Nodongdang taehoe chuyo munhŏnjip* (북한 ‘조선로동당’대회 주요 문헌집 Compilation of main documents of the DPRK labour party conventions). vol.1. Seoul: Tolpaegae
- Tonga Ilbo* (동아 일보 Tonga Newspaper)
- Underwood, H. (1947) *Education in South Korea, Where We Stand in Education Today*. United States Army Military Government in Korea, Department of Education, June
- US Central Intelligence Agency (1952) *National Intelligence Survey, Korea Section 43: Religion, Education and Public Information*. Washington D. C.
- (1962) *National Intelligence Survey: North Korea*. Washington DC
- US Department of Defense, *The Entry of the Soviet Union into War against Japan: Military Plan, 1941-1945*. Mimeographed report released on 19 October 1955
- USAMGIK (United State Army Military Government in Korea) *Summation United States Army Military Government Activities in Korea*, No. 6-22, March 1946-July 1947. Seoul
- (1946) *History of the United States Army Military Government in Korea (HUSAMGIK)*. Washington, D.C.
- (1947) *Where we stand in education policy : Teacher Training*. South Korean Interim Government, Department of Education
- (1949) Democratization of Education Attempted by History of United States Army Military Government in Korea, *the Voice of Korea*, 4(132)
- Werth, R. (26 July 1948) *Outline history of teacher training, 1945-48*. South Korean Interim Government, Department of Education
- Ye Nŭ Rejinsŭkki (예.느. 레진스끼) (Tae, S. S. trans.) (1950) *Sabŏmdaehak yong Kyoyuksa* – (사범대학용 교육사 Educational History for Teachers’ Colleges). Pyongyang: Kyoyuksŏng
- Yi, K. Y. (이기영) (1947) *Soryŏn Ch’amgwan ’gi* (소련참관기 Memoirs of visit to the Soviet Union). Pyongyang: Chossomuninhŏp’oe
- (1960) *Soryŏn kihaeng munjip* (소련 기행문집 Collected literary works on the Excursion to the Soviet Union). Pyŏngyang: Chosŏn chakga tongmaeng ch’ulp’ansa

Yi, H. S. (이호성) (1954) *Kyoyuk chach'ije wa kü unyōng* (教育自治制와 그 運營 Local Self-Governing Body of Education and Its Administration). Seoul: Han'guk kyoyukmunhwa hyōphoe

Secondary sources

Abe, H. (阿部洋) (1988) *Beigunseika ni okeru Amerika no taikan kyōiku seisaku* (米軍政下におけるアメリカの対韓教育政策 The US educational policy in Korea during the US military regime). Tokyo

Academy of Korean Studies, website on *the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK)*. http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Contents?contents_id=E0019891

Adams, D. (1956) *Education in Korea 1945-1955*. Unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut
----- (1960) Problems of Reconstruction in Korean Education. *Comparative Education Review*, 3(2), pp. 27-32

An, J. (안진) (2009) *Migunchōnggi Kyoyuk chōngch'aek e kwanhan Kyoyuk sahoehakjōk yōn'gu* : *Kyoyuk chudo seryōk ūi hyōngsōng ūl chungshim ūro* (미군정기 교육정책에 관한 교육 사회학적 연구 : 교육 주도 세력의 형성을 중심으로 A Sociological Study on the Educational Policy during the Period of U.S. Army Military Government in Korea, 1945-1958 – Focusing on the Selection of the Educational Elite). Unpublished M. A. diss., Sunchon National University

Akira, F. (2002) *Kyūkanmatsu kindai gakkō no keisei* (旧韓末近代学校の形成 Formation of modern schools at the end of Chosōn dynasty). Kurashiki: furukawa kaiji jimusho

Allison, G. (1999) *Essence of Decision*. New York: Longman

An, C. C. (안종철) (2008) *Mi'guk Puk changrokkyo Sōnkyosa tūl ūi hwaltong kwa Han-Mi kwan'ge, 1931-1948* (미국 북장로교 선교사들의 활동과 한미관계, 1931-1948 The Activities of American Presbyterian missionaries and Korean-American relations, 1931-1948). Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Seoul National University

----- (2009) *Migunchōng ch'am'yō Mi'guk sōnkyosa, kwallyōn insa tūl ūi hwaltong kwa Taehan min'guk chōngbu surip* (미군정 참여 미국선교사, 관련 인사들의 활동과 대한민국 정부수립 Establishment of the Republic of Korea and the Activities of American Missionaries). *Han'guk kidokkyo wa yōksa* (한국기독교와 역사 Journal of Korean Christianity and History), vol. 30

----- (2010a) *Mi'guk sōnkyosa wa Han-Mi kwankye, 1931-1948* (미국선교사와 한미관계 1931-1948. *American missionaries and US-Korea relations, 1931-1948*). Seoul: Han'guk

kidokkyo yöksayön'guso

----- (2010b) No Distinction between Sacred and Secular: Horace H. Underwood and Korean-American Relations, 1945-1948. *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies*, 23(2), pp.225-246

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso

Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Armstrong, C. K. (1999) Pukhan kukka hyöngsöng üi chaejomyöng: Pukhan munhwa üi hyöngsöng (북한 국가형성의 재조명: 북한 문화의 형성, 1945~1950 Re-reading the formation of North Korean state: the formation of North Korean culture, 1945-1950). *Hyöndaek pukhan yön'gu* (현대북한연구 Journal of Modern North Korean Studies), 2(1)

----- (2003) *The North Korean Revolution, 1945-1950*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Atkins, L. and Wallace, S. (2012) *Qualitative Research in Education*. London: SAGE

Azrael, J. R. (1972) Education and Political Development in the Soviet Union. In Noguee, J. L. (ed.) *Man, State and Society in the Soviet Union*. London: Pall Mall Press

B. G., S. (1989) Chosön uho üi yöksa esö (조선우호의 역사에서, From a friendly history of the Soviet Union and the DPRK). In Soryön Kwahak akademi (소련 과학 아카데미) (ed.) (trans.) *Leningradrobotö Pyöngyang kkaji* (레닌그라드로부터 평양까지 From Leningrad to Pyöngyang: Memoirs of the Soviet General in Liberating Korea). Seoul: Hamsöng

Bailey, D. R. (1996) *U.S. Influences on Korean Education: Understructure, Imprint and Overlay*. Korea Fulbright Forum Volume XII, A Periodic Publication of the Korean-American Commission

Baker, D., & LeTendre, G. K. (2005) *National differences, global similarities: World culture and the future of schooling*. Stanford University Press

Ball, S. J. (1993) What is policy? Texts, trajectories and toolboxes. *Discourse*, 13(2), pp. 10-17

Bang, H. K. (1972) *Japan's Colonial Educational Policy in Korea, 1905-1930*. Unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona

Baumgartner, F. and Jones, B. (1993) *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago: Chicago University Press

----- (2009) *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. 2nd edn. Chicago: Chicago University Press

Bechhofer, F. & Paterson, L. (2000) *Principles of Research Design in the Social Sciences*. Oxford: Routledge

- Bell, C. (1963) *Negotiations from Strength: A Study in the Politics of Power*. New York: Knopf
- Bendix, R. (1964) *Nation-building and Citizenship: Studies of Our Changing Social Order*. New York: Wiley
- Bennett, C. J. (1991) What is policy convergence and what causes it?. *British journal of political science*, 21(02), pp. 215-233
- Benson, D. and Jordan, A. (2011) What Have we Learned from Policy Transfer Research? Dolowitz and Marsh Revisited. *Political Studies Review*, 9(3), pp.366-78
- Bishop, I. B. (1897) *Korea and her neighbors*. New York: Fleming H. Revell
- Blakemore, K. and Griggs, E. (2007) *Social Policy: An Introduction*. Berkshire: McGraw-Hill
- Bonsal, S. (1946) *Suitors and Suppliants*. Prentice Hall
- Breakwell, G. M. (1990) *Interviewing*. London: The British Psychological Society
- Brown, M. (1999) International comparisons and maths education: a critical review. *Oxford Studies in Comparative Education*, 3(2)
- Brus, W. (1977) Stalinism and the 'People's Democracies.' In Tucker, R. C. (ed.) *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation*. New York: Norton
- Burgess, R. G. (1984) *In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research*. London: Routledge
- Buzo, A. (1990) *The Guerilla Dynasty: Politics and leadership in North Korea*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers
- Cairney, P. (2012) *Understanding Public Policy*. Palgrave Macmillian
- Caprio, M. E. (2009) *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945*. Seattle: University of Washington Press
- Carney, S. (2009) Negotiating policy in an age of globalization: Exploring educational "policyscapes" in Denmark, Nepal, and China. *Comparative Education Review*, 53(1), pp. 63-88.
- (2010) Reading the global. *Comparative education at the end of an era*. In Larsen, M. A. (2010) *New thinking in comparative education: Honouring Robert Cowen*. Sense Publishers
- Cha, S. C. (차상철) (2009) Yi Sŭng-man kwa Mi'guk kŭrigo Taehan min'guk chŏngpu surip (이승만과 미국 그리고 대한민국 정부수립 Rhee Syngman, the United States, and the establishment of Republic of Korea). *Mi'guksa yŏn'gu* (미국사연구 Journal of American History), vol. 29, pp. 97-121
- Chang, K. S. (장규식) (2001) *Ilcheha Han'guk Kidokkyominjokchu'ii Yŏn'gu* (일제하 한국 기독교민족주의 연구 A Study on Korean Christian Nationalism during the Japanese Colonial Period). Seoul: Hyeon

- Cho, C. A. (조정아) (2003a) *Sanŏphwa sigi Pukhan kongjang ũi nodong kyuyul hyŏngsŏng – Kyoyuk kwa tongwŏn ũi kyŏlhap ũl chungsim ũro* (산업화시기 북한 공장의 노동규율 형성 – 교육과 동원의 결합을 중심으로, Formation of Labour Regulations during the Industrialization Period). *Pukhan yŏn'guhoe hoebo* (북한연구회 회보 Bulletin of North Korean Studies), 7(1)
- (2003b) *Pukhan ũi hakkyo kyuyul kwa sahoejuŭijŏk nodongja mantŭlgi* (북한의 학교규율과 사회주의적 노동자 만들기, North Korean School Regulations and the Making of Socialist Workers). *Asia kyoyuk yŏn'gu* (아시아교육연구 Journal of Asia-Pacific Education), 4(2)
- (2003c) *Sanŏphwa sigi Pukhan ũi Nodong kyoyuk* (산업화시기 북한의 노동교육 North Korean Vocational Education during the Industrialization Period). unpublished Ph.D. diss., Seoul National University
- Cho, H. (2014) *The Centrality of the State in the Governing of Higher Education in South Korea: A Critical Discourse Analysis*. Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., University of Oxford
- Cho, K. W. et al. (조경원 외) (2009) *Han'guk kyoyuk ũi ihae: Yŏksa wa sasang* (한국교육의 이해: 역사와 사상 Understanding Korean education: history and philosophy). Paju: kyoyu kwahaksa
- Ch'oe, H. P. (최현배) (1962) *Nara rŭl kŏnjinŭn kyoyuk* (나라를 건지는 교육 Education that saves the country). Seoul: Chŏngŭmsa
- (1984) *Urimal Chonjungŭi Kŭnbon Ttŭt* (우리말 존중의 근본 뜻 The Fundamental Meaning of Respecting Our Language). Seoul: Chŏngŭmmunhwasa
- Ch'oe, S. K. (최세경) (1987) *Pukhan ũi chŏngch'i kyoyuk e kwanhan yŏn'gu* (북한의 정치교육에 관한 연구 A study on the political education of North Korea). Unpublished M.A. diss., Tongguk University
- Ch'oe, W. Y. (최원영) (1987) *Migunchŏnggi ũi kyoyuk kwajŏng kaehyŏk* (미군정기의 교육과정 개혁 Reform of Curriculum during the US Military Regime). In Kim, K. S. (ed.) *Kyoyuk sahoehak t'amgu* (교육사회학탐구 Investigation of Educational Sociology). Seoul : Kyoyuk kwahaksa
- Ch'oe, Y. H. (1974) *Commoners in the Yi Dynasty Civil Examinations as Aspect of Social Structure*. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 33 (4), pp. 611-32
- (1987) *The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in the Yi Dynasty Korea, 1392-1600*. Seoul: Korean Research Society

- Ch'oe, Y. K. (최영근) (2010) *Tongasiaesö Kidokkyo wa Minjokchuüi üi Kwan'gye* (동아시아에서 기독교와 민족주의의 관계 Relations between Christianity and Nationalism in East Asia). *Changshinnondan* (장신논단 Forum of Korean Presbyterian Theology). Vol. 27, pp. 9-50
- Choi, K. (1967) Changing Process of Educational Policies and Administration in Communist North Korea. In Hernandez, J. M. (ed.) *Education in North and South Korea*. The Secretariat of the World Anti-Communist League
- Chön, H. S. (전현수) (2001) *Haebang chikhu Pukhan charyo haeje vol. 2- Rösia saengsan charyo* (해방직후 북한 자료 해제 2 – 러시아 생산자료 Interpreting North Korean sources immediately after liberation 2 – sources produced by Russia). In Suh, Dae-suk et al. (서대숙 외) (ed.) *Pukhan hyöndaesa munhön yön'gu* (북한현대사 문헌 연구 Studies on North Korean Modern History Literature). Seoul: Paeksan södang
- Chön, H. S. and Kang, G. (전현수, 강규) (1996) *The Shtykov Diaries. the Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, Issues 6-7, Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center
- Chön, Y. R. et al. (전영률 외) (2004) *Chosön t'ongsa* (조선통사 A Comprehensive History of Korea). Pyöngyang: Sahoekwahak ch'ulp'ansa
- Chön, Y. S. (전영선) (2011) *Pukhan üi taeye munhwa kyoryu wa munhwa Oekyo yön'gu* (북한의 대외문화 교류와 문화외교 연구 A study on cultural cooperation and diplomacy of North Korea). *Chungso yön'gu* (중소연구 Journal of China-Soviet Union Studies), 35(1), pp. 143-163
- Chöng, C. A. (정진아) (2010) *Pukhan i suyonghan sahoejuüi Ssoryön üi imiji* (북한이 수용한 사회주의 소련의 이미지, Images of the Socialist Soviet Union Adopted by North Korea). *T'ongil munje yön'gu* (통일문제연구 Journal of Unification Studies), vol. 54
- Chöng, C. H. (정주현) (1993) *Migunchönggi Sahoesaenghwalkwa üi toipkwajöng e kwanhan yön'gu* (미군정기 사회생활과의 도입과정에 관한 연구 A study on adaptation of social studies subject under the US military government). unpublished M.A. diss., Ewha Women's University
- Chöng, S. I. (정성임) (1998) *Soryön üi tae Pukhan chömyöng chöngchaek e taehan yön'gu, 1945 - 1948* (소련의 대 북한 점령 정책에 대한 연구 A Study of the Soviet occupational policies in North Korea, 1945-1948). unpublished Ph.D. diss., Ehwa Women's university
- Chöng, S. J. (정성진) (1984) *Chosön Minjujuüi konghwaguk esöüi int'eri taegun üi yangsöng* (조선민주주의공화국에서의 인테리대군의 양성 Education of Intelligentsia in DPRK). Pyöngyang: sahoe kwahak ch'ulp'ansa

Chöng, T. S. (정태수) (1988) Migunchönggi Han'guk kyoyuk haengjöng üi kigu wa yowön üi yön'gu – Migun ch'ük saryo rül chungsim ũro (미군정기 한국교육행정의 기구와 요원의 연구 – 미군측 사료를 중심으로 A Study on Korean Administrative Organs and Personnel, Education Administrative Studies). *Kyoyuk haengjönghak yön'gu* (교육행정학연구 Journal of Educational Administration Studies), 6(1)

----- (1992) Migunchönggi kyoyuk chach'i 3 pöp üi ch'oanja wa ippöp üido mit ch'ujin kwajöng (미군정기 교육자치 3법의 초안자와 입법의도 및 추진 과정 The initial writer of the three educational decentralization laws during the US military regime and their original intentions and legislation process). *Kyoyuk pöphak yön'gu* (교육법학연구 Journal of Educational Laws), vol. 3-4, pp. 71-106

Chöng, W. S. et al. (정원식 외) (1999) *Han'guk kyoyuk 100nyönsa* (한국교육100년사 100 Years of Korean Education History). Seoul: Kyoyukshinmunsa

Chöng, W. S. and Pak, S. S. (鄭元植, 朴性洙) (1982) Seoul Taehakkyo Kongsankwön kukka üi yua kyoyuk: Ssoryön kwa Pukhan üil chungsimüro (서울대학교 共產圈國家의 幼兒教育 : 蘇聯과 北韓을 中心으로 Infant Education Policy of the Communist Countries: Cases of the Soviet Union and North Korea). *Sahoekwahak kwa chöngchaek yön'gu* (社會科學과政策研究 Journal of Social Science and Policy Studies), 4(2), pp.131-163

Chöng, W. S. et al. (eds.) (정원식 외) (1999) *Han'guk kyoyuk 100 nyönsa-charyo p'yön* (한국 교육 100년사 자료편 100 years of Korean educational history: resources). Seoul: kyowön sinmunsa

Chöng, Y. S. and Han, M. G. (정영수, 한만길) (1998) *T'ongil sahoe chök'üng üil wihan kyoyuk üi kwaje* (통일사회 적응을 위한 교육의 과제 Educational Tasks for Society After Unification). Seoul: KEDI

Choo, Y. H. (1961) *The Education in the Yi Dynasty*. Seoul: Soodo Women's Teachers College

Chosön Nodongdang Chungang wiwönhoe (조선로동당 중앙위원회) (1979). *Chosön Nodongdang Ryaksa* (조선로동당력사 A Brief History of Labour Party in Korea). Seoul: Tolpegae

Chou, W. Y. (1996) The Kōminka Movement in Taiwan and Korea: Comparisons and Interpretations. In Duus, P. et al. (eds.) *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press

- Chun, H. J. (1968) Sino-Korean Tributary Relations in the Ch'ing Period. In Fairbank, J. K. (ed.) *The Chinese World Order*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press
- Chungang kyoyuk yŏn'guso (중앙교육연구소 Central Education Research Institute) (1961) Uri ga pogo nŭkkin chunghakkyo ūi hyŏnhwang – Chungdŭng kyoyuk kaesŏn ūl wihan silt'aejosa esŏ (우리가 보고 느낀 중학교의 현황 - 중등교육개선을 위한 실태조사에서 The Situation of Middle School Education We See and Feel – From Report on Improving the Middle School Education). *Mun'gyo kongbo* (문교공보 Public Report of Ministry of Education), vol. 11
- (1962) Han'guk chungdŭng kyoyuk ūi chae'gŏn (한국중등교육의 재건 Reconstruction of Korean Middle School Education). *Chosa yŏn'gu* (조사연구 Research Studies), vol. 11
- Clark, D. N. (2002) Protestant Christianity and the State: religious organizations as civil society. In Armstrong, C. K. (ed.) *Korean Society: Civil Society, Democracy and the State*. New York: Routledge
- Clarke, J. et al. (2015) *Making Policy Move: Towards a Politics of Translation and Assemblage*. Policy Press
- Codd, J. A. (1988) The Construction and Deconstruction of Educational Policy Documents. *Journal of Education Policy*, 3(3), pp. 235-247
- Colebatch, H. K. (1998) *Policy*. Buckingham: Open University Press
- Coombs, P. H. (1968). *The world educational crisis: A systems analysis (Vol. 30)*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Cowen, R. (2006) Acting comparatively upon the educational world: Puzzles and possibilities. *Oxford Review of Education*, 32(5), pp. 561–573
- (2009a) Then and Now: Unit Ideas and Comparative Education. In Cowen, R., Kazamias, A. M., & Unterhalter, E. (eds.) (2009) *International handbook of comparative education* (Vol. 22). Springer Science & Business Media
- (2009b) The transfer, translation and transformation of educational processes: and their shape-shifting? *Comparative Education*, 45(3), pp. 315-327
- Crane, P.S. (1978) *Korean Patterns*. Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch
- Cumings, B. (1973). American Policy and Korean Liberation. In Baldwin, F. (ed.) *Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship Since 1945*. New York: Patheon Books
- (1981) *The Origins of the Korean War, vol. 1: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes, 1945-1947*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- (2004) *North Korea: Another Country*. New York and London: The New Press
- (2005) *Korea's Place in the Sun*. New York: Norton

- Cynn, H. H. (1920) *The Rebirth of Korea*. London: Central Board of Missions
- Davies, D. M. (1988) *The Life and Thought of Henry Gerhard Appenzeller (1858-1902), Missionary to Korea*. Lewiston: E. Mellen Press
- Deuchler, M. (1992). *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press
- Development of the National Economy and Culture of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea (1946-1957) (Statistical Handbook)* (1959) Moscow : Gosplan Publishing House
- Dewey, J. (1916, 2004) *Democracy and Education*. New York: Macmillan
- Dodge, H. W. (1971) *A History of US Assistance to Korean Education: 1953-1963*. unpublished Ph.D. diss., George Washington University
- Dolowitz, D. and Marsh, D. (1996) Who learns from whom: A review of the policy transfer literature. *Political Studies*, 44(2), pp. 343-357
- (2000) Learning from abroad: The role of policy transfer in contemporary policy-making. *Governance*, 13(1), pp.5-23
- Duncan, J. B. (2000) *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*. Seattle: University of Washington Press
- Dussauge-Laguna, M. (2013) Policy Transfer as a "Contested" Process. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 36(20), pp. 686-694
- Durant, W. and Durant, A. (2012) *The Lessons of History*. Simon and Schuster
- Eckert, C. J. (1991) *Offspring of Empire: The Koch'ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876-1945*. Seattle: University of Washington Press
- Eckert, C. J. et al. (1991) *Korea Old and New*. Boston: Harvard Korea Institute
- Escobar, A. (2011) *Encountering development. The making and unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Evans, M. (2004) Understanding Policy Transfer. In Evans, M. (ed.) (2004) *Policy Transfer in Global Perspective*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Eta, E. A. (2015) Policy borrowing and transfer, and policy convergence: justifications for the adoption of the Bologna Process in the CEMAC region and the Cameroonian higher education system through the LMD reform. *Comparative Education*, 51(2), pp. 161-178
- Fairbank, J. K. (1968) A preliminary framework. In Fairbank, J. K. (ed.) *Chinese world order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press
- Fiala, R., & Lanford, A. G. (1987) Educational ideology and the world educational revolution, 1950-1970. *Comparative Education Review*, 31(3), pp. 315-332.
- Fishman, S. and Matin, L. (1987) *Estranged Twins: Education and Society in the Two Germanys*.

London: Praeger

Foucault, M. (1978) *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction (Vol. 1)*. New York: Random House

----- (1993) About the beginning of the hermeneutics of the self: Two lectures at Dartmouth. *Political theory*, pp. 198-227

Freeman, R. (2009) What is translation? *Evidence & policy: a journal of research, debate and practice*, 5(4), pp. 429-447

Frieden, J. (1999) Actors and Preferences in International Relations. In Lake and Powell (eds.) *Strategic Choice and International Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Fukuyama, F. (1995) The Primacy of Culture. *Journal of Democracy*, 6(1), pp. 7-14

Gaddis, J. L. (1977) Korea in American Politics, Strategy and Diplomacy, 1945-1950. In Nagai, Y. and Iriye, A. (eds.) *The Origins of the Cold War in Asia*. New York: Columbia University Press

----- (1997) *We Now Know. Rethinking Cold War History*. New York: Oxford University Press

Gardinier M. P. (2015) Middlemen and midwives of reform: the in-between worlds of Albanian educational policy-makers and professionals. *Comparative Education*, 51(2), pp. 276-292

George, A. (1969) The Operational Code: A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making. *International Studies Quarterly*, 13(2), pp. 190-222

Glazer, N. (1976) Social and Cultural Factors in Japanese Economic Growth. In Patrick, H. and Rosovsky, H. (eds.) (1976) *Asia's New Giant: How the Japanese Economy Works*. Washington: The Brookings Institution

Grant, N. (1979) *Soviet Education*. Penguin

Grayson, J. H. (1985) *Early Buddhism and Christianity in Korea*. Leiden: E. J. Brill

Green, A. (1990) *Education and State Formation: the rise of education systems in England, France, and the USA*. New York: St. Martin Press

Hahn, J. H. (1998) *The Impact of nineteenth century American church on the shaping of the foundation of the early Korean church and society (1884-1935)*. Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Fuller Theological Seminary

Hall, P. A. (1993) Policy paradigms, social learning and the state. *Comparative politics*, 25(3), pp.275-296

Halperin, M. H., and Clapp, P. (2006). *Bureaucratic politics and foreign policy*. Brookings Institution Press

Ham, C. K. (함종규) (1984) *Migunchŏng sidae ūi kyoyuk kwa kyoyuk kwajŏng* (미군정시대의 교육과 교육과정 Education and Curriculum under US Military Rule). Seoul: Han'guk kyoyuk kaepalwŏn

Hamilton, G. (1994) Civilization and Organization of Economies. In Smelser, N. J. and Swedberg, R.

- (eds.) *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hamilton, M. (1987) The elements of the Concept of Ideology. *Political Studies*, 35, pp. 18-38
- Han, C. S. and Kim, S. H. (한준상, 김성학) (1990) *Hyöndaeh Han'guk kyoyuk üi insik* (현대한국교육의 인식 *Concepts of Modern South Korean Education*). Seoul: Ch'öngga ch'ulp'ansa
- (2001) *Hyöndaehan'gukkyoyugüi Inshik* (현대한국교육의 인식 Recognition of Contemporary Korean Education). Seoul: Han'guk'aksulchöngbo
- Han, M. G. (한만길) (2000) *Pukhan kyoyuk kwankye pöpyöng yön'gu*. (*Studies on Laws Related to North, 북한 교육 관계 법령 연구 A study on North Korean education-related laws*) Seoul: KEDI
- Han, M. G. et al. (한만길 외) (2001) *Nam-Pukhan kyoyuk ch'ekye pikyo yön'gu* (남북한 교육체계 비교 연구 Comparative Studies on South and North Korea). Seoul: KEDI
- (2004) *Nam-Pukhan kyoyuk ch'ekye pikyo yön'gu* (*Comparative Studies on South and North Korea* (남북한 교육체계 비교 연구: 상호대립과 보완의 관계를 중심으로 Comparative Studies of South and North Korean Educational Systems)). Seoul: KEDI
- Han, S. C. (한성진) (1986) *Migunjönggi Han'guk Kyoyuk ellit'ü e Kwanhan Yön'gu* (미군정기 한국 교육엘리트에 관한 연구 A Study on Korean Education Elites during US Military Government). Unpublished Masters Diss., Yonsei University
- Han, Y. C. (한용진) (1996) Chönhu Ilbon Kyoyugüi Minjuhwa Kwajöngge Kwanhan Koch'al 1 (전후 일본 교육의 민주화 과정에 관한 고찰 (1) A Reflection on the Process of Democratizing Japanese Education in the Post-War Period 1). *Han'guk Kyoyuk'ak Yön'gu* (한국 교육학 연구 The Korea Educational Review), 2(1), pp.157-180
- (1997) Chönhu Ilbon Kyoyugüi Minjuhwa Kwajöngge Kwanhan Koch'al 2 (전후 일본 교육의 민주화 과정에 관한 고찰 (2) A Reflection on the Process of Democratizing Japanese Education in the Post-War Period 2). *Han'guk Kyoyuk'ak Yön'gu* (한국 교육학 연구 The Korea Educational Review), 3(1), pp.71-102
- Han'guk kidokkyo kyoyuk kyoyök yön'guwön (한국기독교교육교육교역연구원) (2010) Dang chöngchaeksa wa hamkke ka'nün pukhan kyoyuk üi pyönch'önsa (당정책사와 함께 가는 북한 교육의 변천사 A transitional history of North Korean education in accordance with a history of party policy). Seoul: Han'guk kidokkyo kyoyuk kyoyök yön'guwön
- Hayashi, T. (林建彦) (1971) *Kita Chösen to Minami Chösen* (北朝鮮と南朝鮮 North Korea and

- South Korea). Tokyo: Saimaru Shuppankai
- Henderson, G. (1968) *Korea, the politics of the vortex*. Cambridge:Harvard University Press
- Hickman, L. A. (2006) Socialization, Social Efficiency, and Social Control: Putting Pragmatism to Work. In Hansen, D. T. (2006) *John Dewey and Our Educational Prospect*. Albany: State University of New York
- Hobsbawm, E. (1987) *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*. London : Weidenfeld & Nicolson
 ----- (1990) *Nations and nationalism since 1780*. New York: Cambridge University Press
 ----- (1994) *The Age of Extremes*. New York: Vintage Books
- Holloway, D. (1994) *Stalin and the Bomb*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Hong, W. S. (홍웅선) (1976) *Ch'otŭng Kyoyuk kwajŏng* (초등 교육과정 Elementary education curriculum). Seoul: kyohaksa
- Howell, M. C. and Prevenier, W. (2001) *From reliable sources: An introduction to historical methods*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Hŏ, T. Y. (허대영) (2005) *Migunchŏnggi Kyoyuk chŏngch'aek kwa O Ch'ŏn-sŏk ūi yŏk'hal e kwanhan yŏn'gu* (미군정기 교육정책과 오천석의 역할에 관한 연구 A Study of Oh Cheon-seok's Roles and Educational Policies under US Military rule). unpublished Ph.D. diss., Kangwŏn University
- Hwang, K. M. (2000) Country or State? Reconceptualizing *Kukka* in the Korean Enlightenment Period, 1896-1910. *Korean Studies*, Vol. 24, pp. 1-24.
- Hyŏn, I. A. (현인애) Interview. 19 February 2014.
- Hyun, E. J. (현은주) (1995) *Migunjŏnggi Han'guk kyoyuk chudo seryŏk kwa kyoyuk chaegŏn e taehan ilyŏngu: 1945-1948 nyŏn kyoyuk chudo seryŏk ūl chungsim ūro* (미군정기 한국교육주도 세력과 교육재건에 대한 일연구:1945-1948년 교육주도 세력을 중심으로 A Study of Korean Education Leaders and Educational Reconstruction during the US Military Government in South Korea, 1945-1948) unpublished M. A. diss., Myong Ji University
- Iiyama, T. (이이야마 다케시) (1998) *Chŏnhu Ilbon Kodŭnggyoyukkiwanŭi Kaep'yŏn'gwajŏnge Kwanhan Yŏn'gu* (전후 일본 고등교육기관의 개편과정에 관한 연구 The Study on the Developmental Process of Postwar Japanese Higher Education.) *Kyoyukyŏn'gu* (교육연구 Educational Studies), Vol. 6, pp. 175-199

- Ikenberry, J. G. (1990) The international spread of privatization policies: Inducement, learning, and policy bandwagoning. In Suleiman, E. N. and Waterbury, J. (eds.) *The Political Economy of Public Sector Reform and Privatization*. Boulder: Westview Press
- Ikenberry, J. and Kupchan, C. (1990) Socialization and hegemonic power. *International Organization*, 44(3), pp.283-315
- Im, Y. K. (임유경) (2009) Cho-So munhwa hyōphoe ūi ch'ulp'an, pōnyōk mit Soryōn pangmun saōp yōn'gu" (조선문화협회의 출판·번역 및 소련방문 사업 연구 Studies on Publication and Translation Projects and visits to the Soviet Union by the DPRK-Soviet Cultural Association). *Taedong munhwa yōn'gu* (대동문화연구 Journal of Cultural Studies on East Asia), vol. 66, pp.485-486
- Im, Y. T. (임영태) (2008) *Taehan min'guksa, 1945-2008* (대한민국사 1945-2008 A History of the Republic of Korea, 1945-2008). P'aju: Tūllōk
- Inaba, T. (稲葉継雄) (1997) *Kyū kanmatsu nichigo gakkō no kenkyū* (旧韓末 日語学校の 研究 A study on Japanese schools at the end of Chosōn Dynasty). Fukuoka-shi: Kyūshū Daigaku Shuppankai
- Inglehart, R. and Baker, W. E. (2000) Modernization, cultural change and the persistence of traditional values. *American Sociological Review*, vol. 65, pp. 19-51
- Jacoby, S. (1974) *Inside Soviet Schools*. New York: Schocken Books
- Jansen, M. B. (2000) *The Making of Modern Japan*. London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press
- Jayasuriya, J.E. (1983) *Education in Korea: a third world success story*. Seoul:Korea National Commission for Unesco
- Johnson, B. and Hagström, B. (2005) The Translation perspective as an alternative to the policy diffusion paradigm: The case of Swedish Methadone Maintenance Treatment. *Journal of Social Policy*, 34(3), pp. 365-388
- Jones, A. (1994) The Educational Legacy of the Soviet Period. In Jones, A. (ed.) *Education and New Society in the New Russia*. London: M.E. Sharpe
- Jules, T. D., & de sá e Silva, M. M. (2008) How Different Disciplines have Approached South-South Cooperation and Transfer. *Society for International Education Journal*, 5(1), pp. 45-64.
- Kang, I. T. (강인덕) (ed.) (1976) *Pukhan chōngch'i-ron* (북한 정치론 Political Discussions on North Korea). Seoul: Kūktong munje yōn'guso
- Kang, K. J. (강근조) (1991) *Chosōn kyoyuksa.4 kwōn* (조선교육사 4 권 DPRK Education History, vol. 4). Kyoyuk tosō ch'ulp'ansa
- Kang, K. K. et al. (강경근 외) (2008) *Taehan min'guk kōn'guk 60 nyōn ūi chaeinsik* (대한민국 건국

60년의 재인식 Rethinking of 60 years since the establishment of the Republic of Korea). Seoul: Kip'arang

- Kang, M. S. (강명숙) (2002) *Migunchǒnggi kodǔng kyoyuk yǒn'gu* (미군정기 고등교육연구 A Study on the Higher Education in Korea under the USAMGIK). unpublished Ph.D. diss., Seoul National University
- (2003) Haebang hu kyoyuk i'nyǒm kwa chedo chǒngnip ũi chemunje: 6-3-3-4 tansǒnhyǒng hakje ũi chǒngnip kwajǒng ũl chungsim ũro (해방 후 교육이념과 제도 정립의 제문제: 6-3-3-4 단선형 학제의 정립과정을 중심으로 The problem of establishment of educational philosophy and policy after liberation). *Ch'angnip 39 chu'nyǒn Han'guk kyoyuksa hakhoe ki'nyǒm haksul taehoe* (창립 39주년 한국교육사학회 기념학술대회) (22 November 2003) Seoul Kyotae Inmunkwan 1 chǔng Sich'ǒnggak kangŭisil (서울 교대 인문관 1층 시청각 강의실) Huwǒn: Hanguk Haksul Chinhǔng chaetan
- Keeves, J. (ed.) (1988) *Educational Research, Methodology and Measurement: An International Handbook*. Oxford: Pergamon Press
- Kenez, P. (1983) *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917-1929*. New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Kim, A. E. (2000) Christianity, Shamanism, and Modernization in South Korea. *Cross Currents*, Spring/Summer, pp. 112-119
- Kim, C. H. (김창호) (1990) *Chosǒn Kyoyuksa, 3 kwǒn* (조선교육사 3권 DPRK Education History vol. 3). Pyǒngyang: Kyoyuk tosǒ ch'ulp'ansa
- Kim, C. H. (김정희) (1998) *Han'guk Kyoyuk e natanan ch'imijǒk sǒnghyang soch'al* (한국교육에 나타난 친미적 성향 소찰 A brief study of pro-American characteristics in Korean Education). unpublished M.A. diss., Sukmyǒng Women's University
- Kim, C. N. (김충남) (2009) Han'guk kukka kǒnsǒl ũi tochǒn kwa Yi Sǔng-man ũi ũng'chǒn (한국 국가 건설의 도전과 이승만의 응전 Challenges of Modern State Formation in Korea and the Responses of Yi Sǔng-man). In Yi, I. H. (이인호) et al. (eds.) *Taehan Minguk kǒn'guk ũi chaeinsik* (대한민국 건국의 재인식 Rethinking of the establishment of the Republic of Korea), Seoul: Kip'arang
- Kim, D. K. (1984) *American Influence on Korean Educational Through During the Period of US Military Government, 1945-1948*. unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut
- Kim, E. C. (1973) Education in Korea under the Japanese Colonial Rule. In Nahm, A. (ed.) *Korea under Japanese colonial rule: studies of the policy and techniques of Japanese colonialism*. Kalamazoo: Center for Korean Studies, Western Michigan University

- Kim, E. G. (2011) English educational policies of the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea from 1945 to 1948 and their effects on the development of English language teaching in Korea. *Language Policy*, 10(3), pp. 193-220
- Kim, G. O. (2013) The Making of the Juche State in Postcolonial North Korea. In Suh, J. J. (ed.) *Origins of North Korea's Juche: Colonialism, War, and Development*. London: Lexington Books
- Kim, H. C. (1969) *A Study of North Korean Education under Communism since 1945*. Unpublished Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers
- (2005) *Human Remolding in North Korea: A Social History of Education*. Oxford: University Press of America
- Kim, H. C. (김한중) (2003) Sin Kukka könsölgi kyoyukge inmaek kwa i'nyömjök sönghyang (신국가건설기 교육계 인맥과 이념적 성향, People's genealogy and their ideological characters in educational circle in the era of Korea's state building). *Yöksa kyoyuk* (역사교육 Journal of History Education), vol. 88, pp. 39-69
- Kim, H. G. (김한길) (1983) *Hyöndae Chosön Ryöksa* (현대조선력사 Modern history of Korea). Pyöngyang: Sahoekwahak ch'ulp'ansa
- Kim, H. G. (김희곤) (2004) *Taehan Minguk imsi chöngpu yön'gu* (대한민국임시정부연구 A Study of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea). Seoul: Chisik sanöpsa
- Kim, H. J. (김학준) (1985) Pukhan chöngkwön hyöngsönggi wa chöngkwön ch'och'anggi üi Pukhan kwa Soryön üi kwangye (북한 정권형성기와 정권초창기의 북한과 소련의 관계 North Korean - Soviet Russian Relations During the Soviet Occupation of North Korea). *Tonga yön'gu* (동아연구 Journal of East Asia), vol.5, pp. 73-139
- Kim, I. H. (김인회) (1983) *Kyoyuk kwa Minjung munhwa* (교육과 민중 문화 Education and Ethnic Culture). Seoul: Hangilsa
- (1993, 2002) *Han'guk kyoyuk üi yöksa wa munje* (한국교육의 역사와 문제 History and Problem of Korean Education). Seoul: Han'guk hakch'ul chöngpo
- (2015) *Yönhüi Chönmun mun'gwa 30nyön (1915-1945)üi Inmunhakchöngshin'gwa Minjoksajök üimi* (연희 전문 문과 30년 (1915-1945)의 인문학정신과 민족사적 의미 Humanistic Spirit and National Historical Meaning of 30 Years of Humanities Department of Yönhüi College). Yönsë Taehakkyo Yongchae haksul Ki'nyömsang Palp'yomun (연세대학교 용재학술 기념상 발표문)
- Kim, I. Y. (김일영) (2004) *Kön'guk kwa Pu'guk: Hyöndae Han'guk chöngch'isa kang'üi* (건국과 부국: 현대 한국정치사 강의 The Founding Country and Rich Country: Lecture on a Political History of Modern Korea). Seoul: Saeng'gaküi namu

- Kim, J. C. (2000) Historical Development. In Weidman, J. C. and Park, N. G. (2000) (eds.) *Higher Education in Korea: Tradition and Adaptation*. New York: Falmer Press
- Kim, J. H. (김정희) (1998) *Han'guk kyoyuk e nat'anan ch'inmijök sŏngnyang soch'al* (한국교육에 나타난 친미적 성향 소찰 A brief study of pro-American characteristics in Korean education). unpublished M.A. diss., Sukmyŏng Women's University
- Kim, J. M. (김재만) (1975) *Han'guk kyoyuk e mich'in J. Dewey Kyoyuk sasang ūi yŏngnyang kwa chŏnmang* (한국교육에 미친 J. Dewey 교육사상의 영향과 전망 Influences and prospects of John Dewey's educational philosophy on Korean education). *Nonmunjip* (논문집 A Collection of papers), Daegu Teachers College (대구교육대학교), pp. 71-98
- Kim, K. M. (김경미) (2009) *Han'guk Kŭndae kyoyuk ūi hyŏngsŏng* (한국 근대교육의 형성 Formation of modern education in Korea). Seoul: Hyeon
- Kim, K. S. (2005) Globalization, statist political economy, and unsuccessful education reform in South Korea, 1993-2003. *Education policy analysis archives*, 13(12)
- Kim, K. S. and Yu, P. R. (김기석, 유방란) (1999) *Han'guk kŭndae kyoyuk ūi T'aedong* (한국 근대교육의 태동 The Birth of Modern Education in Korea). Seoul: Kyoyuk kwahaksa
- Kim, K.S. et al. (김기석 외) (2011) *Haeoe sojae Pukhan kyoyuk kwallyŏn charyo DB kuch'uk kwa hwallyong* (해외 소재 북한 교육관련 자료 DB 구축과 활용 Establishment of Database of North Korean Resources Abroad and Their Applications). Seoul: Seoultae t'ong'il p'yŏnghwa yŏn'guwŏn
- Kim, K. U. (김광운) (2003) *Pukhan chŏngch'isa yŏn'gu 1 - Kŏn'dang, Kŏn'guk, Kŏn'gun ūi yŏksa* (북한정치사연구I - 건당, 건국, 건군의 역사 A Study of the History of the North Korean Politics 1 - History of Founding the Party, the State, and the Army). Seoul: Sŏnin
- Kim, S. (2013) *Everyday Life in the North Korean Revolution, 1945-1950*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Kim, S. C. (김성철) (1997) *Pukhan kanpu chŏngchaek ūi chisok kwa pyŏnhwa*. (북한 간부 정책의 지속과 변화 The continuation and change of North Korea's cadre policy). *Tongil yŏn'gu ch'ongsŏ* (통일연구총서 A Series of Unification Studies), Minjok t'ongil yŏnguwŏn
- Kim, S. C. (2006) *North Korea Under Kim Jong Il: From Consolidation to systemic Dissonance*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Kim, S. H. (1971) *Education in North Korea: Technical, Manpower and Industrial Development..* unpublished Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers.

- Kim, S. H. (김성학) (1990) *Sōgu Kyoyukhak ūi Toip* (서구 교육학의 도입 Introduction of Western Pedagogy). Seoul: Munūmsa
- Kim, S. H. (2011) *John Dewey's Ideas on Authority and Their Significance for Contemporary Korean Schools*. unpublished Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University
- Kim, S. J. (김석준) (1996) *Migunchōng sidae ūi kukka wa haengjōng* (미군정 시대의 국가와 행정 The state and administration in the time of the US military occupation). Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press
- Kim, S. P. (김성보) (1997) Pukhan chōngch'i ellit'ū ūi ch'ungwōn kwachōng kwa kyōngnyōk punsōk- Chōnggwōn kigwan kanpu rŭl chungsim ūro (1945-50) (북한 정치 엘리트의 충원과정과 경력 분석-정권기관 간부를 중심으로 (1945-50) An analysis of the process of recruiting elites in North Korean politics and their background - the case of cadres in the administration). *Tongpuka yōn'gu* (동북아 연구 Journal of Northeast Asian studies), vol. 3, pp. 211-235
- (2011) *Pukhan ūi yōksa 1- Kōn'guk kwa inmin minjujuūi ūi kyōnghōm, 1945-1960* (북한의 역사 1- 건국과 인민민주주의의 경험1945-1960 *A History of North Korea 1- The Experience of Founding the State and People's Democracy*). Seoul: Yōksa pip'yōngsa
- Kim, T. (2001) *Forming the Academic Profession in East Asia*. London: Routledge
- Kim, T. H. (김동혁) (1998) *Migunchōnggi kyoyuk chōngchaek kwa chongkyo e kwanhan yōn'gu* (미군정기 교육정책과 종교에 관한 연구 A study of education policy and religion under US military regime). unpublished M.A. diss., Tongguk University
- Kim, T. H. (김도형) (2013) 1920-30nyōndae Minjokmunhwa undong kwa Yōnhŭi jōnmun hakkyo (1920-30 년대 민족문화운동과 연희전문학교 National Cultural Movement and Yōnhee College). *Tongbang hakhoe* (동방학회 Journal of Oriental Academia), Vol.15, pp. 191-227
- Kim, T. K. (김동규) (1988) Kongsanjuūi kyoyukhak ūi sōgnip kwajōng kwa paljōn hyōngt'ae: Soryōn Chung'gong Pukhan ūi ideologi kyoyuk ūl chungsim ūro (공산주의 교육학의 성립과정과 발전형태 - 소련 중공 북한의 이데올로기 교육을 중심으로 The Formation and Development of Communist Pedagogy – Focusing on the Soviet, Chinese, and North Korean Ideological Education). *Yunri yōn'gu* (윤리연구 Journal of Ethics Studies), vol. 27, pp. 49-91
- Kim, T.M. (김동명) (2006) *Chipae wa chōhang: Singminji Chosōn esō ūi Ilpon chegukjuūi wa Chosōnin ūi Chōngch'i undong* (지배와 저항, 그리고 협력: 식민지 조선에서의 일본제국주의와 조선인의 정치운동 Domination, Resistance, and Collaboration: Japanese Imperialism and Korean's Political Movement in Colonial Korea). Seoul: Kyōngin munhwasa

- Kim, Y. C. (1979) *Women of Korea: A History from Ancient Times to 1945*. Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press
- Kim, Y. H. (2000) Concurrent Development of Education Policy and Industrialization Strategies in Korea (1945-95): a historical perspective. *Journal of Education and Work*, 13(1), pp. 95-118
- Kim, Y. I. (김용일) (1995a) Migunchǒnggi kyoyuk chach'i sambǒp'ui chǒngch'ihak (미군정기 '교육자치삼법'의 정치학 Politics of 'Educational Decentralization Law' during the US military regime). *Kyoyuk munje yǒn'gu* (교육문제연구 *Journal of Educational Problem*), vol. 7, pp. 141-160
- (1995b) Migunchǒnggi kyoyuk chǒngch'aek chibae seryǒk hyǒngsǒng e kwanhan yǒn'gu (미군정기 교육정책 지배세력 형성에 관한 연구 A study on the formation of educational leaders during the US military rule). *Han'guk kyoyuk haengjǒng hakhoe* (한국교육행정학회 *Journal of Korean Educational Administration Association*), 13(4), pp.25-54
- (1999) *Migunchǒngha ūi kyoyuk chǒngch'aek yǒn'gu* (미군정하의 교육정책 연구 Studies of Educational Policies during the US Military Regime). Seoul: Korea University Institute of Korean Cultural Studies Seoul: Koryǒdaehakkyo Minjongmunhwa Yǒn'guwǒn
- Kim, Y. S. (김영식) (1978) Soryǒn kyoyuk sasang ūi yǒn'gu: Ant'on ssemino pich'i Mak'arenk'o ūi kyoyuk sasang kwa kyoyuk pangbǒp ūl chǒngsim ūro (소련 교육사상의 연구: 안톤세미노비치 마카렌코의 교육사상과 교육방법을 중심으로 A Study of the Soviet education ideas: A case of Educational thoughts and methods of Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko). *Kyoyukhak yǒn'gu* (교육학연구 *Journal of Educational Studies*), 16 (1), pp. 16-28
- Kim, H. and Kim, D. (2005) *Human Remolding in North Korea: A Social History of Education*. Oxford: University Press of America
- King, N. & Horrocks, C. (2009) *Interviews in Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE
- Knight, K. (2006) Transformations of the Concept of Ideology in the Twentieth Century. *American Political Science Review*, 100(4), pp. 619-626
- Ko, S. K. (고석규) (1993) 1894 nyǒn Nongmin Chǒnch'aeng kwa Pan-pong'gǒn Kūndaehwa (1894 년 농민전쟁과 반봉건 근대화 Peasant war in 1894 and Anti-feudal Modernization). In Tonghak Nongmin hyǒngmyǒng kinyǒm saǒphoe (동학농민혁명기념사업회) (ed.) *Tonghak Nongmin undong kwa Sahoe pyǒndong* (동학농민혁명과사회변동 Tonhak peasant revolution and societal changes). Seoul: Hanul
- Ko, Y. J. (고영진) (2005) Haebang chikhu Pukhan ūi 'Munmaeng t'oech'i undong' e kwanhan ilgoch'al' (해방직후 북한의 '문맹퇴치운동'에 관한 일고찰 A reflection on illiterate

movement in North Korea in the post liberation period). *Gengo bunka* (言語文化 Journal of Language Culture), 8(2), pp. 381 - 408

Kodang kinyŏm saŏphoe (고당기념사업회) (ed.) (2004) *Pukhan Ilch'ŏnman tongp'o wa saengsa rŭl kach'i haketso: Minjok ūi yŏngwŏnhan sŭsŭng Kodang Cho Man-sik chŏn'gi*: (북한 일천만 동포와 생사를 같이하겠소 - 민족의 영원한 스승 고당 조만식 전기 I will share my destiny with a thousand people in North Korea- Kodang Cho Man-sik biography). Seoul: Kip'arang.

Kogan, M. (1978) *The Politics of Educational Change*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

Koo, Y. N. (1975) The Conduct of Foreign Affairs. In Wright, R. E. (ed.) *Korean Politics in Transition*. Seattle: University of Washington Press

Krasner, S. D. (1999) Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison wonderland). In Ikenberry, J. (ed.) *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*. New York: Longman (3rd edn)

Kuksap'yŏnch'anwiwŏnhoe (국사편찬위원회) (1981) *Han'guksa 20: Kŭndae-Kŭndaemunhwa ūi Palsaeng* (한국사 20: 근대-근대문화의 발생 Korean History 20: Origin of Modernity- Modern Culture). Seoul: Kuksap'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe

Kwon, C. K. (권진관) (1992) 1920-30nyŏndae Kŭpchinjuŭi Sidae e isŏsŏ ūi Minjung kwa Kyohoe (1920-30년대 급진주의 시대에 있어서의 민중과 교회 People and Church during the progressive period of 1920s and 1930s). In Kim, H. S. (김흥수) (ed.) *Ilcheha Han'guk kidokkyo wa Sahoejuŭi* (일제하 한국기독교와 사회주의 Korean Christianity and Socialism during the Japanese Colonization). Seoul: Taehanyesugyojangnohoech'ulp'an'guk

Kwon, I. S. (1998) "The New Women's Movement" in 1920s Korea: Rethinking the Relationship Between Imperialism and Women. *Gender & History*, 10(3), pp. 381-405

Kyowŏn Shinmunsa (교원신문) (1992) *Uri dang ūi int'eri chŏngch'aek* (우리 당의 인테리 정책 Our Party's Intelligentsia Policy).

Kyoyuk tosŏ ch'lp'ansa (교육도서출판사) (1995) *Haebang hu 10 nyŏngan ūi Konghwa'guk inmin kyoyuk ūi paljŏn* (해방 후 10년간의 공화국 인민교육의 발전 DPRK Educational Development during the 10 Years after Liberation). Kyoyuk tosŏ ch'lp'ansa: P'yŏngyang

Kyoyuk pun'gwa chipp'il wiwŏnhoe (교육 분과 집필 위원회) (1961) *Kyoyukhak* (교육학 Pedagogy). P'yŏngyang: Hagu sŏbang

Lankov, A. N. (안드레이 란코프) (Kim, K. L. trans. 김광린역) (1999) *Soryŏn ūi charyoro pon Pukhan hyŏndae chŏngch'isa* (소련의 자료로 본 북한 현대 정치사 A History of North

- Korean Modern Politics in Soviet Documents). Seoul: Orüm
- (2000) Continuity Within Change: Soviet Influence in the North Korean Education System. *Acta Koreana*. Vol. 3, pp.57-75
- (2002) *From Stalin to Kim Il Sung: The Formation of North Korea, 1945–1960*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Larsen, M. A. (2010) *New thinking in comparative education: Honouring Robert Cowen*. Sense Publishers
- Lauterbach, R. (1947) *Danger from the East*. New York: Harper.
- Lee, C. I. (이창익) (2004) *1950 nyöndaee Miguk üi kyoyukwönjo wa kyoyukkye üi tonghyang* (1950년대 미국의 교육원조와 교육계의 동향 US educational aid and Korean educational situation during the 1950s). unpublished M.A. diss., Yonsei University
- Lee, C. S. (1963) *The Politics of Korean Nationalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Lee, G. S. (1989) *Ideological Context of American Educational Policy in Occupied Korea, 1945-1948*. unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.
- Lee, H. (2001) School Expansion in North Korea and South Korea: Two Systems, Two Approaches. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 2(1), pp.101-110
- Lee, J.J. et al. (1988) Transnational transfer of curriculum knowledge: a Korean case study, *Journal of curriculum studies*, 20(3), pp. 233-246
- Lee, J. K. (2000) *Historic Factors Influencing Korean Higher Education*. Seoul: Jimoongdang
- (2002a) Christianity and Korean Education in the Late Choson Period. *Christian Higher Education*, 1(1), pp. 85-99
- (2002b) The Role of Religion in Korean Higher Education. *Religion & Education*, 29(1)
- (2006) Korean Higher Education under the United States Military Government: 1945-1948. *Radical Pedagogy*, 8 (1), pp. 1-10
- Lee, K. (Wagner, E. and Shultz, E. trans.) (1984) *A New History of Korea*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Lee, K. H. (이광호) (1983) *Migunjönggi Han'guk Kyoyukchedo Hyöngsöngge Kwanhan Koch'al* (미군정기 한국 교육제도 형성에 관한 고찰 A reflection on the formation of Korean education system during the US military government). Unpublished Masters Diss., Yonsei University
- (1990) *Han'guk Kyoyukch'eje Chaep'yönüi Kujöjök T'üksöngge Kwanhan Yön'gu*:

- 1945-1955Nyönül Chungshimüro (한국 교육체제 재편의 구조적 특성에 관한 연구: 1945-1955년을 중심으로 A study on the structural characteristics of Korean education system restructuring: focusing on 1945-1955). Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Yonsei University
- Lee, P. H. (1985) Versions of the Self. In Bary, T. and Kim, J. H. (eds.) *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*. New York: Columbia University Press
- (1993) *Sources of Korean Civilization*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lee, P. H. et al. (2000) *Sources of Korean Tradition Vol 2*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lee, S. H. (이성호) (1989) The emergence of the modern university in Korea, *Higher Education*, vol. 18, pp.87-116
- (2006) *Korean Higher Education: Its Emergence, Development and Future Challenges*. Seoul: Hakjisa
- Lee, S. Y. (2011) *Saekyoyuklonüi pip'anchök punsököül t'onghan kyoyukkaehyököü inyömchök künkö t'amsaek* (새교육론의 비판적 분석을 통한 교육개혁의 이념적 근거 탐색 A Study on Ideological Foundation of Education Reform through the Critical Analysis of New Education Theory). Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Kyöngbuk University
- Lee, Y. H. (1975) The politics of democratic experiment, 1948-1974. In Wright, E. R. (ed.) *Korean Politics in Transition*. Seattle: University of Washington Press
- Lee, Y. M. (2000) *Modern Education, Textbooks and the Image of the Nation: Politics of Modernization and Nationalism in Korean Education, 1880-1910*. Routledge
- Lee, Y. P. (리영복) (1984) *Chosön Minjujuüi inmin konghwaguk esöüi kyoyuk* (조선민주주의인민공화국에서의 교육 Education of Democratic People's Republic of Korea). Pyöngyang: Sahoe kwahak ch'ulp'ansa
- Leffler, M. P. (1996) Inside enemy archives: the Cold War reopened. *Foreign Affairs*, 75(4), pp. 120-135
- Lim, S. H. (1985) Women and education in Korea. *Korea Journal*, 25(1), pp. 16-24
- Manabu, W. (와타나베 마나부) (trans. Kyoyuksahak'oe) (2010) *Wat'anabe üi Han'guk Kyoyuksa* (와타나베의 한국 교육사 Watanabe's Korean Education History). Seoul: Munümsa
- Mack, L. (2010) The Philosophical Underpinnings of Educational Research. *Polyglossia*, vol. 19, pp. 5-11
- Mahoney, J. and Rueschemeyer, D. (2003) Comparative Historical Analysis: Achievements and Agendas. In Mahoney, J. and Rueschemeyer, D. (eds.) (2003) *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. New York: Cambridge University Press

- Makarenko, A. (1964) Lectures on the education of children: abridged. In Makarenko, A. (1964) *Makarenko, His Life and Work*. Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House
- (1964) My experience. In Makarenko, A. (1964) *Makarenko, His Life and Work*. Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House
- Marsh, D., & Evans, M. (2012) Policy transfer: coming of age and learning from the experience. *Policy Studies*, Political Studies Review, 33(6), 477-481
- Marshall, M. N. (1996) Sampling for qualitative research. *Family Practice*, 13 (6), pp. 522-525
- Marx, K. (1859) *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Moscow: Progress Publisher.
Online Version: Marxist.org 1999
- (1970) *Capital*. London: Lawrence and Wishart
- Matthews, M. (1982) *Education in the Soviet Union*. London: George Allen & Unwin
- Maxwell, J. A. (2005) *Qualitative Research Design*. London: Sage
- May, T. (2001) *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. Buckingham: Open University Press
- McCann, E. and Ward, K. (2012) Policy Assemblages, Mobilities and Mutations: Toward a Multidisciplinary Conversaion. *Political Studies Review*, 10(3), pp. 325-332
- McClosky, H. (1964) Consensus and ideology in American politics. *American Political Science Review*, 58(2), pp.361-382
- McCulloch, G. & Richardson, W. (2000) *Historical Research in Educational Settings*. Buckingham: Open University Press
- McCune, G. (1950) *Korea Today*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- McGinn, N. F. et al. (1980) *Education and Development in Korea*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University
- McKenzie, F. (1969) *Korea's fight for freedom*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press
- McNeal, R. H. (1973) *Bride of the Revolution: Krupskaya and Lenin*. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.
- Meyer, J. W., & Ramirez, F. O. (2000) The world institutionalization of education. *Discourse formation in comparative education*, pp. 111-132
- Meyer, J. W., Ramirez, F. O., Rubinson, R., & Boli-Bennett, J. (1977) The world educational revolution, 1950-1970. *Sociology of education*, pp. 242-258
- Mirae Han'guk* (미래 한국 Future Korea), 'Ko Wõnilhan Paksa' (고 원일한 (H. G. Underwood II) 박사 Dr. H.G. Underwood II) 3 February 2004
(<http://www.futurekorea.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=5004>) [accessed 27 July 2015]
- Mo, S. Y. and Chõn, Y. S. (모순영, 전영선) (2013) Pukhan munhwa hyõpjõng ùi chõn'gae yangsang

- kwa kū t'ükjing (북한 문화협정의 전개양상과 그 특징 Development of the DPRK cultural agreement and its characteristics). *T'ongil inmunhak nonch'ong* (통일인문학논총 Collection of Unification Humanities Journal), vol. 55, pp. 217-246
- Moe, T. M. (1995) The Politics of Structural Choice: Toward a Theory of Public Bureaucracy. In Williamson, O.E. (ed.) (1995) *Organization Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Morita, Y. and Osada, K. (森田芳夫, 長田かな子) (1979) *Chōsen shūsen no kiroku. shiryōhen* (朝鮮終戦の記録. 資料篇 Record of the end of war period in Korea: resources). Tokyo : Gannandō Shoten
- Morris, P. (2013) World yearbook of education 2012: policy borrowing and lending in education. *Comparative Education*, 49(2), pp. 260-262
- Mullins, W. A. (1972) On the Concept of Ideology in Political Science. *The American Political Science Review*, 66(2), pp. 498-510
- Müller, D. et al. (1987) *The Rise of the modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction, 1870-1920*. N. Y.: Cambridge University Press.
- Mun, C. S. (문장순) (2010) Pukhan kyoyuk ūi p'yōnhwa wa tangmyōn kwaje (북한 교육의 변화와 당면 과제 change in North Korean education and the themes of party dictates). *Nampuk Munhwa yesul yōn'gu* (남북문화예술연구 Journal of North and South Korea Culture and Arts), vol. 6, pp. 221-251
- Munkyobu (문교부) (1958) *Munkyo kaekwan* (문교개관 Introduction to Education Policy). Seoul: Taehan munkyo söchök chusikhoesa
- (1988) *Munkyo 40 nyōnsa* (문교40년사 40 Years' History of the Ministry of Education). Seoul: Munkyopu
- Murray, T. R. (1998) *Conducting Educational Research: A Comparative View*. London: Bergin and Garvey
- Nam, B. H. (1962) *Educational Reorganization in South Korea Under the USAMGIK, 1945-1948*. unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburg.
- National Archives of Korea. Website on Central Teacher Training Institute (last updated, 2006. Dec. 1) <http://theme.archives.go.kr/next/content/listSubjectDescription.do?id=003191&pageFlag=>
- National Institute of Korean History, Uriyöksanet, (1945) MacArthur, Douglas the Proclamation No. 1 September 7th 1945 : http://contents.history.go.kr/cb/deManage.do?process=deTransView&era=contemp&theme=politic&itemId=eh_cb_de_8102_0020&menuItem=08
- Newton, T. (1996) Agency and discourse: recruiting consultants in a life insurance company. *Sociology*, 30(4), pp.717-39

- No, C. S. (ed.) (노중선) (1985) *Minjok kwa t'ongil* (민족과 통일 The Koreans and Unification). Seoul: Sagyejöl
- No, K. K. (노공근) (1961) Uri nara Saekyoyuk undong üi sasangjök paekyöng (우리나라 새교육 운동의 사상적 배경 Philosophical backgrounds of Korea's New Education Movement). *Kyoyuk yön'gu* (교육연구 *Journal of Educational Studies*), No. 17, pp. 64-79
- Nogee, J. L. (ed.) (1972) *Man, State and Society in the Soviet Union*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- O, C. S. (오천석) (1960) *Minjujuüi Kyoyuk üi chihyanghayö* (민주주의 교육을 지향하여 Towards Democratic Education). Seoul: Üllyumunhwasa
- (1964) *Han 'guk Sinkyoyuksa* (한국신교육사 A New History of Education in Korea). Seoul: Hyöndae kyoyuk chongsö ch'ulp'ansa
- (1975) *Minjujuüi kyoyuk üi könsöl* (민주주의교육의 건설 The Construction of Democratic Education). Seoul: Kwanmyöngch'ulp'ansa
- (1975) *Han 'guk Sinkyoyuksa* (Ha) (한국신교육사 (하) A New History of Education in Korea, II). Seoul: Kwangmyöng ch'ulp'ansa
- O, U. H. and Ch'oe, C. S. (오욱환, 최정실) (1993) *Migunchömyöng sidae üi Han 'guk kyoyuk: sasil kwa haesök* (미군점령 시대의 한국교육: 사실과 해석 Korean Education during the US Military Regime: Facts and Interpretations). Seoul: Chisik sanöpsa
- Ochs, K. and Phillips, D. (2002) Comparative Studies and Cross-National Attraction in Education: A typology for the analysis of English interest in educational policy and provision in Germany. *Educational Studies*, 28(4), pp. 325-339
- Oh, C.Y. (1990) American Influence on Korean Education. In Shin, M. S. et al. (eds.) *Partners in a Changing World: Korea and Canada in the Pacific Rim*. Seoul: Institute of East and West Studies, Yonsei University
- Oh, I. W. (2011) Anticommunism and the National Identity of Korea in the Contemporary Era: With a Special Focus on the USAMGIK and Syngman Rhee Government Periods. *The Review of Korean Studies*, 14(2), pp.61-100
- Oh, S. C. and Kim, K. S. (1997) Japanese Colonial Education as a Contested Terrain: What Part Did Koreans Play in the Expansion of Elementary Schooling? *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 1(1), pp. 75-89
- Paik, L. G. (George L.) (1970[1929]) *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.
- Pae, K. H. (배개화) (2012) Pukhan munhakja dül üi Soryön kihaeng kwa chönhu Soryön üi isik" (북한 문학자들의 소련기행과 전후 소련의 이식 The North Korean literati's journey to the

- Soviet Union in the Post-War Period). *Minjok munhaksa yŏn'gu* (민족문학사연구 Journal of Korean Literature), vol. 50, pp. 364-399
- Paek, N. J. (白樂濬) (1963) *Han'guk ūi hyŏnsil kwa isang* (韓國의 現實과 理想 The current situation and ideals of the Republic of Korea). Seoul: Tonga ch'ulp'ansa
- Pai, H. I. (2000) *Constructing "Korean" origins: a critical review of archaeology, historiography, and racial myth in Korean state-formation theories*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center
- Pak C. M. (박찬만) (2012) *Chu-Pukhan Sobietŭ yŏnpang kunsā komundan ūi yŏkhal kwa kinŭng* (1948-1953) (주북한 소비에트연방군사고문단의 역할과 기능 (1948-1953) The role and function of the Soviet Union's military advisory board in DPRK, 1948-1953). unpublished Ph.D. diss., Kyŏnggi University
- Pak, K. Y. et al. (박균열 외) (2010) *Pukhan ūi hakkyo ūmak pyŏnch'ŏn* (북한의 학교 음악 변천 A Study on Transition of Music Education in Elementary and Secondary School of North Korea). *T'ongil chŏnryak* (통일 전략 Journal of Unification Strategies), 10(3), pp. 145-180
- Pak, H. K. (1964) *Social Changes in the Educational and Religious Institutions of Korean Society under Japanese and American Occupation*, unpublished Ph.D. diss., Utah State University.
- Pak, I. J. (박일중)(1996) *Migunchŏng ch'ogi ūi Namhan kwa Ilpon ūi kyoyuk kaehyŏk pikyo yŏn'gu* (미군정초기의 남한과 일본의 교육개혁 비교연구 A comparative study of education reforms between South Korea and Japan during the early US military regime). unpublished M.A. diss., Hanguk Kyowŏn University
- Pak, P. Y. (박범용) (2001) *Migunchŏnggi Miguk kyoyukron ūi toip kwa kyoyuk chŏngch'aek* (미군정기 미국 교육론의 도입과 교육정책 Adoption of American education theories and education policies under the US military regime). unpublished MA diss., Yonsei University
- Pak, T. J. (박덕준) (1988) *Chosŏn kŭndae kyoyuksa* (조선 근대 교육사 A history of modern education in Chosŏn). P'yŏngyang: Sahoekwahak ch'ulp'ansa
- Pak, T. S. (박태성) (1991) *Chung'guk, Soryŏn ūi chŏngch'i, kyŏngje ch'eje kaehyŏk pigyo yŏn'gu* (1): *ku soryŏn ūi kyoyuk chŏnt'ong: sasangjŏk ch'ŭkmyŏn ūl chungsim ūro* (중국, 소련의 정치, 경제체제개혁 비교연구 (1): 구소련의 교육전통: 사상적 측면을 중심으로, Special Issue on Comparative Studies of Political and Economic Reforms in China and Russia). *Chungso yŏn'gu* (중소연구 Journal of China-Soviet Union Studies), 15(4), pp. 131-162
- Pak, Ŭ. S. et al. (박익수 외) (2000) *Kyoyuk ūi yŏksa wa ch'ŏlhak* (교육의 역사와 철학 A history and philosophy of education). Seoul: Tongmunsa
- Pak, Y. H. (박용현) (1976) *Pukhan kyoyukjedo wa Soryŏn ūi yŏnghyang* (북한교육제도와 소련의

- 영향 North Korean Education policy and the influence of the Soviet). *Pukhan yŏn'gu* (북한연구 Journal of North Korean Studies), vol. 60, pp. 158-166
- Pak, Y. S. and Pan, S. J. (박영숙, 반상진) (2005) Han'guk kyoyuk kaehyŏk e natanan chŏngch'ijŏk tamron ŭi pyŏnhwa ch'ui (한국 교육개혁에 나타난 정치적 담론의 변화추이, Changes of political discourse in Korean educational reform). *Han'guk kyoyuk chŏngch'i hakhoe* (한국교육정치학회 Journal of Korean Educational Policies), 12(2), pp. 63-87
- Palais, J. B. (1975) *Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Park, B. M. (1972) John Dewey and Progressive Education as Reflected in Korean Society Since 1945. *Review of Educational Studies in Korea*, vol. 1, pp. 53-58
- Park, I. J. (박일종) (1996) *Migunjŏng Ch'ogiŭi Namhan'gwa Ilbonŭi Kyoyukkaehyŏk Pigyoyŏn'gu* (미군정 초기의 남한과 일본의 교육개혁 비교연구 A Comparative Study on the Educational Innovation of the Early U.S. Military Government in South Korea and Japan)., Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Korea National University of Education
- Park, W. S. (Yu, Y. N. and Epstein, S. J. trans.) (2009) *Who Ate Up All the Singa?* New York: Columbia University Press
- Park, Y. S. (2000) Protestant Christianity and its Place in a Changing Korea. *Social Compass* 47(4), pp. 507-524
- Passin, H. (1965) *Society and Education in Japan*. New York
- Peck, J. (2011) Geographies of Policy: From Transfer-diffusion to Mobility-mutation. *Progress in Human Geography*, 35(1), pp.1-25
- Peck, J. and Theodore, N. (2001) Exporting workfare/importing welfare-to-work: exploring the politics of Third Way policy transfer. *Political geography*, 20(4), pp.427-460
- Phillips, D. (2004) Toward a theory of policy attraction in education. In Steiner-Khamsi, G. (ed.) *Lessons from elsewhere: The politics of educational borrowing and lending*. New York: Teachers College Press
- (2009) Aspects of Educational Transfer. In Cowen, R. and Kazamias, A. M. (eds.) *International Handbook of Comparative Education* Springer: London
- Phillips, D. and Ochs, K. (2002) Comparative Studies and 'Cross-National Attraction' in Education: a typology for the analysis of English interest in educational policy and provision in Germany. *Educational Studies*, 28 (4), pp. 325-339
- (2003) Processes of Policy Borrowing in Education: Some Explanatory and Analytical Devices. *Comparative Education*, 39(4), pp. 451-461
- Philpott, D. (2001) *Revolutions in Sovereignty*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press

- Pi, C. M. (피정만) (2010) *Han'guk kyoyuksa ihae* (한국 교육사 이해 Understanding Korean Education History). Seoul: Hawu
- Plummer, K. (2001) *Documents of Life: An Invitation to a Critical Humanism*. London: SAGE Publications
- Porter, B. (1994) *War and the Rise of the State: The military Foundation of Modern Politics*. New York: Free Press
- Powney, J. and Watts, M. (1987) *Interviewing in Educational Research*. London: Routledge
- Pratt, M. L. (1999) 'Arts of the contact zone', *Profession*, Vol. 91, pp.33-40
- Prince, R. (2009) Policy transfer as policy assemblage: making policy for the creative industries in New Zealand. *Environment and planning A*, vol. 42, pp. 169-186
- (2010) Policy transfer as policy assemblage: making policy for the creative industries in New Zealand. *Environment and planning. A*, 42(1)
- Pukhan yŏn'guso (북한연구소) (1983) *Pukhan ch'ongram, 1945-1982* (북한총람 Encyclopedia of North Korea 1945-1982). Pukhan yŏn'guso
- Ramirez, F. O. (2003). The global model and national legacies. In Anderson-Levitt, K. (ed.) (2003) *Local meanings, global schooling: Anthropology and world culture theory*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rappleye, J. (2009) *Educational Policy Borrowing in an Era of Globalization: Theory-History-Comparison*. Unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford
- Rappleye, J., Imoto, Y. and Horiguchi, S. (2011) Towards 'thick description' of educational transfer: understanding a Japanese institution's 'import' of European language policy. *Comparative Education*, 47(4), pp.411-432
- Reed, G. G. (1997) Globalisation and Education: the case of North Korea. *Compare*, 27(2), pp.167-178
- Report to the Congress (1973) US Assistance for the Economic Development of the Republic of Korea (B-164264) By the Comptroller General of the United States (July 12, 1973)
- Rhee, S. M. (trans. Kim, H. K.) (2001) *The Spirit of Independence: A Premier of Korean Modernization and Reform*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press
- Ro, C. S. (ed.) (로정순 편) (1984) *Chosŏn Minjujuŭi inmin konghwaguk esŏi kyoyuk* (조선민주주의 인민공화국에서의 교육 Education in the DPRK). Pyŏngyang: Sahoekwahak ch'ulp'ansa
- Robinson, M. (1988). *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925*. Seattle and London: University of Washington
- Rose, R. (1991) What is lesson-drawing? *Journal of Public Policy*, 2(1), pp. 3-30

- (1993) *Lesson-drawing in public policy: A guide to learning across time and space*. NJ: Chatham House Publishers
- Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2012) *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Sawa, M. (사와마사히코) (1992) Han'guk kyohoe ūi Kongsanjuūi e taehan t'aedo ūi yōksajōk yōn'gu (한국교회의 공산주의에 대한 태도의 역사적 연구 A Historical Study on the Attitude of Korean Church on Communism). In Kim, H. S. (김흥수) (ed.) *Ilcheha Han'guk kidokkyo wa Sahoejuūi* (일제하 한국기독교와 사회주의 Korean Christianity and Socialism during the Japanese Colonization). Seoul: Taehanyesugyojangnohoech'ulp'an'guk
- Scalapino, R. A. and Lee, C. S. (1972) *Communism in Korea Part 1: The Movement*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- (1972) *Communism in Korea Part 2: The Society*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- (1986) (Han, H. G. trans.) Han'guk kongsanjuūi undongsa 2: Haebanghu p'yōn (한국공산주의운동사 2: 해방후 편 (1945- 53) Communism in Korea Part 2: post-liberation). Seoul: Tolpegae
- Schriewer, J. (1990) The method of comparison and the need for externalization: Methodological criteria and sociological concepts. In Schriewer J. and Holmes, B. (eds.) *Theories and Methods in Comparative Education*. New York: Berne.
- (2012). EDITORIAL: Meaning constellations in the world society. *Comparative Education*, 48(4), pp. 411-422
- Schulte, B. (2012) World culture with Chinese characteristics: when global models go native, *Comparative Education*, 48(4), pp. 473-486
- Schwinn, T. (2012) Globalisation and regional variety: problems of theorisation. *Comparative Education*, 48(4), pp. 525-543
- Scott, J. (1990) *A Matter of Record*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Sears, D. et al. (eds.) (2003) *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Seki, E. (関英子) (1987) Migunchōngha e it'ōsō Han'guk'in ūi kyoyuk chaegōn noryōk" (美軍政下에 있어서 韓國人の 教育再建 努力 Reconstruction efforts in education by the Koreans under US military regime). In Abe, H. (阿部洋) (ed.) *Haebanghu Han'guk ūi kyoyuk kaehyōk* (解放後 韓國의 教育改革 Education Reforms in Post-liberation Korea). Seoul: Han'guk Yōn'guwōn
- Seth, M. (2005) Korean Education: A Philosophical and Historical Perspective. In Kim-Renaud, Y. G (ed.) *Korean Education*. The Sigur center Asia papers. The Elliott School of International Affairs, the George Washington University

- (2012) Education zeal, state control and citizenship in South Korea. *Citizenship Studies*, 16(1), pp.13-28
- Shearer, R. E. (1966) *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*. Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans
- Sherman, R. R., & Webb, R. B. (eds.) (1988) *Qualitative research in education*. Routledge.
- Shibata, M. (2005) *Japan and Germany under the US occupation: A comparative analysis of post-war education reform*. Lexington books
- Shin, B. R. (2008) *The Politics of Separation of the Korean Peninsula, 1943-1953*. Seoul: Jimoondang.
- Shin, G. W. (2006) *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Shore, C. and Wright, S. (2011) Conceptualising policy: technologies of governance and politics of visibility. In Shore, C. et al. (eds.) *Policy worlds: anthropology and the analysis of contemporary power*. New York, NY: Berghahn Books
- Silova, I. (2012) Contested Meanings of Educational Borrowing. In Steiner-Khamsi, G., & Waldow, F. (eds.) (2012) *World yearbook of education 2012: Policy borrowing and lending in education*. Routledge
- Sim, S. S. (심상수) (1983) *Chosŏn kyoyuksa 2 Kim Hyŏng-jik sapŏm taehakyong (조선교육사 2 김형직사범대학용 Educational History of Chosŏn – for the use of Kim Hyung-jik Teacher's College)*. Pyŏngyang: Kyoyuk tosŏ ch'ulp'ansa
- Sim, T. J. (심태진) Sim, T. J. (심태진) (1955) Kabonyŏnŭi Hoego ? Urigyoyukkyeŭi Kŏrŏon Kil (갑오년의 회고 – 우리교육계의 걸어온 길. Reflections during Kabo Year – The Way Taken by Our Education) *KyoyukMunhwa (교육문화 Education Culture)*, 3(1)
- (1995) *Haebangjikhu saekyoyuk undong (해방직후 새교육운동 The New Education Movement Immediately after Liberation)*. Sŏultaehakkyo Sabŏmdaehak Kyoyungnyŏn'guso (13 May 1995) audio cassette recording
- Sim, T. J. et al. (沈泰鎭 外) (1994) *Sau munsŏn (師友文選 Anthology of teachers and friends)*. Seoul: Kyomunsa
- Simmons, R. R. (1975) *The Strained Alliance: Peking, Pyŏngyang, Moscow and the Politics of the Korean Civil War*. New York: Free Press
- Simon, H. (1997) *Administrative Behavior*. New York: The Free Press
- Sin, H. S. (신효숙) (2001) Pukhan kyoyuk ŭi paljŏn kwajŏng e taehan non'ŭi: Sahojuŭi kyoyuk esŏ Ch'uche kyoyuk ŭro (북한교육의 발전과정에 대한 논의: 사회주의 교육에서 주체교육으로 A debate on the development of North Korean education: From Socialist

- education to Chuch'e education). *Pukhan yŏn'gu hak hoebo* (북한연구학회보 Bulletin of studies on North Korea), 5(1), pp. 57-81
- (2003) *Soryŏn kunchŏnggi Pukhan ūi kyoyuk* (소련군정기 북한의 교육 *The DPRK Education under the Soviet military government*). Seoul: Kyoyuk kwahaksa
- (2005) *Pukhan sahoe ūi pyŏnhwa wa kodŭng inryŏk ūi yangsŏng kwa chaep'ŏn* (1945-1960) (북한사회의 변화와 고등인력의 양성과 재편 (1945-1960) Changing of the DPRK society and Forstering and Reconstructing of highly educated human resources (1945-1960)). *Hyŏngdae Pukhan yŏn'gu* (현대북한연구 *Journal of Contemporary North Korean Studies*), 8(2), pp. 39-83
- Sin, C. H. (신재흡) (2004) *Han'guk Chungang Haengjŏng kyoyuk chojik chikje pyŏn'ch'ŏn yŏn'gu-Migunchŏnggi wa che 1 Konghwagukgi rŭl chungsim ūro* (한국중앙행정 교육조직 직제 변천 연구 -미군정기와 제1공화국기를 중심으로 A Study on the Change of Education Organization in the Central Administration of South Korea- during the US military regime and the first Republic). *Kyoyuk chonghap yŏn'gu* (교육종합연구 *Journal of Educational Studies*), 2(2), pp. 83-109
- Sin, P. R. (신복룡) (2009) *Kunchŏnggi Miguk ūi tae Hanpando chŏmryŏng chŏngchaek, 1945- 1948* (군정기 미국의 대(對) 한반도 점령 정책, 1945-1948 American occupational policy in Korea in the period of the US military regime, 1945-1948). *Han'guk chŏngch'i oekyosa nonch'ong* (韓國 政治 外交史 論叢 Collection of Political History and Foreign Affairs of Korea), 30(2), pp. 5-43
- Sin, Y. H. (신용하) (1974) *Urinara Ch'oech'o ūi Kŭndaehakkyo Sŏllib e Taehayŏ* (우리나라 最初の近代學校設立에 대하여 About the Establishment of the First Modern School in Our Country). *Han'guksayŏn'gu* (韓國史研究 *Studies of Korean History*), Vol. 10
- (1980) *Uri nara ch'oech'o ūi kŭndae hakkyo* (우리나라 최초의 근대 학교 The first modern schools in Korea). *Munhak kwa Chisŏng* (문학과 지성 *Literature and Intelligence*), 5(1), pp.51-60
- (1986) *19 segi Han'guk ūi kŭndae kukka hyŏngsŏng munje wa iphŏn konghwaguk surip undong* (19세기 한국의 근대국가 형성 문제와 입헌공화국 수립 운동 The problem with the formation of "Modern" State in Korea in the 19th century and the movement of constitutional monarchy). In *Han'guk ūi kŭndae kukka hyŏngsŏng kwa minjok munje* (한국의 근대국가형성과 민족문제 The formation of modern state in Korea and the problem of nation). Seoul: Munhak kwa Chisŏngsa
- Slusser, R. M. (1977) *Soviet Far Eastern Policy, 1945-50: Stalin's Goals in Korea*. In Nagai, Y. and Iriye, A. (eds.) *The Origins of the Cold War in Asia*. New York: Columbia University Press

- Smith, A. D. (1998) *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Sö, T. S. (서대숙) (1982) Kim Il Söng üi kwöllyök chang'ak kwajöng: 1945-1948 (김일성의 권력 장악 과정: 1945-1948 The process of Kim Il Sung's dominating power). In Sö, T. S. (ed.) *Han'guk hyöndaesa üi chaejomyöng* (한국현대사의 재조명 Re-illumination of Modern Korean history). Seoul:Tolbaege
- (2001) *Kim Il Söng üi chöjak munhön* (김일성의 저작문헌 *Works of Kim Il Sung*). In Sö, T. S. et al. (서대숙 외) (eds.) *Pukhan hyöndaesa munhön yön'gu* (북한현대사 문헌 연구 *Studies on Contemporary North Korean History*). Seoul: Paeksan södang
- Söultaehakkyo Kyoyungnyön'guso (서울대학교 교육연구소) (1998) *Kyoyuk'ak Taebaekkwa sajön* (교육학 대백과사전 *The Korean Unabridged Dictionary of Education*).
- Soltys, D. (2015) Similarities, divergence, and incapacity in the Bologna Process reform implementation by the former-socialist countries: the self-defeat of state regulations. *Comparative Education*, 51(2), pp. 179-195
- Son, C. Y. (손채영) (2002) *Chinbojuüi kyoyuk sasang i Migunchönggi ch'odüng kyoyuk e mich'in yönghyang* (진보주의 교육사상이 미군정기 초등교육에 미친 영향 *The Effects of Progressive Educational Philosophy on Korean Elementary Education under the US Military Regime*), unpublished M.A. diss., Han'guk Teachers' University
- Son, I. S. (손인수) (1985) *Han'guk Kaehwa Kyoyuk yöngu* (한국 개화 교육 연구 *A study of education in the enlightenment period of Korea*). Seoul, Korea: Iljisa.
- (1992) *Migunchöng kwa kyoyuk chöngch'aek* (미군정과 교육정책 *US Military Rule and Education Policies*). Seoul: Minyoungsa
- (1998) *Han'guk kyoyuksa yön'gu* (한국 교육사연구 *A study of Korean Educational History*). Seoul: Munümsa
- Sorensen, C. W. (1994) Success and Education in South Korea. *Comparative Education Review*, 38(1), pp. 10-35
- Soh, P. K. (1891) Education in Korea. Chapter XI. *Report of Commissioner of Education*. Washington: Government Printing Office
- Spring, J. (2008) *Wheels in the Head: Educational Philosophies of Authority, Freedom, and Culture from Confucianism to Human Rights*. New York and Abingdon: Routledge
- Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2007a) International knowledge banks and the production of educational crises. *European Educational Research Journal*, 6(3), pp. 284-292
- (2007b) The economics of policy borrowing and lending: a study of late adopters. *Oxford Review of Education*, 32(5), pp.665-678

- (2012a) Introduction. In Steiner-Khamsi, G., & Waldow, F. (eds.) (2012) *World yearbook of education 2012: Policy borrowing and lending in education*. Routledge
- (2012b). The global/local nexus in comparative policy studies: analysing the triple bonus system in Mongolia over time. *Comparative Education*, 48(4), pp. 455-471
- Steiner-Khamsi, G. (ed.) (2004) *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending*. New York: Teachers College Press
- Steiner-Khamsi, G. and Stolpe, I. (2006) *Educational Import: Local Encounters with Global Forces in Mongolia*. New York: Palgrave
- Stone, D. (1999) Learning lessons and transferring policy across time, space and disciplines. *Politics*, 19 (1), pp. 51-59
- (2001) *Learning lessons, policy transfer and the international diffusion of policy ideas*. Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation (CSGR), University of Warwick, Coventry
- (2004). Transfer agents and global networks in the ‘transnationalization’ of policy. *Journal of European public policy*, 11(3), pp. 545-566
- Suh, D. S. (1970) *Documents of Korean Communism, 1918-1948*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- (1988) *Kim Il Sung: The North Korean Leader*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- (1989) *Kim Il-Sung*. Seoul: Cheong-gye Institute. [Korean translation]
- Takayama, K. (2010) Politics of externalization in reflexive times: Reinventing Japanese education reform discourses through “Finnish PISA success.” *Comparative Education Review*, 54(1), pp. 51-75
- (2011) Reconceptualizing the Politics of Japanese Education, Reimagining Comparative Studies of Japanese Education. In Willis, D. B. and Rappleye, J. (eds.). (2011) *Reimagining Japanese education: Borders, transfers, circulations, and the comparative*. Symposium Books Ltd.
- (2012) Exploring the interweaving of contrary currents: transnational policy enactment and path-dependent policy implementation in Australia and Japan. *Comparative Education*, 48(4), pp. 505-523
- Tan, C. (2015) Education policy borrowing and cultural scripts for teaching in China. *Comparative Education*, 51(2), pp.196-211
- Tomusk, V. (2011) The Geography and Geometry of the Bologna Process: Central Asian Higher Education in the New Global Periphery. In Silova, I. (ed.) *Globalization on the Margins: Education and Post-socialist Transformations in Central Asia*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age
- Tönnies, F. (1957) *Community and Society [Germeinschaft und Gesellschaft]*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press

- Tsing, A.L. (2005) *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Tu, W. M. (1978) *Humanity and Self-Cultivation: Essays in Confucian Thought*. Boston: Lancaster-Miller Publishers
- Underwood, H. H. (1926) *Modern Education in Korea*. International Press
- USAMGIK (United States Army Military Government in Korea) (1974) *Education in South Korea*. Department of Education
- Van Ree, E. (1989) *Socialism in One Zone: Stalin's Policy in Korea, 1945-1947*. Oxford: Berg Publishers
- Verma, G. K. and Mallick, K. (1999) *Researching Education: Perspectives and Techniques*. London: Falmer Press.
- Wada, H. (和田春樹)(1992) *Kin Nichisei to Manshū kōnichī sensō* (金日成と満州抗日戦争 Kim Il Sung and the Manchurian Anti-Japanese war). Tokyo: Heibonsha
- Walford, G. (2001) *Doing Qualitative Educational Research: A Personal Guide to the Research Process*. London: Continuum.
- Wang, H. J. (왕현중) (2002) *Han'guk Kūndae kukka ūi hyōngsōng kwa Kabo kaehyōk* (한국 근대국가의형성과갑오개혁 *The formation of modern state in Korea and Kabo Reforms*). Seoul: Yōksapip'yōngsa
- Watanabe, M. (1969) *Kinsei chōsen kyōiku kenkyū* (近世朝鮮教育研究 A History of Modern Korean Education). Tokyo: Yuzonkaku
- Weathersby, K. (1993) Soviet Aims in Korea and the Origins of the Korean War, 1945-1950: New Evidence from Russian Archives. *Cold War International History Project Working Paper*, no. 8, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.
- Weber, E. (1976) *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1876-1914*. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Wells, K. M. (1990) *New God, New Nation*. University of Hawaii Press
- Westbrook, R. (1991) *John Dewey and American Democracy*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press
- Willis, D. B. and Rappleye, J. (2011) Introduction. In Willis, D. B. and Rappleye, J. (eds.). (2011) *Reimagining Japanese education: Borders, transfers, circulations, and the comparative*. Symposium Books Ltd.
- Wōlgan Chosōn p'yōnjipsil (월간조선편집실) (1975) *Kwangbok 30 nyōn chung'yo charyojip* (광복30년중요자료집 *A sourcebook of 30 years after liberation*). Seoul: Chosōnilposa

- Yang, T. A. (양동안) (2001) *Taehanminguk kõnguksa* (대한민국건국사 *A Founding History of the Republic of Korea*). Seoul: Hyõnũmsa
- Yi, C. I. (이창익) (2004) *1950 nyõndae Mi'guk ũi kyoyuk wõnjo wa kyoyukkye ũi tonghyang* (1950년대 미국의 교육원조와 교육계의 동향 *American education aid and trend of education in the 1950s*). unpublished MA diss., Yonsei University
- Yi, C. J. et al. (이종재 외) (2009) (2009) *Han'guk Kyoyuk 60 nyõn: Sõngch'wi wa kwaje* (한국 교육 60년 – 성취와 과제 *Korean Education in 60 years - achievements and tasks*). Seoul: Han'guk kyoyuk kwajõng p'yõnggawõn
- Yi, C. S. (이진석) (2003) *Han'gukkwa Ilbonũi Migunjõng Ch'ogi Kyoyukchõngch'aekkwa Sahoegwa Toibe Kwanhan Yõn'gu* (한국과 일본의 미군정 초기 교육정책과 사회과 도입에 관한 연구 *A study on initial education policies of Korea and Japan during the US military regime and the introduction of social studies.*), *Shimin'gyoyukyõn'gu* (시민교육연구 *Citizenship Education Studies*), 35(2) pp. 95-118
- Yi, H. K. (이항규) (1985) *Kongsan kwõn kukka ũi chõngch'i sahoehwa kyoyuk* (공산권 국가의 정치사회화 교육 *political socialization education of the Communist bloc countries*). *Kyosa kyoyuk yõn'gu* (교사교육연구 *Journal of Teacher Training Studies*)
- Yi, H. K. (이항규) (2000) *Pukhan Sahoējuũi pot'ong kyoyuk ũi hyõngsõng, 1945-1950* (북한 사회주의 보통교육의 형성 *1945-1950 Formation of North Korean Socialist Elementary Education, 1945-1950*). unpublished Ph.D. diss. , Seoul National University
- Yi, H. K. and Kim, K. S. (이항규, 김기석) (1999) *Pukhan Sahoējuũi hyõngsõng kwa kyoyuk* (북한사회주의 형성과 교육 *Formation of North Korean Socialism and Education*). Seoul: Kyoyuk kwahaksa
- Yi, G. S. (ed.) (이길상) (1992) *Haebang chõnhusa charyojip, II- Migunchõng kyoyuk chõngchaek* (해방전후사자료집II-미군정 교육정책 *Resources of –Pre- and Post-liberation History, vol.2 - Educational Policies of USMGIK*) Seoul: Wõnju munhwasa
- (2007) *20 segi Han'guk kyoyuksa - Minjok, Oese, kũrigo Kyoyuk* (20세기 한국 교육사 - 민족, 외세 그리고 교육 *A History of Korean Education in the 20th century-Nation, Foreign intrusion, and Education*). Seoul: Chipmundang
- Yi, K. H. (이건훈) (2003) *Sin-kukka kõnsõlgi “sae-kyoyuk undong” kwa “saeng'hwat kyoyukron”* (신국가건설기 “새교육운동과” 생활교육론 *“New Education Movement” and “Life*

Education Theory” in the Era of Korea’s State Building). *Yöksa kyoyuk* (역사교육 *Journal of History Education*), vol. 88, pp. 99-113

- Yi, K. P. (이규백) (1949) Minjujuüi Minjok kyoyuk e ipgak han hakkyo kyöngyöngpöpp (민주주의 민족교육에 입각한 학교경영법 School management based upon democratic and nationalistic education). *Sae kyoyuk* (새교육 *Journal of New Education*), 2(1), pp. 89-97
- Yi, M. J. (이명자) (2010) Haebang konggan esö Pukhan üi kündae kyönghöm üi maegaech’e rosö Soryön yönghwa üi suyong yön’gu (해방공간에서 북한의 근대 경험의 매개체로서 소련영화의 수용 연구 A study on the adaptation of Soviet movies as a means of modern experience in the DPRK at the space of post-liberation Korea). *T’ongil munje yön’gu* (통일문제연구 *Journal of Unification Studies*), vol. 54, pp. 243-274
- Yi, M. K. (이만규) (1949) *Chosön'gyoyuksa, Ha* (조선교육사 하 *Education History of Chosun II*). Seoul: Üllyumunhwasa
- Yi, M. Y. (이만열) (1981) *Chonggyo Kyoyuk t'ujaeng* (종교교육투쟁 *Religious Education Struggles*). Seoul: Minjongmunhwahyöpp'oe
- Yi, N. M. (이나미) (2003) Migunchönggi minjujuüi kyoyuk: Ilchesigi waüi yönsöksöng rül chungsim üro (미군정기 민주주의 교육: 일제시기와의 연속성을 중심으로 *Democratic education under US military rule: focusing on the continuities from Japanese colonial education*). *Tongyang chöngch'i sasangsa* (동양정치사상사 *Journal of Asian Political Philosophy*), 3(1), pp. 197-219
- Yi, O. K. (이오갑) (2007) *Nam-Pukhan chiyök chumin üi chöngch'i sahoehwa kwachöng e kwanhan yön'gu-1945-1948 nyön munmaeng t'oech'i undong üil chungsim üro* (남북한 지역 주민의 정치사회화 과정에 관한 연구 - 1945 ~ 48년 문맹퇴치운동을 중심으로 *A study on the process of both North and South Korean's political socialization – In relation with illiterate movement from 1945-1948*). unpublished M.A. diss., Yönsé University
- Yi, S. C. (이성전) (2007) *Miguk sön'gyosa wa Han'guk kündae kyoyuk* (미국선교사와 한국 근대교육 *American Missionaries and Korean Modern Education*). Seoul: Han'gukkidokkyo Yöksa Yön'guso
- Yi, S. K. (이숙경) (1982) *Migunchönggi munjuhwa üi söngkyök kwa Minjujuü kyoyuk 'nyöm üi han'gye* (미군정기 민주화의 성격과 민주주의 교육이념의 한계 *Characteristics of democratization and the limitation of democratic education ideology under the US military regime*). unpublished M.A. diss., Ehwa Women's University
- Yi, S. M. (Yi, H. C. trans.) (1981) Kwagö system and its characteristics: Centering on the Koryö and Early Chosön Periods. *Korea Journal*, 21(7), pp.4-19

- Yi, T. J. (이태진) (2010) *Taehan cheguk, kyölk'o pörlisu ömnün yöksa* (대한제국, 결코 버릴 수 없는 역사 *The Taehan Empire, a history that can not be thown away*). In Kungnip kokung pakmul'gwan and Kyuchanggak (국립고궁박물관 & 규장각) (eds.) *100 nyön chönnü kiök, Taehan cheguk* (100년 전의 기억, 대한제국 *Memories of the past 100 years, the Korean Empire*). Seoul: Kungnip kokung pakmul'gwan and Kyuchanggak
- Yi, T. S. (이태섭) (2001) *Pukhan üi Chiptanjuüijök paljön chönyak kwa suryöng ch'ege üi hwangnip* (북한의 집단주의적 발전 전략과 수령 체계의 확립 *The developmental streatgy of collectivity in North Korea and the establishment of supprime leader (suryöng) system*). unpublished Ph.D. diss., Seoul National University
- Yi, W. P. (이완범) (2001) *Haebang ch'ikhu Pukhan charyo haeje 1- Pukhan saengsan charyo* (해방 직후 북한자료 해제 1 – 북한 생산 자료 *Bibliographical notes on North Korean resources in the immediate post-liberation period*). In Sö, T. S. et al. (서대숙 외) (eds.) *Pukhan hyöndaesa munhön yön'gu* (북한현대사 문헌 연구 *Studies on literatures in contemporary history of North Korean*). Seoul: Paeksan södang
- (2007) *Han'guk haebang 3 nyönsa, 1945-1948* (한국 해방 3년사 *Korean history in three years of post-liberation period, 1945-1948*). Taehaksa: Seoul
- Yi, Y. M. (이영미) (2012) *Pukhan munhak kyoyuk üi chedojöck hyöngsöng e kwanhan kukje yön'gusajök munje chegi* (북한 문학교육의 제도적 형성에 관한 국제연구사적 문제제기 *The formation of North Korean literature educational system concerning problem posing in terms of international studies*). *Kukje ömun* (국제어문 *Journal of Global Literacy*), vol. 54, pp. 463-502
- Yoon, S. S. (윤성수) (2004) *Ilchech'iha kidokkyo-gye hakkyo üi Minjok kyoyuk yön'gu* (일제치하 기독교계 학교의 민족교육 연구 *A Study on National Education in Christian Schools during the Japanese Colonial Period*). Unpublished Masters Diss., Incheon National University
- Yu, H. J. (유형진) (1964) *Miguk kyoyuk kwa Soryön kyoyuk* (미국교육과 소련교육 *The US education and the Soviet education*). Seoul: Saehan sinmunsa
- Yu, I. H. (유임하) (2011) *Pukhan ch'ogi munhak kwa Soryön iranün ch'amjojöm* (북한 초기문학과 '소련'이라는 참조점 *The early literature in the DPRK and its reference to the Soviet Union*). *Han'gukö munhak yön'gu* (한국어문학연구 *Journal of Korean Literacy Studies*), vol. 57, pp.153-184
- Yun, C. H. et al. (윤종혁 외) (2008) *Nam-Pukhan kyoyuk ch'eje üi pyönhwa wa t'onghap chönmang* (남북한 교육체제의 변화와 통합 전망 *Prospects for Changes in the North and South*)

Korean Education Systems and Unification). Seoul: Han'guk kyoyuk kaebalwŏn

Yun C. I. (윤정일) Interview. 14 February 2014

Yun, K. C. (윤건차) (1982) *Chōsen kindai kyōiku no shisō to undō* (朝鮮近代教育の思想と運動
The ideals and movement of modern Chosŏn education). Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai

Yun, P. S. (윤병석) (2011) *Taehan kwa Chosŏn ūi Wisang* (대한과 조선의 위상 *The Status of
Taehan and Chosŏn*). Seoul: Sŏnin

Appendices:

- 1. The procedure for data collection in databases**
- 2. Interview Protocol**
- 3. Three Categories of Interviewees**

The procedure for data collection in databases

1. Seoul National University Library (SNU Library)

During the fieldwork in South Korea this year, I gained an independent research position at the Institute of Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University and this position allowed me access resources in the Seoul National Library and other affiliated institutions. In particular, the Seoul National University Library contains valuable digital resources on policy documents during the US military government and I could access the materials through computers within the library.

2. US National Archives and Record Group (NARA), US Library of Congress, Harvard Yenching Library, Chosŏn University (Japan)

Most of the primary and secondary sources, gathered from the US National Archives and Record Group, US Library of Congress, and Harvard Yenching Library and Joseon University, Japan were given to me in digital files by a professor at the Department of Education, Seoul National University. The professor and his team of researchers at Seoul National University have collected data on North Korea education in USA, Japan and China for past 20 years since 1993, scanned the documents into digital files with permissions of relevant institutions, and arranged them into a database in different categories and citations indexes. The data collection process and results were summarized in a publication, Kim, K.S. et al. (2011) *Establishment of Database of North Korean Resources Abroad and Their Applications*. Seoul: SNU Peace and Unification Studies (in Korean). During my fieldwork in South Korea this year, the professor graciously gave me permission to copy a hard drive containing all the digital files of the resources they had collected as their publication stated: “the primary purpose of their work was to share these valuable materials with any scholars and citizens who want to study North Korea and unification in-depth” (Kim et al., 2011: iii). The number of documents saved in the hard disk, which include journals, books, magazines, newspapers, pictures, policy documents, recording of interviews, letters and diaries, is more than 600. I selected resources which were directly relevant to my research problem by browsing through titles, annotations attached to the titles (such as brief comments on the contents of the articles), year of publication and publisher, where applicable. And I listed them in the above tables - most from US National Archives and Record Group and some from US Library of Congress, Harvard Yenching Library and Chosŏn University, Japan (the university run by North Korean residents in Japan).

3. National Archives of Korea (NAK)

Before accessing the necessary documents in the National Archives of Korea, data search to find exact titles and serial numbers of the documents was conducted using its portal: contents.archives.go.kr. I typed in related words for my research question, such as US military government, education, Korea Education Council and the search results were listed. The results were listed in different themes and titles of the documents series. For example, when I typed in the US military government, it gave categories such as reports of the US military government, US military government laws, organization and roles of US military government among others. The categories included access code and descriptions of the documents included and I browsed through them to decide if they are relevant documents for my research problem. Finally, I selected titles and access codes of the necessary documents and presented them to the librarian at the National Archives of Korea, along with an application form to access the materials in the Archives. The librarian guided me into necessary sections to access the documents. The librarians at some sections containing restricted access materials required me to present my ID and to write a reason for the access in a designated form. After I accessed the materials as well as photocopied some important materials, I paid for the access and photocopying fee.

4. National Archives of Korea Digital Access (NAK Digital Access)

The National Archives of Korea also provides online access to some primary sources such as the letters of Mr. Ahn Jae-hong, the First Korean Minister of Civilian Affairs during the US military government and US military policy documents on holding general elections in South Korea. These materials can be accessed and read online anywhere in the world by downloading a customized online viewer.

5. National Library of Korea (NL Korea), South Korean Library of Congress

I collected most of my secondary 'book' resources on South and North Korean education through National Library of Korea during my preliminary fieldwork. I typed in relevant words in the National Library of Korea search engine and read the pages of book titles which contained abstracts and tables of contents. Then, I borrowed books, skimmed them through in the library. For books I found very important, I either took notes of the books in the library and photocopied or scanned the necessary pages for later use. The National Library of Korea contained a special resources room for North Korea and the librarian there required me to submit an application form with a recommendation from my supervisor to access the materials there.

6. Korea Education and Research Information Service (KERIS), DBpia, and KISS

KERIS was established under the funding and control of South Korean Ministry of Education and runs the biggest scholarly data search platform in Korea: www.riss.kr This platform has access to libraries and publications of all universities and research institutes, and academic journals in Korea, 1200 university libraries under Japan National Institute of Informatics, more than 700 university libraries under China

Academic Library and Information System, about 72,000 libraries under United States OCLC. Also, it has connections with other notable database and search platforms as Periodical Archives Online, Gale Virtual Reference Library and British Library Electronic Online Service. I have collected many of my secondary resources for my research through this website. I searched other database & search platforms in Korea such as DBpia and KISS (Korean Studies Information Search System), which are also well-known and popular among scholars and students who need resources on Korea. Throughout this process, I browsed through most of articles in Korean language that were related to my research question and gathered many of my secondary resources, especially Korean journal articles and dissertations, in these three databases.

7. Google Scholar

For scholarly journal articles on Korean education in English, I searched through Google scholar. The search procedure was similar with that I did in Korean databases except that all the key words and search results were in English. Since Google Scholar is connected with most of academic databases and citation indexes in the world, I could easily spot English articles and books related to my research topic. Google Scholar directed me into different database and citation index hosts and I could get access to most of journal articles through my University of Oxford ID or Seoul National University ID. Also, Google provides a good service where I can have a limited access to some pages of academic books. I used this service in order to determine whether the books I searched had appropriate contents related to my research by browsing through table of contents and open pages. If I determined if these books were necessary, I borrowed them from libraries from University of Oxford when I was in UK, and Seoul National University and Republic of Korea Congress, and National Library of Korea when I was in South Korea.

8. Korea Institute for National Unification Library (KINU Library) and Kyungnam University Graduate School of North Korean Studies Library

Korea Institute for National Unification is a research institute of the South Korean Ministry of Unification which is in charge of policy-making and planning for matters related to foreseeable unification with North Korea. Kyungnam University Graduate School of North Korean Studies is a graduate school in Seoul specializing in North Korean studies. In the two libraries, I typed in the key words in the computer placed within the library and several books came out as a result. Since borrowing books from both libraries was not allowed for non-affiliates, I just read the books on the spot and made notes on the parts from the books that were related to my research.

Interview Protocol

(Interview Proposal Email)

Dear _____,

My name is Sun Kim and I am a doctoral student in the Department of Education of the University of Oxford. For the DPhil thesis, I'm planning to write on the topic of 'Education in Two Koreas: Analysis of Educational Policy Transfer.' The research is funded and organized as an independent doctorate research project at the Department of Education, Oxford University. I want to analyze how transfer of educational policies from the US and the Soviet Union at the onset of the Cold War era impacted the re-construction of modern education systems of South and North respectively.

For this purpose, I am planning to visit Korea from 30th of December. I have carefully read your publications on this topic and found them very insightful. I want to ask you about your thoughts and opinions on (topic tailored to each individual). I understand that you are very busy with many responsibilities but it would be greatly appreciated if you kindly accept my proposal to interview. The benefits are helping to create a picture of the policy-making processes surrounding educational policy transfer in the context of Korea. The interview is expected to last from 40 minutes to 1 hour and, if you give permission, it will be audio-recorded.

I respect your decision to take part in the interview. You can decide to stop participating at any time. You do not need to answer questions that you do not wish to. Every effort will be made to preserve anonymity for the interview. Other than this, there are no known risks to taking part. The results of this research will form the basis of an Oxford Doctorate dissertation. Some results may be published in academic journals concerned with exploring educational policy transfer. If you wish to obtain a copy of the published results, please inform me. The study will take place over the next year after which time the published results will be publicly available. I will try my best to reflect the contents of the interview faithfully and carefully treat the disclosure of any relevant information. Should you have any further questions about this research, please feel free to contact: Sun Kim, Department of Education, 15 Norham Gardens, Oxford, UK OX2 6PY, sun.kim@education.ox.ac.uk. Also, if you have any concerns about this research, you can contact the research office of my department: research.office@education.ox.ac.uk. Your inquiries are most welcome.

Thank you very much for reading. I'm looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Sun Kim

_____님께,

안녕하세요? 저는 옥스포드 대학교 교육학 박사 과정에 재학하고 있는 김선이라고 합니다. 다름이 아니라, 이번 박사 과정 논문을 'Education in Two Koreas: Analysis of Educational Policy Transfer'이라는 주제로 쓰게 되었습니다. 박사 논문을 통하여 남한과 북한이 각각 미국과 소련 교육제도로부터 어떠한 영향을 받았으며, 이 영향이 남한과 북한의 교육발전에 어떤 파장을 미쳤는지 알아보고자 합니다.

이를 위해 이번 12월 달에 논문 인터뷰 차 한국에 방문하려고 합니다. 교수님께서 쓰신 정부 정책 자료를 관심 있게 읽었으며 이 분야에 많은 연구 및 좋은 인사이트를 가지고 있으시다고 확신합니다. 비단 읽은 자료에 대한 내용 뿐만 아니라 교수님께서 연구를 통해 발견하신 다른 자료들 그리 견해와 생각에 대해서 듣고 싶습니다. 많이 바쁘시겠지만 인터뷰에 응해 주신다면 정말 감사하겠습니다. 인터뷰는 40분에서 1시간 정도 이어질 예정이며, 허락해 주신다면 녹음이 될 예정입니다.

인터뷰에 참여하는데 있어서 교수님의 의견을 전적으로 존중하며, 어느 시기라도 일정에 변경이 생기면 말씀해 주시기 바랍니다. 답변하시기 불편한 내용은 말씀해 주시지 않아도 되며, 제공해 주신 정보와 의견에 대한 출처 및 발표에 대해서는 익명이 되도록 최대한 노력하겠습니다. 이 인터뷰는 옥스포드 대학교 박사 과정 논문의 일부로 반영이 되며, 논문 일부의 내용은 국제 저널에 편찬이 될 가능성도 있다는 점을 미리 말씀드리고 싶습니다. 리서치는 1년 정도 더 걸릴 예정이며, 만약 논문이나 저널의 카피를 원하신다면 말씀해 주시면 감사하겠습니다. 어떤 질문이라도 생기신다면 저에게 말씀해 주시기 바랍니다. 제 주소는 Sun Kim, Department of Education, 15 Norham Gardens, Oxford, UK OX2 6PY 이며, 이메일 주소는 sun.kim@education.ox.ac.uk 입니다. 그리고 리서치에 대해서 혹시라도 걱정이 생기신다면 부디 저희 학과 연구실 이메일, research.office@education.ox.ac.uk 로 연락 주시기 바랍니다.

아무쪼록 많이 바쁘시겠지만, 빠른 답변 기다리도록 하겠습니다. 감사합니다.

김선 드림

(Interview Questions)

(Interview Questions for First-hand and Second-hand Witnesses)

1. Please tell me about your involvements in the policy-making or implementation processes during the US/ Soviet military government.
2. What were the political contexts at that time – domestically and internationally?

3. What were the fields of education in South/North Korea that were under the biggest US/Soviet influence during the military regime?
4. How did the South/North Korea re-build its educational system after the liberation of Japanese colonization and after the Korean War?
5. Please tell me about a Korean educator(s) who played an important role during the US/ Soviet military government. What were his/her main roles?

(직/간접 경험을 가지신 교수님들을 위한 인터뷰 질문)

1. 미군정/ 소련 군정 시기에 교수님께서 교육 정책 관련되어서 하신 일들에 대해서 알려 주세요.
2. 그 때 당시 정치적 상황은 어떠했나요? - 국내적으로는요, 국제적으로는요?
3. 군정 당시 미국/소련의 영향을 가장 많이 받은 교육 분야는 어떤 것인가요?
4. 일제 강점기에서 해방 후 그리고 한국 전쟁 후 남한/북한은 어떻게 교육 제도를 다시 세웠나요?
5. 미군정/ 소련 군정 시기에 중요한 역할을 한 한국 교육자에 대해서 말씀해 주세요. 그들의 역할을 무엇이었나요?

(Interview Questions for Policy-makers)

1. Please tell me about your involvements in the policy-making or implementation processes related with North/South Korean education.
2. What were the political contexts at the time when you were involved with this project - domestically and internationally?
3. Please tell me about your personal history. Did you study in US/ Russia? Can you tell me more about your educational and working experiences there? How did they impact your views on South/ North Korea and US/ Russia?
4. What do you think were the fields of education in South/North Korea that were under

the biggest US/Soviet influence?

5. How did the South/North Korea re-build its educational system after the liberation of Japanese colonization and after the Korean War?

(정책 결정자 분들을 위한 인터뷰 질문)

1. 남/북한 교육에 관련해서 정책 결정 혹은 실행 하신 경험에 대해서 알려 주세요.
2. 그 때 당시 정치적 상황은 어떠 했나요? - 국내적으로는요, 국제적으로는요?
3. 선생님의 개인사에 대해서 알고 싶어요. 미국/ 러시아에서 공부하셨나요? 그곳에서 공부하시고 일하신 경험에 대해서 알려 주실 수 있나요? 그 경험이 남/북한 및 미국/러시아에 대한 선생님의 견해에 어떤 영향을 끼치셨나요?
4. 선생님 보시기에 미국/소련의 영향을 가장 많이 받은 교육 분야는 어떤 것인가요?
5. 일제 강점기에서 해방 후 그리고 한국 전쟁 후 남한/북한은 어떻게 교육 제도를 다시 세웠나요?

(Interview Questions for Researchers)

1. Please tell me about your research on this topic.
2. I want to know your opinions on how modern education was established in South/ North Korea. What is your definition of modern education - especially within the context of Korea?
3. What were the fields of education in South/North Korea that were under the biggest US/Soviet influence during the military regime?
4. How did the South/North Korea re-build its educational system after the liberation of Japanese colonization and after the Korean War?
5. Please tell me about a Korean educator(s) who played an important role during the US/

Soviet military government. What were his/her main roles?

(연구자 분들을 위한 인터뷰 질문)

1. 교수님께서 이 주제에 대해 하신 연구에 대해서 말씀해 주세요.
2. 어떻게 남/북한에서 근대 교육이 세워 졌는지에 대한 교수님의 견해에 대해서 알고 싶어요. 한국적인 상황에서 교수님께서 보시는 근대 교육의 정의는 무엇인가요?
3. 군정 당시 미국/소련의 영향을 가장 많이 받은 교육 분야는 어떤 것인가요?
4. 일제 강점기에서 해방 후 그리고 한국 전쟁 후 남한/북한은 어떻게 교육 제도를 다시 세웠나요?
5. 미군정/ 소련 군정 시기에 중요한 역할을 한 한국 교육자에 대해서 말씀해 주세요. 그들의 역할을 무엇이었나요?

(Interview Consent Form)

This research study seeks to explore the dynamics of educational policy transfer in the context of the US and the Soviet influences on the creation of the two Korean education systems during the onset of the Cold War period. This is a study undertaken by Sun Kim, a doctorate student at the Department of Education, University of Oxford.

1. I have read and understood the information about this study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I have considered all the risks involved with this research.
2. I understand that I can withdraw from the study without consequence at anytime simply by informing the researcher of my decision.
3. I understand who will have access to identifying information provided and what will happen to the data at the end of the project.
4. I am aware of who to contact should I have questions following my participation in this study.
5. I understand that this project has been reviewed by and received ethical clearance through the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.

I agree to participate in this study.

Name: _____
Date: _____
Signature: _____

Researcher: _____
Date: _____
Signature: _____

Education in Two Koreas: Analysis of Educational Policy Transfer

인터뷰 동의서

이 박사 논문은 남북한 통일을 염두해 두고 미국과 소련의 영향이 각각 남한과 북한의 교육제도에 어떻게 반영이 되었고 교육 발전에 어떤 영향을 끼쳤는지에 대한 내용을 다루게 됩니다. 인터뷰의 내용은 옥스포드 대학교 교육학 박사 과정에 재학하고 있는 김선의 박사 논문으로 편찬이 됩니다.

1. 나는 이 논문이 다루게 될 내용에 대해서 듣고 이해하였으며, 질문을 할 기회를 가졌습니다.
2. 나는 인터뷰에 참여하는데 있어서 어느 시기라도 일정에 변경이 생기면 다른 이유를 묻지 않고 그만 둘 수 있다는 사실에 대해서 들었습니다.
3. 나는 답변하시기 불편한 내용에 말하지 않을 권리를 가지고 있으며, 제공한 모든 정보와 의견에 대한 출처 및 발표에 대해 미리 알 수 있도록 요청할 수 있습니다.
4. 나는 이 인터뷰가 옥스포드 대학교 박사 과정 논문의 일부로 반영이 되며, 논문 일부의 내용은 국제 저널에 편찬이 될 가능성도 있다는 점에 대해 알고 있습니다.
5. 나는 이 인터뷰와 자료 제공에 있어서 누구에게 연락해야 하는지 확실하게 알고 있습니다.
6. 나는 이 연구가 University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee 에 확인을 받아 윤리적인 과정으로 진행될 것을 알고 있습니다.

나는 인터뷰에 참여할 것에 동의합니다.

이름: _____
날짜: _____
서명: _____

연구원 이름: _____
날짜: _____
서명: _____

Three Categories of Interviewees

The interviewees were categorized in three different types in order to address contents of interview questions and contributions they made to this research.

A. First-Hand or Second-Hand Witnesses

These interviewees were people who had involved with educational policy-making or transfer during the US or Soviet military regime or those who were taught directly from the first-hand witnesses for a long period of time.

(South Korea)

Name	Contributions
Professor A	He is a professor emeritus of education in three renowned universities as well as a former president of two universities, has engaged in various activities related to US educational aid to South Korea since 1952 when he returned from the US to teach at Seoul National University. He was the first education specialist in Korea who introduced scientific approach and methods to educational studies in Korean academia. He wrote several textbooks which became the first main textbooks for educational studies in Korean universities and colleges, especially during the 1950s and 1960s, and led various projects and initiatives which were supported by the US government as well as by the South Korean government.
Professor B	He is a renowned scholar on John Dewey's education philosophy in South Korea, as of now, having acquired Ph.D. in educational philosophy at a university in the US. Thus, his interview gave second-hand witnesses to experiences of the Korean educators, who were his colleagues at the university, and also an account of how the New Education Movement based on John Dewey's progressive education philosophy impacted on further educational development in South Korea.

(North Korea)

Name	Contributions
Professor C	Actually, his interviews were conducted in 1999 by Professor Ki-seok Kim from Seoul National University and his student, Dr. Hyang-kyu Lee. Details of the interviews were transcribed and written in the publication, Kim, K.S. et al. (2011) <i>Establishment of Database of North Korean Resources Abroad and Their Applications</i> . Seoul: SNU Peace and Unification Studies (in Korean). He was the Soviet Korean who was sent by the Soviet military to assume the position of a vice president of Kim Il-Sung University in North Korea. So his interviews give detailed accounts of the political dynamics inside the University among Soviet military officers, Soviet Korean professors, and North Korean professors and students. Thus, his interviews contribute to understanding the internal mechanisms of policy-making processes of the Soviet military regime and Soviet Koreans' roles and motivations in promoting certain policies.

Ms. D	She was born in 1941 and educated up to a college during the 1950s. After she graduated from Construction College in 1964, she became a Pyongyang city planner, a position she held until she retired in 1980s. During her career she received a medal from Kim Jung-Il for her contribution to erect <i>Juche</i> Tower, a memorial tower at the heart of Pyongyang, and she led ideological indoctrination cells for her co-workers as a high-ranking official.
Professor E	He was educated in Manchuria and North Korea before the Korean War during which he escaped to South Korea. As one of the most renowned scholars on the modern Korean politics during onset of the Cold War, he provided me with insights on how the political scenes in both Koreas were structured out of big international conflicts and how Korean policy-makers struggled to make their own agendas out of the big power influences on Korean peninsula, insights which came not only out of his scholarly investigations but also from his personal experiences in North Korea as well as during the Korean War.

B. Interviewees with Policy Angles

These interviewees were mostly North and South Korean academics and policy-makers who worked on either educational fields or diplomatic relations between USA and South Korea or between the Soviet Union and North Korea.

(South Korea)

Name	Contributions
Professor F	Before and during his professorship, he assumed leadership positions at South Korean government educational research institute which was established with the US financial assistance. His interviews provided me insights on the internal dynamics of Koreans' educational decision-making under the influences of US and also first-hand accounts on the educational scenes in South Korea during the 1950s.

(North Korea)

Name	Contributions
Professor H	Before she escaped to South Korea, she was a professor of philosophy at Hamheung Medical College. Her interviews gave me valuable accounts on the formation of North Korean <i>Juche</i> Ideology and how this ideology has affected cultural and educational formation of North Korean people.
Professor G	She was one of the presidential advisors on security matters and assumed leadership positions at various security think tanks. As an expert on Russian intellectual history, she provided me with insights on the various ideological angles that Korean policy-makers held during the political upheavals of the military regimes and 1950s.

C. Interviewees with Research Angles

These interviewees were scholars who extensively engaged with research related to my topic,

education in the two Koreas and educational policy transfer in Korea.

(South Korea)

Name	Contributions
Professor J	He conducted extensive research on the US educational policy transfer to South Korea during the military regime. Thus, his interview contributed to understanding the underlying assumptions that characterized the various research on this topic and identifying additional primary sources.
Professor K	His research on US education policy transfer to South Korea highlighted its impacts on the development of educational studies in South Korea. Thus, his interview clarified the most urgent educational needs of South Koreans during the 1950s and how the US transfer was absorbed in South Korean education system based on the needs.

(North Korea)

Name	Contributions
Professor L	As a scholar on the communist ideology and North Korean society and culture, he provided me insights on how communist ideological discourses in both Soviet Union and North Korea have diverged since the death of Stalin.