

Localization of Global Discourse and the Breakdown of the Washington Consensus (WC): A
Case Study of Korean Higher Education Reform (1993-2012)

by

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Abstract

In my dissertation paper, I sought the political implications of neo-liberal education reform with the case of recent Korean higher education reforms. I first explored the macro-causal relationship of neo-liberal higher education reform in transnational social relations, and then the political interplay of local state with regard to internalizing global discourse for higher education reform. By doing so, I attempted to break through the taken-for-granted ideological acceptance in recent Korean higher education reforms.

I collected and classified text data by selected research methods: document analysis, and content analysis. Korea was chosen as a case study and historical-comparative analysis helped me investigate the political elements of Korean higher education policy reform. For the critical inquiry of qualitative research, I scrutinized policy document texts with a critical discourse analysis. I utilized transnational historical materialism and neo-Gramscian approach to lay out the way of ideological communication between a global hegemonic power and an individual state. Political sociology of education and state theory were delineated to analyze the state behaviour that interacts with both external and internal pressures in setting up neo-liberal policy reform.

My research finding is that the basic framework for neo-liberal higher education reform was ideologically shared between international organizations and Korea as a result of the political dynamics of transnational capitalist social relations; however, the global discourse was locally developed based upon local politics of Korea. That is to say, the Korean state— as a political entity of competing social force—determines the level of neo-liberal ideology permeation in reform policies —whether to benefit a global hegemonic ideology or to attenuate it while allowing counter-hegemonic value. As my research examines a policy discourse and its political implications, I wish my research contribute to

robust discussions of political impact on educational policy reform by stimulating local policy makers, politicians, educational researchers and stakeholders.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Moon Sook Jeong.

However, an abstract form of this thesis has been accepted as Moon Sook Jeong, “A Counter-hegemonic State to Neoliberalism: the Case of Recent Korean Higher Education Reforms,” *Journal of Comparative & International Higher Education* (CIHE), vol. 6, issue 3, 80-85. I was responsible for the data collection and analysis as well as the manuscript composition.

Dedication

To my loving family and friends

Acknowledgments

I would like to express the deepest gratitude to my defense committee. First, I am grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Jerry Kachur who led me to critical insights during my study and guided me to the completion of my doctoral program. He always encouraged me to think and work hard on my study not only with his intellectual capability from a long-standing professional experience, but also with his warm-hearted and generous personality. Second, I appreciate two of my supervisory committee members, Dr. Ali Abdi and Dr. Randy Wimmer who have seen and supported me all through my academic years. Their supports were crucial because they provided me constructive feedbacks on my work as well as mental comfort during my student life. Also, I thank Dr. Lynette Shultz for her role as an examining member and an academic supporter of my study. For the last, I acknowledge two other external examining members, Dr. Toni, Samek, and Dr. Donald Fisher (University of British Columbia) who gave me valuable review comments on my work. Again, I am very thankful that I finished my doctoral program with all these professional contributions.

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List of Acronyms used

ACE: Advancement of College Education
APEC: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
BK21: Brain Korea 21 project
CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis
CERI: Centre for educational Research Innovation.
DJ: Dae-jung Kim
EFA: Education for All
EFZ: Economic Free zones
EPC: Education Policy Committee,
ERP: Education Reform Plan
EXCEL: Excellence and Competitiveness Endeavor for Leading Universities
G20: Group of 20
HCA: Historical Comparative Analysis
HE: Higher Education
HRD: Human Resource Development
IMHE: Institutional Management Higher Education,
IMF: International Monetary Fund
IBRD: International Bank for Restructuring and Development
IDA: International Development Association
KDI: Korea Development Institute
KEDI: Korean Education Development Institute
GATS: The General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT: The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IOs: International organizations
LINC: Leaders in Industry-University Cooperation
M&A: Mergers and Acquisitions
MB: Myung-bak Lee
MEHRD: Ministry of Education Human Resources Development
MEST: Ministry of Education and Science & Technology
MDG: Millennium Development Goals
MNCs: Multinational Companies/Corporations

MOE: Ministry of Education
NURI: New University for Regional Innovation
OEEC: Organization of European Economic Co-operation
OECD: the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PSE: Political Sociology of Education
PACEST: Presidential Advisory Council on Education, Science and Technology
PCEHR: Presidential Commission on Education and Human Resource
PCEI: The Presidential Committee on Educational Innovation
PCNEC: Presidential Commission on the New Education Community
SAPs: Structural Adjustment Programs
THM: Transnational Historical Materialism
UN: United Nations
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization
WB: World Bank
WCU: World Class University
WEF: World Economic Forum
WTO: World Trade Organization
WWII: The Second World War
YS: Young-sam Kim

I. INTRODUCTION

My doctoral research examines political implications in recent (1995–2010) Korean higher education reforms. Politics and a reform policy are inseparable because a new policy occurs within political recognition and is rationalized by political rhetoric (Codd, 1988; Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry, 1997). That is, higher education policy is placed in a political system and a policy reform is deeply located within politics. In dealing with critical variables of a policy shift, therefore, it is essential for policy researchers to investigate not only challenges from practice, but also the policy environment that policy makers are concerned with for political reasons.

In the latest wave of globalization and the emergence of the knowledge-based economy, the world has become significantly interwoven politically, economically and culturally. Worldwide economic integration brings political and cultural challenges (Wagner, 2004) and society pursues knowledge and information for greater economic development, requiring affordable labour (Drucker, 1999; Houghton & Sheehan, 2000; OECD, 1996; World Bank, 2000). Correspondingly, individual countries consider this global atmosphere more than ever before when they establish their national policies. This interdependent global environment has become a significant issue in education as well (Carnoy & Castells, 2001; Deacon, 2007a; Pierson, 2000). The discourse of human capital and knowledge production has been predominant in education for the new time. Subsequently, educational policy makers in each country redefined the function of their higher education and reorganized educational program and governance in pursuit of productive outcome for a new societal change.

One favoured way of policy reform has been prevalent in higher education beyond regional or historical dissimilarities since the late 20thC. It is a neo-liberal reform that many

local governments have chosen and developed for their higher education system. Neo-liberalism in education can be understood as a dominant ideology as well as a regulating policy framework. In observing this globally prevailing reform policy, I question how and why neo-liberal education reform has been popularized across national borders and who has promoted this particular type of reform. Narrowing this initial inquiry, I developed my curiosity about why local policy makers accommodate this globally predominating “idea” of higher education reform. This interrogation leads me to the conclusion that macro-level political dynamics influenced local policy makers to accept the specific exogenous policy ideas.

The ideological root of neo-liberal education reform stems from the Anglo-American macroeconomics (liberal economy + post-Keynesianism) and local policy makers accommodate neo-liberal principles (marketization, decentralization, accountability, etc.) for higher education reform, responding to the changing nature of the global political economic environment. To bridge the origin and practice of neo-liberalism, I explored the ideological consensus between the international and local level of particular discourse formation on higher education reform. In doing so, I will be able to identify a macro-causal relationship of neo-liberal education reform between the material basis of advanced capitalism and individual states.

Furthermore, it is critical to ask how a local government interplays coping with pressures from a globalized politico-economic environment and local concerns when the state sets up and implements a neo-liberal education reform policy. As individual nations affect and are affected by each other in our globalized world system, a local policy change reflects not only the exogenous environment, but also domestic conditions. Accordingly, I examined neo-liberal reform policy legitimization at a local level while interrogating the duality of local politics in between two forces, namely the external and internal conditions of policy change.

For an overarching conceptual framework, I draw on transnational historical materialism (Overbeek, 2000), mainly a neo-Gramscian perspective (Cox, 1996; Gill, 1995) from the studies of International Relations. This framework, a historical material dynamics of inter-state relations, accounts for the capital accumulation through a class structure and ideological hegemony. With this theoretical view, I endeavoured to demonstrate how Korea has dealt with external elements of policy change and why she has accommodated a dominant global discourse for her higher education reforms. Four Bretton Woods institutions (the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Trade Organization) were scrutinized as an ideological mediator of neo-liberalism and a public sphere of political struggle for rationalization. Beyond the question of whether neo-liberalism is good or not, inquiry of “how” may suggest an answer for “why” that identifies the political nature of transnational policy dissemination.

To examine a local response to the global discourse of neoliberal education reform, I brought two perspectives of theoretical analysis about the state – political sociology of education and state theory. Political sociology of education aims to look at the state role in the formation of educational policy, specifically in a capitalist society. Among state theories in the field of politics and sociology, I adopted Bob Jessop’s perspective which ushered me to the ultimate understanding of the state concept as a “social ensemble” in a historical contextualization (2002) rather than just mere expression of collective, organizational, and institutional legitimacy and to the role of state intervention in a capitalist economy which ensures capital accumulation and social reproduction. Consequently, these two theories helped me understand and explain why Korean policy makers rationalize the global discourse for their local political needs.

My research reveals and challenges underlying assumptions of recent Korean higher education reform (1995–2010) by exploring the normative justification for neo-liberal principles in policy texts. Utilizing critical discourse analysis as a qualitative research methodology, I attempt to uncover whether Korean policy makers adapted neo-liberal principles for higher education reform, and how they reconceptualised neo-liberal education reform in their own political context. Research methods of data collection, document analysis and content analysis guided me in collecting and extracting critical resources from documented data. A historical-comparative analysis helps me scrutinize specific political backgrounds of Korean higher education reform.

Personal Motivation for the Research

During my undergraduate days in Korea (1995–1999), I experienced the buzz about a university reform from the daily mass media that reported on government reform initiatives. It is because the Korean government embarked upon extensive higher education reforms based on a national plan (5. 31 Reform Plan). As a university student, I witnessed a number of changes made in Korean higher education. For example, the university admission system was shifted from the Achievement Test, which allows only one school application under the one time national assessment, to the Student Aptitude Test which provides multiple choices for applicants. The new test system reduced the number of testing subjects as well, granting students choice on subjects. Academic programs at universities were diversified and specialized under the given institutional autonomy. This new admission system and new programs were promoted as “student-centred” educational reform.

While studying international relations for my Master's study in 2001–2003, I noticed that the contemporary global political economic environment in which Korea¹ was situated affected Korean education both directly and indirectly. Consequently, I researched Korean trade policy, specifically WTO trade negotiations, in relation to the liberalization of the education market for foreign investors for my master thesis. This doctoral research continued and expanded my interest in the political behaviours of the Korean government, regarding both exogenous factors and endogenous challenges to higher education reform.

To unfold my doctoral research inquiries, I first ask, in what ways do the reform policies of Korea continue to be made for higher education? I have also wondered why Korean policy makers used the global discourse to initiate their own reform plans and how they rationalized internal problems to accommodate the reform initiatives.

Objectives of the Research

The general purpose of the research is to examine political implications in recent reform policies of Korean higher education spanning four presidential regimes from 1993 to 2012. My research inquiries come out of followings: What are the major driving forces of recent Korean higher education reform? What have been the main directions of the Korean government's reform policies and commitments? What ideological foundation underpins reform policies of Korean higher education? How has that ideology settled in reform policies? And why do problems dissolved or worsen in Korean higher education in spite of continuing policy reform?

In answer to these questions, I sought to find out first whether neo-liberal principles consistently underlie both documented reform issues of international organizations and

¹References to Korea should be taken as referring to South Korea only in my research; I will use "North" when the information is specifically about North Korea.

Korean higher education reform policies over the selected period (1993–2012). Prior to document investigation, I perceived that the Korean government had used the rhetoric of so-called global trend, neo-liberal principles for higher education reform and reconceptualised the needs of educational reform for economic development accordingly. Investigation into the document discourse between international organizations and Korea revealed how both shares a specific ideology and how Korea adopted neo-liberal principles for higher education reform. In this regard, my research provides empirical evidence of the assumption that Korea has performed neo-liberal reform for higher education.

For further academic inquiries, I considered why educational reform in Korea had been formulated and implemented using neo-liberal economic rationales, rather than arising from critical educational research and local practice. This question led me to an examination about the macro-political dynamics that affects a communication between international organizations and Korea. Accordingly, I asked *how* the discourse is displayed in the policy document, *what* both parties share (whether they are alike or not) and further, *why* they share what they share; a specific ideology what is shared between global discourse and local policy discourse for higher education reform. Finally, I investigated about the transnational political dynamics that facilitates this ideological sharing.

After that, I examined how the Korean government had compromised with foreign forces in employing neo-liberal principles, while dealing with powerful domestic vetoes during reform initiatives to create a specific and particular Korean version of “neo-liberal” reform. It is noticeable that the Korea government (each of the regimes of Korea) reconstructed and recontextualized local educational problems (e.g., quality improvement) in adopting exogenous reform guidelines, while defining significant local political issues (e.g., national economic crisis, meritocracy agenda, etc.) for higher education reform. This dual

play can be explained by each regime's political tendency in responding to both external and internal conditions.

Therefore, this research is 1) to explore how world politics influences local education policy reform in a global capitalist order, 2) to discover how deeply recent Korean higher education reforms rely upon domestic political priorities, and 3) to examine how the Korean government interplays with both external and internal dynamics in legitimizing recent higher education policy reform. In short, my study seeks to consider the link between a global condition of industrial change and domestic educational policy reform while interrogating the autonomy of local politics.

Significance of the Research

First, my study provides an interdisciplinary analysis. At the time of neo-liberal triumph for educational reform at a global scale, I argued that there should be a timely interdisciplinary inspection of the ideological origin, consensus, and permeation into local policies. With a theoretical framework from International Relations *and* Political Sociology of Education, my study explored geo-political dynamics in local education reform. This interdisciplinary analysis is important because higher education research needs to grasp the fundamental reasons for neo-liberal reform where study is usually restricted to a single disciplinary analysis. Thus, my research can narrow the gap between two academic disciplines in social science – politics and education –and contribute to multidisciplinary analysis for neo-liberal higher education reform.

Second, my research contributes to area studies. I selected Korea for my research because of my already existing extensive historical and cultural understanding and accessibility to written materials in Korean language as a native person. My personal background and lived experience also helped me accurately analyze data and findings from

that particular context in both the political and education sectors. The study of Korea will provide readers rich evidence of specific incidents and significant details of educational policy reform within a political context. The contribution of this research to area studies is important because it helps academe and policy researchers contemplate local political autonomy of neo-liberal education reform in different political contexts.

This local understanding and data accessibility, while providing a rich understanding of the context, also has the potential to bias the researcher's analytic view. For example, an insider researcher may heavily focus on/advocate for local perspective while paying relatively little attention to an outside view, or may treat issues as already known without thorough data collection. To make my research credible, I made a concerted effort to keep my research data balanced between global and local so as not to be overwhelmed by locally collected data, and, based of course upon the importance of data relevance. In addition, I should point out that I did not have any professional involvement with data source providers (i.e., either international organizations or the Korean government², I examined in this paper) during my research period.

By suggesting detailed accounts on Korean educational reform within its political context which has dissimilar educational governance and social composition from Canada, my research may provide insights for the study of other developing countries that have similar historical relationship between world politics and university reform. In this sense, this study is significant for figuring out how and why developing countries carry out neo-liberal education reform. Thus, my research may benefit policy makers, politicians, educational researchers and academic scholars in various fields by providing cultural and historical

²I once worked for the Ministry of Education in 2012 by the request of one government-led research institute (KEDI), but the work duty I completed there was not related with higher education reform.

evidence of the diverse ways that neo-liberal education reform expands *and* localizes itself: Briefly speaking, policy makers and politicians would learn how specific local conditions compromise with external pressures in adopting a global grand policy agenda. Educational researchers will benefit their area by boosting educational topics disputed by local politics in the market dominant time. Academic scholars are expected to develop more discussions on the localization of neo-liberalism and invigorate the critiques on neo-liberal agendas that still ignore educational conditions.

Third, this research fills a small gap in the scarcity of research on Korean higher education: how Korean politics manifests itself in the rhetoric of recent neo-liberal higher education reform in a unique way that supplements and complements previous research. Scholars have analyzed Korean higher education reform with different focuses. Ka Ho Mok (2003, 2006) compares Korean higher education restructurings to other East Asian countries. Terri Kim (2001, 2008, 2010) examines a cultural dimension of Korean higher education reform. Ki-su Kim (2005) investigates the static governance of Korean higher education and its way of reforms. Jeong-kyu Lee (2000, 2003, 2006) studies the perspective of administrative/systematic reform, offering historical insights. While there is a growing research production on Korean higher education reforms, few studies, however, scrutinize external and internal political dynamics in relation to the recent higher education reform of Korea. Therefore, my study will possibly broaden the analytic view of neo-liberal education reform and facilitate an intellectual interest in balancing the political compromise between education and economics.

Nature of the Research

My study is in qualitative nature. According to Creswell (1998), qualitative research is “an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry

that explore a social or human problem” (p. 15). Qualitative research allows researchers to collect data from multiple sources of information in a natural setting and infer a causal relationship between information and phenomena (Creswell, 1998). Because my research uses a variety of methodological tools, it also includes a way to get at the analysis of how important international and national institutions “reason” about general phenomenon such as neo-liberal education reform.

Qualitative research must have characteristics of control, rigour, logic, validity, evidence-based, and critical scrutiny with “descriptive, correlational, explanatory and exploratory objectives” (Kumar, 2005a, p. 10). My study attempts to provide a detailed explanation of Korean higher education reform, to discover the relationship between the origin and adoption of neo-liberal principles, to clarify why and how a relationship exists within or between contexts and to explore the use of multiple methodologies. Accordingly, my research contributes to the growing emphasis on the qualitative elements of limited social action, order and change.

I also established my qualitative research as a critical form of inquiry. Guba and Lincoln (1994) justify a critical inquiry in social science as “the value-determined nature of inquiry” (pp. 109) in a historically constructed reality (by mediated value) based on researcher’s ontological, epistemological and methodological positions. As the knowledge changes through a dialectical process of historical insights, critical inquiry stimulates “the transformation of the existing structure” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 114) through a self-awareness of subjects.

There is a genuine need to understand that educational practice and reform are mediated by political values. By inspecting a macro-causal relationship between world politics and local policy formation, I propose to reveal underlying ideological assumptions in policy texts and urge audiences to recognize a taken-for-granted neo-liberal reform as a

rationalizing process by political rhetoric. Importantly, I expose the rhetoric of local politics and how it interacts with the world politics and local practice of neo-liberal education reform.

Limitation, Delimitation, Assumptions of the Research

My research established boundaries regarding other issues of international relations. I did not include any post-2008 political dynamics in international relations and in Korea. For international politics, I recognized that some of important issues emerged after the global financial crisis in 2008 and possibly obstructed the insidious march of neo-liberalism and has introduced some new concerns which are not addressed here: for example, the rise of new international security state issues related to Arab Spring, the Syrian War, and ISIS or Western conflict with Russia over Ukraine or the emerging realignment of global politics effected by the BRICS – Brazil, Russia, Indian, China and South Africa. The global leadership of the US has consequently been challenged and weakened in an international political economy and some other countries like China have been addressed as a potentially alternative superpower. In addition, heterogeneous violence or cultural confrontations resulted from terrorism and religious conflicts became central to a global discourse in inter-national relations, while still remaining a US global leadership in world politics. Nonetheless, this limitation will not critically affect my research findings because a global discourse on neo-liberal education reform has been consistent in spite of those issues. Furthermore, the four international organizations I looked at in my research have continued to be influential in exerting political power justified by neo-liberal ideology in education.

For Korea, I am aware that national state security (i.e., confrontation with North Korea) is one of the most important issues for Korea in both determining nation-state's activities in international relations and dealing with a domestic political dynamics. In 2010, Korean domestic politics was considerably impacted by one incident that happened on the

same year: the sinking of the *Cheonan* navy ship sank off the country's west coast. The Korean government blamed North Korea for the attack and has not been officially acknowledged yet. The sinking of the *Cheonan* was an important moment in Korean politics and solidified the Conservative political base in the country. This political dynamic might have indirectly affected recent Korean educational reform policies. However, my concentration was on the capitalistic world system and Korea's national policy formation for higher education reform because recent education reforms in Korea are unarguably aligned to international political economic environment rather than national security (Kim, K. S. 2005; Kim, J. G. 2005; Mok, 2003, 2006; Mok & Welch, 2003). More research may be required in this area to establish the linkage between political economic and national security concerns

I restricted the scope of my analysis in terms of considering political dynamics. There might be other political concerns with regards to higher education reform in Korea. For example, political struggles and bargaining between/among university institutions and educational subjects such as professors, lecturers, students, and administrative staffs could be made before and after the implementation of reform policies. Nevertheless, my research did not go too deeply into socio-cultural conflicts among institutions and individuals, but focused rather on the bi-relationship between international organizations and Korea. I admit that universities and people are largely influenced by higher education reform policies and are possibly worthy looking at from a sociological perspective. However, my research focused on a macro level of generalization about the interaction between the world political economic system (i.e., a few important political economic actors in it such as World Bank) and one individual state (i.e., Korea), rather than the meso behaviour of Korea's higher education institutions or the micro dynamics of social actors or individual personnel.

Despite the fact that Korea is notably involved in other international agencies (such as APEC, WEF, and G20) and actively participate in the international political-economic regime,

I delimit my analysis to four political economic agencies for my research to propose a connection between local higher education reform and the global political economic environment³. I chose four international organizations (described in detail in 2.3.1) because 1) they have been closely working with the Korean government for education, 2) they are rich sources for the evidence of communication with Korea (e.g., IMF documents do not address education reform directly), and 3) education is in their political scope as an important part of their work duties.

Chapter Summary

In summary, my research examines the political drivers of recent higher education reform in Korea. While investigating the ideological consensus between supranational agencies and the local government on neo-liberal reform for higher education, I uncovered the important role of local politics that shapes substantive reform policies at the local level, with the case study of recent Korean higher education reforms.

Motivated by personal observations and continuous curiosity on neo-liberal higher education reform in Korea, I developed my study as a critical inquiry of qualitative research based on standard research methodologies. Scrutinizing policy document texts with critical discourse analysis (CDA), I utilized transnational historical materialism (THM) to lay out the way of ideological communication between a global hegemonic power and an individual state in neo-liberal time. Political sociology of education and state theories were delineated secondly to analyze the state behaviour that interacts with both external and internal pressures in setting up neo-liberal policy reform.

³Political economy here refers to the political relationships (laws, customs and government) that influence market behaviour.

Despite the limited research scope, such as the selection of a political-economic approach, a macro perspective rather than meso- or micro-aspects, and selected research subjects (four international organizations and one individual state), I expect my research to contribute to interdisciplinary analysis, area studies, and Korean studies in an academic world. As a critical researcher, I also wish to invigorate critiques on the prevalence of neo-liberal education reform and point out the significance of local political context in establishing educational reform policies.

Thesis Outline

My dissertation consists of seven chapters, including this introductory chapter. In Chapter II, Literature Review, I display the theoretical readings relevant to my research topic, a brief summary of recent Korean higher education reforms and its evaluation, and embedded political dynamics in Korean higher education reform. In Chapter III, Research Design, I introduce research methodologies: transnational historical materialism and critical discourse analysis and methods: document analysis, content analysis, case study, historical comparative analysis I utilized for my analysis. In Chapter IV, Data Collection, I show the way I collected and arranged the empirical evidence of neo-liberal higher education reform from the policy documents of international organizations and the Korean government. In Chapter V, Data Analysis I: Thematic Analysis, I show the ideological consensus and divergence through discourse sharing process between two political parties, international organizations, and Korea. In Chapter VI, Data Analysis II: Theoretical analysis, I reveal the implicit procedure of neo-liberal ideology transmission in higher education reform and the embedded macro-politics. Through this theoretical examination, I uncover the importance of local politics in coping with both exogenous and domestic political pressure for education reform. In the last Chapter, Conclusion, I summarize my dissertation and highlight the significance of my

research finding, while suggesting some of policy recommendations and identify in further research possibilities.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

2. 1.Theoretical Readings

2.1.1. Politics, Policy and Education

According to Max Weber (2010), *politics* is an endeavour of sharing power or influencing power distribution and *being political* means to consider the interests of power distribution, maintenance, and transfer of power between and among key actors. Thus, power, authority and rulership (i.e., sovereignty) are the dominant concerns in politics with questions about political order, justice and the common good. I assume that this characteristic of politics creates and influences educational policy. Policy is political and politics is deeply located in policy. Policy is a response to recognized problems by authorities (Pal, 2009) and a process “to refer to the politics involved in the recognition of a problem which requires a policy response” (Taylor et al., 1997, p. 24). Policy process itself is a political negotiation and has a reciprocal relationship of politics (Jenkins, 2007). That is, a conflict and compromise among competing interests lies at every stage in a policy making process.

Policy represents some characteristics that are constitutive, regulative, and legitimate. First, policy has a constitutive aspect. When social components (individual or group in a pluralist approach or social force in a critical theory approach) pursue a particular goal, a new idea appears as a political voice and calls for government action. Basically, policy is a “goal or statement of what ought to be happened” (Blackmore, 2003, p. 30). Second, policy allows an authority to present a regulatory guideline for what and how social actors behave. Policy urges to change policy takers’ cognitive and behavioural framework. In this regard, the regulatory function of policy has an instrumental nature. Furthermore, policy is a tool that social constituents can legitimize and institutionalize their political interests. Taylor et al. (1997) also note that policy is a product of the text in which political values are underlying.

In short, policy can be understood as a means of legitimization for specific political values or ideologies. In this sense, policy reform is backed up with political concerns and mediated by political legitimization process.

Education is far from a neutral site of politics. Education is a political activity and political philosophy identifies the feature and context of education (Freire, 1985). Louis Althusser (2004) and Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that education contributes to production and reproduction of societal material conditions in a neo-Marxist perspective. Neo-Gramscian scholars in education (Apple, 1995, 2004; Giroux, 2002a, 2002b, 2003; Mayo, 2010) emphasize a potential of education for ideological resistance to dominant hegemony. They regard education as the realm of political struggles over class culture. In interpreting Gramsci's work, Attilio Monasta (1993) states that

Education is a field where theory and practice, culture and politics inevitably merge together, and where intellectual research and achievement combine with social and political action. However, a distinction ...between these two aspects of education is not uncommon and the ideological use of culture and science often pushes toward both the "neutralization" of the educational and political effects of cultural development and the "justification" of the political power by domesticated theories, which, therefore, can be defined as "ideologies." (p. 597)

2.1.2. International Organizations (IOs⁴)' Influence in Education and World Politics

In a globalizing world, a policy creation and process should be understood within a wider context. Kraus (2008) and Deacon (2007b) calls upon policy researchers to pay attention to the contemporary multilayered, multi-sited, and multi-actored condition of

⁴Referred to as IOs hereafter

educational policy making in the situation that social change and education mutually affect each other. As there have been growing transnational interests in local policy development, the international level is as important as the national level to be examined (Kraus, 2008; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, Robertson, Bonal, & Dale, 2002). Therefore, a policy analyst needs “a proper understanding of the nature of the relationship and mutual influences between two different arenas (Kraus, 2008, p. 172),” an international level and a national level.

Scholars in sociology and education argue that IOs have played an important role and increased the capacity of global governance with a diffusion of neo-liberal ideology (Haas, 1992; Leuze, Martens, & Rusconi, 2007; March & Olsen, 1998; McNeely & Cha, 1994; McNeely, 1995). In general, the World Bank and IMF influence individual states’ educational policy through a financial conditionality with their Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) (Bonar, 2002; Carnoy, 1995; Neu & Ocampo, 2007; Phillip, 1992). The mechanism of comparison and standard helps the OECD to increase its influence over individual countries’ educational policies (Henry et al., 2001; Martens, 2007; Papadulos, 1994). WTO makes remarkable effort to reframe the role of higher education within a market-competition base (Robertson et al., 2002; Sherrer, 2007) with UNESCO (Hartmann, 2007).

IOs establish common trends in educational policies (Finnemore, 1993) and help nation-states pursue their externally driven goals (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997). Meyer *et al.* (1997) depict that “much world cultural change and elaboration occur within transnational organizations” (p. 151). As IOs are established and dominated by the interest of world political regime, they prioritize a particular political ideology and a discourse (Dale & Robertson, 2002; Mundy, 2007). The U.S. has had significant influence to those institutions both politically and economically since the collapse of Soviet bloc. This relationship is not

always forced by a coercive “hard” power (i.e. military and economic means to exercise political power). Then, does the “soft” persuasive power mechanism work?

IOs can be viewed through a variety of transnational sociological perspectives: i) new institutionalism (McNeely, 1995), ii) a changing pattern of multilateralism after a tremendous political economic shift of world order (Mundy, 1998) and iii) a pivotal mechanism of world cultural change (Meyer et al., 1997). Diverse perspectives from international political economy see IOs as i) a cultural arena of hegemonic construction (Cox, 1981; Gill, 1994), ii) the boards of directors for ruling states (Boswell & Chase-Dunn 2000), iii) a public arena for the activities of epistemic community (Haas, 1992) or new forms of global governance that reflects interstate power (Keohane, 1989; 2002). All illustrate the IOs’ power mechanisms and demonstrate the reason for specific discourse pervasion over the world or what is sometime called “soft power.”

I generally agree to the elements of the viewpoints above because scholars point out that IOs’ global governance arises in current transnational relations and scrutinize that a particular political interest is located in IOs and their activities led by a dominant social force. Among the above perspectives, I am more specifically positioned with Cox and Gills’ conception of *hegemony*: the process of ideological consensus building. Given that a dominant social force (whether individual state or capitalist social actor) creates IOs’ core ideas and exerts political power through IOs’ various activities in transnational social relations, Cox and Gill’s concept of hegemony is most helpful in undermining the reason and process of ideological consensus between IOs and Korea for higher education reform.

2.1.3. The Mechanism of Policy Change

Regarding what factors affect local policy change, Craig Parsons (2007) proposed four types of forces about policy change :i) material (economic pressure), ii) institutional

(political veto power), iii) ideational (socially constructed) and iv) psychological (mental) factors. Parsons argues that structural enforcement given by external force (material) is combined together with ideational force and a repeated cognitive bias (psychological) on policy alternatives results in a policy change. Focusing more on transnational actors, Wad Jacoby (2008) introduced the typology of transnational policy actor influence: i) idea, ii) norm teaching, and iii) material resource leverage. Transnational actors influence state policy makers through inspiration (idea promotion and development), subsidy (conditional enactment of reform), partnership (political allies) and substitution (preference of external actors without domestic cooperation). This explanation also assumes that external idea and resource come ultimately together for a domestic policy change.

Table 1. Policy change mechanism

	Parsons (2007)	Jacoby (2008)
external force	Material (economic pressure)	Material resource leverage: Subsidy (conditional enactment of reform)
internal force	Ideational (socially constructed) & Psychological (mentally repeated bias)	Idea: Inspiration (idea promotion and development)
external & internal force	Institutional (political veto power)	Norm teaching: Partnership & Substitution (political allies & preference of external actors without domestic cooperation)

Source: Author based on Parson (2007), Jacoby (2008)

The studies of Parsons (2007) and Jacoby (2008) broaden the spectrum for the analysis of policy change by considering external policy force in a wider society. Further, these two studies elaborate the process of how external policy actors influence local policy makers by introducing a distinct typology. I appreciate that these studies cover the macro-level interaction for local policy change and regard transnational actors' ideological influence as an essential stage for a local policy change. Their studies are suitable for my research in demonstrating where the Korean government was located in when adopted neo-liberal higher education reform.

When applying Parsons and Jacoby's policy mechanism, material enforcement is generally accompanied with ideological work in setting up neo-liberal reform policies. In the case a country is in a bad economic situation, the WB and IMF's delegation directly visit a country to execute a material mode of foreign intervention. In this case, ideological persuasion is not necessarily strong. Uncertainty of economy or politics weakens institutional legacies and renders viable institutions or alternatives ineffective (Blyth, 2002); that is, the local circumstance of financial predicament is sufficient to compel a policy change by external force. In Korean case, the Asian Financial Crisis⁵ in 1997 was this vulnerable time for the Korean economy and the government had no choice but to implement local policy changes that were consistent with the WB and IMF pressure for neo-liberal ways of doing things.

⁵Asian Financial Crisis referred to the time of financial turmoil in Asia in 1997. The crisis started from Thailand and spread to other South and East Asian countries including South Korea. An increasing foreign capital flow rendered Asian financial market vulnerable to dollars and local currencies devalued. As a result, Asian developing countries faced insolvency for foreign debts in dollars. The IMF lent those Asian countries emergency rescue loans conditioned structural adjust plans. In Korea, the crisis is commonly called as IMF crisis that brought economic and societal restructuring after the IMF aid.

If a country is not in urgent need of financial aid from outside, then the ideological work of the IOs is considerable in promoting neo-liberal reform by using political allies from among transnational actors and domestic policy makers. Ideational work is strategically committed (Blyth, 2001; Campbell, 1998) through public discourse imperativeness for the policy change (Cox, 2001; Schmidt, 2005); otherwise, external pressure would not solely have had significant impacts on local policy change. In the case of Korea, the national government has co-operated with the IOs and their ideas before and after the financial crisis in 1997 to generate a public discourse on neo-liberal higher education reform.

In relation to IOs ideational work, Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) offer three stages of the norm cycle: norm emergence, norm cascade, and norm internalization. The tipping point before the second stage (norm cascade) must exist for the international acceptance of the specific norm, giving the opportunity of international socialization between states and IOs. Then, the new norm becomes widely accepted. Balzer and Rusconi (2007) add a stage zero, ideational impetus by IOs, to the norm cycle of Finnemore and Sikkink’s model. Balzer and Rusconi attempt to offer an answer about the origin of the norm’s first stage. These models illustrate the way ideological hegemony works and key discourses circulate through IOs and into nation-states so that I can explain the very beginning stage of IOs and the Korean government’s communication about a neo-liberal higher education reform.

Table 2. The process of IOs’ ideational work

	stage 0	stage 1	tipping point	stage 2	stage3
Finnemore and Sikkink (1998)		norm emergence	international acceptance	norm cascade	internalization

Balzer and Rusconi (2007)	Ideational impetus by IOs			international socialization
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Source: Author based on Finnemore & Sikkink (1998) and Balzer & Rusconi (2007)

When ideological work proceeds, an epistemic alliance between IOs and national elites is necessary (Haas, 1992; Stone, 2004, 2008). In other words, domestic actors’ political interest interacts with the interests of transnational actors. As seen in Finnemore and Sikkink (1998)’s norm cycle - two level norm game - domestic actors’ interests intend to gain an international agreement (tipping point) and then to internalize the norm domestically. In this process, the idea mechanism needs a translation process to achieve domestication (Parsons, 2007; Campbell, 2004).

In this section, I reviewed literature that examines IOs’ political nature as well as IOs’ influence in education and world politics. Critical scholars argue that IOs are political in the sense that they are backed up by the world political regime (especially the U.S.) and give a priority to a globally dominant social force through a soft power use. Regarding the factors of local policy change, Parsons (2007) and Jacoby (2008) introduced the typology for the external force and its ideational cooperation with internal force. Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) and Balzer and Rusconi (2007) developed a model specifically for IOs’ ideational work and subdivided it into four stages. I found most of these literatures well spoke about *how* IOs’ idea permeates local policies. In seeking the answer to *why*, however, I felt pushed to go for another theoretical account. Neo-Gramscian perspective, especially Cox’s approach, gave me an intuition for this theoretical path. This will be explained more in chapter 3.3. Methodology.

2.1.4. State Role

Although a globalized policy option is increasingly influential to a local policy, global discourses are filtered through the unique condition of each country (Appadurai, 1996; Mok, 2003; Mok & Tan, 2004; Wirt & Harman, 1986). Carnoy (2001) and Holton (2011) argue that the role of the state remains vital in local policy making because global capitalism, IOs, and multinational companies (MNCs) never subordinate to the state's regulatory controls. So to speak, a state is capable of articulating a transnational/global discourse in its national context which is unarguably decisive in a local policy making. Thus, the state role is crucial in understanding one country's educational policy change. To challenge this complex reality of educational policy change, I will explore rising global policy actors as a hegemonic power mediator in this study and local politics with a case study of Korea.

It would be helpful to distinguish the concept of *state* to account for the organizational structure from the concept of *nation* in this socio-cultural explanation as it relates the exercise of political power. Generally, *state* represents the political and administrative structure and the *nation* represents an ethnic composition and national identities (Appadurai, 1996). According to Rizvi and Lingard's recent conceptualization (2010), *state* can be understood as "the bureaucratic administrative structure" and "an authoritative monopoly over the subjects and institutions" in its territory as a political entity while *nation-state* refers to "cultures and histories of a people within a bounded space" (p. 13).

The study of a capitalist state provides a particular situation given to a state authority in a capitalist society. As the state is "a strategically selective terrain which can never be neutral among all social forces and political projects" in an accepted territory, "the outcome of state power also depends on the changing balance of forces engaged in political action both within and beyond the state" (Jessop, 1990, p. 353). The theory of the capitalist state also suggests that the understanding of historical dynamics/contextualization is essential for

unfolding the privileged strategies of the particular capitalist state's decision (Hay, 2006; Jessop, 2002).

Political sociology of education presents a viable approach to study educational policies in relation to the role of the state because political sociology of education involves "an analysis of the state's role and how conditioned capitalist development shapes education policy" (Arnove, Torres, Franz, & Morse, 1996, p. 140). Torres claims that political sociology of education answers for

why a given policy is created; how it is constructed, planned, and implemented; who are the most relevant actors in its formulation and implementation; what are the impacts of such policies for both specific clienteles and society at large; and what are the key systemic and organizational processes involved in policy formulation are fundamental issues at stake for a political sociology of education. (1990, as cited in Moralez-Gomez & Torres, 1990. p.9)

Thus, it is important to consider "what type of state and political regime supports what kind of education for whom and for what purposes" (La belle, 1986, as cited in Arnove et al., 1996, p. 140).

With the characteristic of a developmental state (i.e. a dirigist state character in a proceeding country's macro-economic plan), Korea has pursued economic development for an important national goal. After a political democratization in 1993, Korea has given top priority to economy for political discourse and national policies. As a post-authoritarian stage, Korean politics is composed of a weak civil society and strong state elite in policy making process (Chung, 2001). Thus, educational policymaking in Korea depends largely on state government strategies rather than a direct negotiation between policy makers and educational stakeholders. In a later section (2.3.2.), I introduce the historical context of Korean higher education and the state governance for higher education.

Javier Corrales (1999) hypothesizes that the reasons for the domestic political conditions that enhance the adoption of education reform are i) concentration of costs to a few actors, ii) low incidence of policy entrepreneurship, iii) political disengagement of potential beneficiaries and iv) political advantages of cost-bearing groups (p. VII). Corrales (1999) discusses ways of overcoming political obstacles for the feasibility of policy adoption: i) reform type change to the highlight of element of quality, enhancement of political compensation, incremental approach, and packaging with other types of reform, ii) bolstering the supply side – low ministerial turnover, link with the outside world or global economy, independent advisory councils, iii) bolstering the demand side – information dissemination, potential beneficiary involvement, autonomy granting to local entities, and iv) neutralization of reform opponents such as teachers’ unions, opposition political parties and other societal actors.

Korean policy makers have prioritized the need of higher education reform since 1995. Why and how has the Korean government been able to rationalize recent neo-liberal higher education reform with these goals? Applying to Corrales’ discussion, I would suggest that the Korean government has mobilized domestic political capacity to do so in the following ways: 1) accessibility of information (link to global discourse and network and the use of domestic expertise), ii) capability of addressing reform issues and needs (chosen electoral pledges and presidential committee by elected presidents), iii) viability of policy reform ((ad)ministerial collaboration and weak domestic veto power), and iv) centralized control over educational spending.

2.2. Recent Reforms of Korean Higher Education

Before looking at the recent higher education reform, I here provide a quick overview of contemporary Korean higher education. Korean education was developed from US

missionary ideals and the Japanese colonial legacy. Korea established her higher education system by modelling the US higher education system after World War II (described more fully in 2.3.2). From the 1950s to 1980s, Korean higher education showed a dramatic quantitative growth, stimulated by internal social values and national government strategies for educational expansion and industrial growth. Since the 1990s, both internal and external assessment for neo-liberal restructuring has evaluated Korean higher education as outstanding in student enrolment, but inefficient in terms of managerial governance and educational quality. Accordingly, Korean policy makers in the current neo-liberal time idealize Korean higher education for “managerially accountable” and “qualitatively excellent” (international competitiveness), while dealing with domestic imperatives – rapid demographic decline and institutional imbalance (both hierarchically and regionally marginable).

Since the mid-90s, Korea was bent on transforming the climate of world higher education and initiated full-scaled educational reform plans. The following is a brief summary of what reform policies have been implemented by each regime during the last twenty years. This short description evokes a clue that Korea has consistently privileged neo-liberal principles for its higher education reform, albeit setting somewhat different directions depending on each regime’s political orientation.

1993-1998

Escaping from three decades of military regimes, the new democratic government of Kim, Young-sam embarked on designing a new millennium educational plan. This first civilian president, YS Kim called himself an “educational president” and initiated educational reform plans with the issues selected from his electoral pledges. Under the *Segyehwa*⁶

⁶In Korean, *Segyehwa* policy implies the “strategic state response” to financial capital deregulation and international labour flow rather than the description of globalization phenomena.

(globalization in Korean) policy initiative, the Presidential Commission on Education Reform (PCER) published the 5.31 Education Reform report⁷ in 1995 (Kim, 2010, Park, 2000). For higher education, the reform policy was set up with the framework of “diversification and specialization.” Through four revisions of reform plans (May, 1995, Feb. 1996, Aug. 1996, June, 1997) in this administration, the particular words such as *autonomy*, *accountability*, *competition*, *competitiveness*, *excellence* and so on were stressed on policy documents, along with an imperative need for accommodating the process of globalization and information society.

Substantial policy outcomes of the YS administration (Administered by Youngs-sam Kim, 1993-1998) were mostly about the distributed autonomy for university curricula and management. Subsequently, universities began running diverse academic programs depending on their institutional programming, so that universities and colleges can offer their own specialized and unique curricula. Educational opportunity was expanded with the new systems of part-time studies, credit banks, and minimum credit. Both undergraduate and graduate programs began to become diversified, specialized and internationalized under the banner of institutional excellence. To disseminate governmental plans of education reform, the YS administration used the means of public relations through mass media, exhibitions, public meetings and discussions, and professional developments. With the 5.31 reform plan,

⁷The 5.31 Reform Plan has become the basis for all of regimes’ educational reforms which followed. Major tasks of this plan are: the establishment of an open edutopian (education utopia) society, diversification and specialization of universities, creation of a democratic and autonomous school community, emphasis on humanity and creativity in curricula, innovation of a university entrance examination, development of diverse educational programs, establishment of a new form of evaluation and a supporting system for schooling, remodeling of teacher training programs and increasing educational budget up to five per cent on the GNP (PCER, 1998, p. 82-110, as cited in Lee J.K. 2000e)

the YS administration created the ideological foundation and carried out a practical base of later higher education reforms.

1998-2003

The next regime, the DJ administration (Administered by Kim, Dae-jung: 1998-2003) took over and continued the key thrust of the former's reform plans. Educational reforms in this administration were achieved through two presidential commissions⁸ and published reform papers for seven revisions (December 1998, July, 2000, June 2001, December 2001, April, 2002, November 2002). In response, major plans of higher education policy were designed to enhance institutional competitiveness achieved by *autonomy and accountability, diversification and specialization, restructuring, industry-academic research, managerial efficiency, encouraging the cooperation with international agencies*. Promoting a new educational environment – *personality-based and consumer-centred education*, and a *meritocratic society*, the DJ administration carried out the basic directions of education reforms in the preparation for the knowledge-based economy and quality improvement.

This administration also focused on the enhancement of institutional and global competitiveness under the initiative of internationalization (*Kookje-hwa*) strategy, which stressed cultural integration. In an effort of academic capacity building, research production from graduate programs was highly encouraged through a huge governmental funding support, the Brain Korea 21 project (BK21)⁹. The basic assumption of this funding project

⁸President Commission for the New Education Community (PCNEC) and Presidential Commission on Education and Human Resource (PCEHR)

⁹The first round of BK21 project was from 1999 to 2005. The second round (2006-2012) was recently completed. The project aims at bringing selected major university research projects to world-class level. Around USD 1.3billion investment was allocated to 120 institutions to run 440 projects.

was in line with the market-nature of neo-liberalism because the BK 21 project was based on institutional competition and the encouragement of industry demanding research. One minister (Lee, Hae-chan) officially acknowledged that this administration intended to run education reform in a neo-liberal way¹⁰.

2003-2008

The Roh administration (Administered by Roh, Moo-hyun: 2003-2008) targeted the adjustment of detailed policies to realize the goals of the preceding reform efforts. The Roh regime's policies showed no big departure from those of previous regimes in terms of enhancing global competitiveness of Korean universities. With the enhanced existing policy frameworks, reform policies in this administration were established and run by the Presidential Committee on Educational Innovation (PCEI). Different from the formers, the Roh regime significantly considered educational equality (e.g., low SES quota admission) and stuck to three-NO policy - no allowance of university managed admission exam (*bongosa*) administered by individual universities, donation-based admission and high school ranking for educational equality. With the grand initiative of *participation and autonomy*, *meritocratic society*, *education welfare society* and *participatory education* were directed for major policies of higher education. In addition, this administration highlighted the transparency of institutional management that has been one of the major problems of Korean higher education, especially in private universities.

Despite of Roh's political orientation (egalitarian ethos), neo-liberalism principles featured prominently in the restructuring process because of competition-based national funding projects and the encouragement of market activities and industrial involvement in

¹⁰ Interview statement: "educational reform will be driven in a way... by means of introducing neo-liberal market principles" (as cited in Jo, 2005).

higher education. Two new national projects, the New University for Regional Innovation (NURI, 2004-2008)¹¹ and the World Class University (WCU) were begun in Roh's regime. The projects were proposed for the development of research-oriented schools at a world class level, encouraging a strong academy-industry partnership. In this time, M & A between national universities, foreign university (branch campus) establishment in Economic Free Zones, and profit-seeking private capital investment on campus were legislated and came into action.

2008-2013

The latest regime under Lee, Myung-bak was not dissimilar to the former governments in terms of neo-liberal restructuring of higher education. In fact, the MB regime was rather stronger than others for the neo-liberal orientation. The Lee administration regarded university capacity as identical to national competitiveness. Lee's reform committee, the Presidential Advisory Council on Education, Science and Technology (PACEST), was directly managed by a presidential office. This administration emphasized a job link role of higher education which produces a customized industrial manpower for knowledge industry. University advancement (educational quality and system improvement) and specialization were still important pillars of higher education reform. Accordingly, reform initiatives were *educational excellence, autonomy and accountability* and *global competitiveness*.

¹¹NURI project is for regional universities and colleges to nurture human resources readily adaptable to the industry. It is a Korean version of triple helix model (British) of university-industry-regional government partnership (Kim, 2010). US \$1.4 billion was invested over a period of five years (2004-2009).

To actualize policy goals, the MB administration (Administered by Myung-bak Lee: 2008-2013) introduced a new admission system, powerful restructuring¹², and university quota reduction¹³, the enhancement of undergraduate education and new projects¹⁴ for major reform policies of higher education. For the new admission system, the government introduced admission officers and transferred the control of admission tasks to the professional agency, Korea Council of University Education from the Ministry of Education. This administration carried out university shut-down¹⁵ based on the evaluations such as the employment rate of graduates, the yearly enrolment rate and the number of full-time instructors. The Ministry of Education & Human Resources Development (MEHRD) was integrated with the Ministry of Science and Technology in 2008 and run as the Ministry of Education and Science and Technology (MEST¹⁶).

To exhibit these two-decade reform policies of Korea higher education at once, I have summarized the information on Table 3(next 3 pages) in simplified form. I organized the

¹²Merger & acquisition (M&A), corporatization, direct election of president, and annual salary system in national university were performed which made slow progress in previous regimes.

¹³The major instrument of university control

¹⁴Advancement of College Education (ACE), and Leaders in Industry-University Cooperation (LINC), Excellence and Competitiveness Endeavor for Leading Universities (EXCEL).EXCEL is more than the double size of funding sum of BK21 and WCU. Through EXCEL, the MB regime urged the solutions for both structural and managerial problems of Korean higher education.

¹⁵The Korean ministry of education has announced an annual university blacklist since 2010. Universities on the list had penalties: government subsidy cuts, the reduction of student loan and student quota. The ministry informed nonviable/poorly-performing universities (five by 2012) to shut down.

¹⁶After Lee's regime, the Ministry of Education detached from the MEST again.

table by regime and displayed by initiative, objective, basic direction, driving force, advisory and administrative body and policy outcomes.

Table 3. Recent reforms of Korean higher education

	YS(1993.2-1998.2)	DJ (1998.2-2003.2)	Roh (2003.2-2008.2)	MB (2008.2-2013.2)
Reform Initiative	Globalization (<i>Segyehwa</i>) New education for New Korea: Diversification and Specialization	Internationalization (<i>Kookje-hwa</i>) strategy & HRD	Participation and autonomy, HRD meritocratic society, education welfare society,	Human talent power country
Reform objectives	educational excellence, restructuring, national competitiveness, life-long learning opportunity	global competitiveness, educational excellence, restructuring, industry-academic research, managerial efficiency, cooperation with IOs	autonomous, democratic and transparent management, Educational equality (regional, institutional)	educational excellence, autonomy& accountability, global competitiveness customized education welfare
Basic direction	to prepare for globalization (liberalization) and information society, to make an efficiency of educational system to develop learner-centred educational environment,	to actualize reform initiatives to develop learner-centred and efficiency-oriented education to improve higher education quality to accommodate to a knowledge-based society (nurturing HR)	to realize the goals of proceeding reform efforts to reform entrance system, to construct educational community, to enhance industry-academic cooperation,	to advance university (to improve educational quality and system, specialization) to nurture creative human talent for future growth and national competitiveness, to develop science and technology

	to resolve existing educational problems (entrance exam, private institutions)		to improve educational capacity (for global competitiveness, world class graduate students and scholars nurturing)	R&D advancement, Job link
Reform driving power	PCER + Ministerial cooperation + MOE 5.31 Education Reform Plan (ERP)	PCNEC, PCEHR + MOE & other Ministries + funding project (BK21)	PCEI + MOE & other Ministries + funding projects (BK21 II, NURI, etc)	President + PACEST + MOE + funding projects (BK21, NURI, WCU, etc)
Presidential advisory body	Presidential Commission on Education Reform (PCER: 1994.2-1998.2)	Presidential Commission on the New Education Community (PCNEC: 1998.7-2000.7)	Presidential Commission on Education and Human Resource (PCEHR: 2000.10-2002.2)	Presidential Committee on Education Innovation (PCEI: 2003. 7-2008. 5)
Ministerial organization	Minister of Education	Ministry of Education => Ministry of Education + Ministry of Human Resource Development (MEHRD) Minister of Education = deputy prime minister	MEHRD	MEHRD => Ministry of Education + Ministry of Science and Technology (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, MEST)
Reform	expansion of educational	fostering graduate school-centred	BK 21 phase II, NURI (regional	Powerful restructuring and

<p>policy outcomes</p>	<p>opportunity (part-time, credit bank, minimum credit system, etc),</p> <p>autonomy distribution for institutional management</p> <p>diversification and specialization & internationalization (specialized graduate schools and undergraduate schools autonomous quota, int'l expert fostering, etc),</p> <p>Education law reorganization (on specialized educational institution establishment, change of entrance exam, establishment of higher education law, etc)</p>	<p>universities,</p> <p>BK21 funding project: encouragement of institutional specialization by evaluation and funding support,</p> <p>Enhancement of regional schools</p> <p>Improvement of educational environment (student-teacher ratio, financial assistance based on research),</p> <p>expansion of autonomy (on university admission) and accountability (institutional management),</p> <p>encouragement of M & A between national universities</p>	<p>school support), R & D promotion, structural restructuring for specialization,</p> <p>M & A between universities (12-6)</p> <p>Educational law enactment (private school law, law school Act, foreign schools in EFZ)</p> <p>stick to three-NO policy (university managed admission exam, donation-based admission, high school ranking)</p> <p>new entrance system for low SES students support (9% quota for equal opportunity)</p>	<p>corporate governance of national universities (M&A, corporatization, direct election of president, student quota reduction, annual salary system of national universities, shutdown)</p> <p>A new admission system (liberalize admission control and admission officer, control by professional agency)</p> <p>BK21, NURI, WCU take over, and the new research projects (ACE, LINC, EXCEL)</p> <p>University assessment and the related information notification,</p> <p>Expansion of student loan: low income family, Repayment after students' employment</p>
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Source: Author based on Byeon& Shin (2012), Lee, S. Y. (2012), Sheo, J. H. (2008), Shin, H. S. (2008), Yoo, H. (2006)

Related Literature

Literature of Ban (2003), Byeon and Shin (2012), Park (2000), Lee B.H. (2002), Lee (2005), Lee, J. K. (2000e) Lee (2012), Shin (2005a, 2005b, 2007) and Yoo (2006) presented general information about recent Korean higher education reforms as local researchers. Regarding to the feature of Korean higher education reforms, Kim, D.H. (2001), Kim, (2010), Jeong (2012), Shin, (2007), Lee, B. H. (2002) and Yim (2012) view it as “neo-liberal” led by market principles (e.g. competition-based, marketization, autonomy and accountability).

Not only academic literature, but non-academic views agreed that neo-liberal principles were rooted in recent Korean higher education reforms. Accordingly, discourse in neo-liberal reforms appears as a linguistic and perceptual necessity in policy documents. The strategic highlights on the terms of *globalization* and *knowledge-based economy* are likely to justify neo-liberal reform of Korean higher education. The often uttered words in policy development documents such as *human resource development*, *economic development*, *global/national competitiveness*, *quality improvement of education* also legitimize the necessity of neo-liberal reform. *Decentralization (autonomy and accountability¹⁷)*, *marketization (market function)¹⁸*, *competition-based*, *best-practice*, *performance-oriented*, *efficiency*, *competiveness*, *excellence*, and *consumer-oriented/learner-centred* were often shown on policy documents as neo-liberal principles.

As other Asian countries, Korea has carried out higher education reform in order to respond to the fast-changing global political economic environment (Mok, 2003; 2006; Mok & Welch, 2003). Local literatures (Bu, 2006; Shin, 1996, 2005; Yu, 2001) analyze substantive

¹⁷Decentralization is the same as institutional autonomy and accountability in a Korean context rather than as government centralizing power.

¹⁸Marketization refers to institutional market-conforming behaviours that entail profit-seeking entrepreneurial management.

reasons of recent Korean higher education reform. External drivers are seen as the environment of global competition after joining the OECD membership, the IMF crisis and the global discourse of world society. The internal pressures are the challenge of demographic decline and perceived educational quality issues such as uniformed curricular and a low international ranking for competitiveness. Kang (2004) argues that Korean higher education reform obviously contained “neoliberal” principles of the West, but developed its practice based on local purposes. Jo & Kim, (1997), Kang (2004), Kim D.H. (2001), Shin (1996, 2005a, 2009), and Shin (2007) consider that local politics affected Korean higher education reforms.

Yoo (2006) evaluates that recent higher education reforms contributed some positive results such as i) introducing research culture to Korean universities, ii) diversifying the higher education system, iii) expanding educational opportunities, and iv) specializing human resources in a new global environment with positive efforts for the change. Additionally, Korea has kept “a consistency and continuity” of reform policy direction and implementation over years (Shin, 2005b; Yoo, 2006).

In contrast, there are some criticisms. Jo (2005) argues that recent Korean higher education reforms were contradictory to the traditional internal ideology (i.e., egalitarianism in Confucian value). Ban (2003), Brender and Jeong (2006), Jeong (2002), and Shin (2005b) contend that the reform policies generated a mismatch in educational practice so that a controversy and dissatisfaction have kept surfacing from educational stakeholders. Yoo (2006) pointed out that the attempts at the beginning of reform revealed: i) a lack of connectivity between broadly set plans and practice, ii) a lack of consensus from universities, iii) weakening of institutional autonomy by standardized evaluation, iv) a lack educational quality drop due to a steep increase of the institutional supply, and v) a lack recognition on policy reform. Shin (2005b), Shin (2007), Yang (2012) and Yoo (2006) construe that these

negative outcomes came from a closed top-down way of policy making together with many reform plans remaining unimplemented.

As reviewed above, it is evident that neo-liberal market principles have driven recent Korean higher education reform, and political discourse on neo-liberal reform has appeared in policy documents. I appreciate existing research for the critiques on reform process and outcomes as well as general arguments for the reform drivers. However, none of them significantly explored the political process between a global political hegemony and its local acceptance in a broader context. Also, researchers to date have not studied the political interaction of local government with this macro-political process, and even through a historical observation of local reform policies. Therefore, my research supplements and refreshes the limitations of existing researchers by offering a feasible approach to the wider spectrum of educational research as well as a critical view for political implications in education reform.

As my study explores political dynamics in neo-liberal education reform, I aimed to scrutinize both external and internal politics embedded in recent Korean higher education as seen in the following section. For external dynamics, I developed an overview of four international organizations and attempted to show to what extent they influenced recent Korean higher education reform.

2.3. Embedded Politics

2.3.1. External Dynamics

International Organizations (IOs)

In order to discuss the adoption of neo-liberal principle for Korean higher education reform, I intend to delimit the range of IOs in my research to the leading four political economic agencies. The primary reason I selected these four IOs is because of their relevance to recent Korean higher education reforms, i.e., supranational power to individual states in

world politics and ideological hegemony for neo-liberal higher education reform. So to speak, these four organizations are highly political in the conception of specific discourse formation in the neo-liberal time regarding higher education reform¹⁹. Figuring out what they do in education and for local reform policy formulation, I expect to introduce a suitable case for IOs' political influence with recent Korean higher education reforms. This process finally helped me explore the ideological consensus between global and local of policy making and guided me directly to a macro-causal relationship of neo-liberal higher education reform. Before the discussion about how they are engaged with local educational policy reform, I briefly describe what they are and what they do in general.

The World Bank (WB) was established in June 1946 for the purpose of financial aid to developing countries based on the Bretton Woods conference negotiation (July, 1944). The WB generally refers to the International Bank for Restructuring and Development (IBRD: established in 1945, 187 members) and International Development Association (IDA: established in 1960, 168 members) out of the five institutions²⁰ of the World Bank Group. The WB is financed by lending margins over years (IBRD and IDA) and 40 donor countries' replenishment (IDA) (*World Bank*, n. d.). The U.S. has the biggest voting power (15.85%) while others (e.g., Japan 6.84%, China 4.42%, Germany 4%, UK and France 3.75% each) are sharing small portions of internal voice. A primary method of the WB is a project-based hard loan which applies a strict condition on use and repayment with policy advices on structural adjustment of borrower countries. In addition to its lending activities, the WB provides technical assistance, publications, reports and studies (Ocampo & Neu, 2008, p. 16-17).

¹⁹I doubt they are still influential in a post neo-liberal time.

²⁰Three others are International Finance Corporation (IFC: established in 1956), Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA: established in 1988), and International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID: established in 1966).

In contrast to the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has a small number of member countries. The OECD was reborn in 1961 out of the OEEC (Organization of European Economic Co-operation, founded in 1948) which had existed for Marshall plan (US-financed) for the reconstruction of devastated European economies because of the Second World War (OECD, n.d.; Rizvi & Lingard, 2006). Since the collapse of the Soviet-bloc in 1989, the OECD has embraced more and more non-European countries. There is a significant condition for membership in that there has to exist a strong commitment to “a market economy” and “a pluralistic democracy” (OECD, n.d.). The organization consists of “like-minded” thirty-four member countries that account for two-thirds of the world’s economies with one-fifth of the world population²¹. Recently, the OECD included Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, and South Africa for their open discussions, covering 80% of world trade and investment (OECD, n. d.).

As the OECD is budgeted by members’ financial contributions, the institution has essentially remained a US-backed initiative with 22 per cent of the organization’s budget. This once produced a considerable tension with European countries in the 1970s to 1980s (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006). Unlike the IMF and WB, the OECD has no legally binding mandate or financial enforcement of policy adoption over its member countries (Martens, Balzar, Sackmann, & Waymann, 2004). That is, the OECD has “no regulatory responsibility, no independent source of funds, no money to lend and no instruments within its control” (Wolfe, 2007, p. 3). Rather, the OECD describes itself as a place for reflection, discussion, research and analysis, exerting multilateral surveillance and peer pressure to conform (Lingard & Ozga, 2007). The important instrument of the OECD’s work in education is the comparison through peer review among participant countries. The organization is seen as a policy making forum and network (Henry, Lingard, Rizvi, & Taylor, 2001).

²¹The population of OECD members are 1,262 billion as of 2013
(<http://data.worldbank.org/country/OED>)

United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is another international organization that has more members and more fields to cover than the World Bank and the OECD. It was created in 1945 as a specialized institution of the UN (United Nations) with major concerns for sustainable development of 193 members and 7 associate countries' education, natural/social & human science, culture, and communication and information (UNESCO, n.d.). The organization pursues goals of active and non-discriminatory communication among cultures. All members have national commissions and most have permanent delegations to connect the local governments to the UNESCO's work. The latest major projects are the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) for poverty reduction and Education for All (EFA), and lifelong learning. Unlike the World Bank and the OECD, the UNESCO provides a communication sphere with neither policy enforcement nor policy net-working as its purpose.

Returning to the economic concern, I have one other international organization to examine for my research. Since the rebirth from the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade established in 1948) in 1995 as the World Trade Organization, the WTO has encouraged and set the regulations for trade proliferation in the international market among its 153 members and 31 observer countries. Member countries represent 95% of world trade. All decisions come through bilateral/multi-lateral agreement. The organization covers a broad range of goods and service trade, upholding the principles of non-discriminatory treatment among countries (Fergusson, 2007). The WTO operates so that member countries lower the trade barriers following negotiations between/among countries who may agree to actualize agreements through parliamentary ratification.

I reviewed four IOs with their general introduction and missions in this section. All these IOs were born after the WWII and operated under the US political hegemony. Since 1990s, The World Bank and the OECD transformed their original missions (reconstruction after the War) to the pivotal outcome of the Washington Consensus (neo-liberalism diffusion

after the economic crisis). WTO is entirely a neo-liberal by-product so it pursues the dissemination of market mechanism to member states. Based on dominant characteristics, the UNESCO still remains less political and more inclusive than other three IOs. Nevertheless, UNESCO hardly avoids a role in the ideological mediation of world political power because each local government brings policy issues to their regional and global discussion tables. In this sense, the UNESCO is obviously an aggregator of specific ideology that dominant political power wishes to circulate in a wider space. As summarized, I argue that these four IOs have a political power to spread out dominant (neo-liberal) ideology to member states. Then, how do they exercise this political power in education?

IOs' Influence to Korean Higher Education

This section will demonstrate how IOs promote neo-liberal reform and how they influence to Korean higher education. IOs not only enforce policy change materially, but also seek an ideological consensus through the development of an *epistemic alliance* with the Korean government. IOs have become tightly engaged with Korean higher education reform. IOs suggest standards/guidelines of educational reform and make evaluations on Korean higher education. Korean governments have actively participated in their activities as well. Korean policy makers have seriously considered IOs' policy advice, sharing their specific languages on reform with IOs. Briefly speaking, each of the IOs promotes the neo-liberal way of educational reform in Korean higher education through either a relentless pressure on the national economic condition or an intimate cooperation with Korean government.

The World Bank has been involved with Korean higher education since the Asian financial crisis intervention in 1997. Conditioning the loan on national reform packages, the IMF and World Bank gave advice to the Korean government on public sector reform as well as on economic sector reform. As a result, their SAP request executed a reform to the entire Korean society and this reform affected higher education as well. Educational spending faced

cuts in the national budget. The student enrolment in higher education decreased because of the decline in household education expenditure. This student registration drop impacted higher education since universities were significantly dependent upon students' tuitions for their institutional income (about 80%). Some institutions became insolvent. The government froze tuition fees and requested universities downsized. Up to current time (2011), the World Bank has been advising the Korean government on the financial supports for higher education, system restructuring, the WCU project, and balanced regional development.

The OECD became important to the trajectory of educational reform in Korea after its membership in 1996. The OECD's activities are conducted by Seoul's permanent delegation through the dissemination of periodicals for thematic peer reviews (e.g. *Education at a Glance*), ministerial world seminars and conferences, and policy discussions or advice given by some units of the OECD (e. g. IMHE, EPC, CERI²²). These activities operate as an information provider as well as a stimulator of neo-liberal reform.

The WTO uses a method of trade treaty generated by diplomatic negotiations in promoting cross-border education between and among countries. The WTO has advanced market liberalization in Korea since 1995, aiming for General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) in education: i) cross-border supply (on-line), ii) consumption abroad (consumers' territorial movement), iii) commercial presence (territorial legal presence by service suppliers), xi) presence of the natural person. The Korean government has exchanged offer²³lists with other countries (submitted to 11 countries²⁴, and has received offer lists from 10 countries²⁵) on the opening of education service at Doha negotiation in 2003.

²²IMHE: Institutional Management Higher Education, EPC: Education Policy Committee, CERI: Centre for Educational Research Innovation

²³Offer list here refers to a WTO document—"schedules of specific commitments" that contains general obligation for market-access commitments and exemptions on a number of

Korean higher education remains imbalanced in terms of incoming and outgoing student rate of consumption abroad. Outbound number (227,126) of students is three times higher than the inbound number (85,923) (National Index, 2013²⁶). Further, about 60% of Korean students go to North America (31.8%) and China (28%) while the same number of foreign students (58.6%) in Korean higher education is from China (National Index, 2013). Korea is not active yet in i) cross-border supply, iii) commercial presence and iv) presence of the natural person. Because of technological challenges and quality assurance controversy, cross-border supply has resulted in an insignificant number. For promoting commercial presence, the Korean government had bilateral negotiations with a few countries including the U.S. since 2005. Consequently, the Korean government enacted the related law on commercial presence limited to Economic Free zones (EFZ). Recently, the Korean government encouraged the presence of natural person in higher education with WCU project which promotes overseas scholar recruiting.

As the 11th ranked financial contributor, the Korean government maintains a strong mutual relationship with UNESCO's activities in education. The Minister of Education has occupied a Korean permanent delegation chair of UNESCO since the 1950s. A government subsidiary research institute, the Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI) takes

services sectors. The government of member economy creates this document based on four modes of trade (i)-iv) shown in above) and submit it to WTO during sectoral negotiations.

²⁴China, Japan, US, Australia, Canada, Argentina, EU, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand

²⁵US, New Zealand, Australia, China, Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, Argentina, Brazil, and Pakistan

²⁶Retrieved from

http://www.index.go.kr/egams/stts/jsp/potal/stts/PO_STTS_IdxMain.jsp?idx_cd=1534&bbs=INDEX_001&clas_div=C&rootKey=1.48.0

part in conferences, seminars and projects of UNESCO. In relation to higher education, UNESCO makes remarkable initiatives for reinforcing cross-border education and providing guidelines for transnational quality assurance.

It is notable that one Korean research institute facilitates the communication between the Korean government and IOs. KEDI has conducted a number of educational researches and projects funded by the Ministry of Education of Korea as the biggest educational research institute in Korea. This institute is globally networked with 52 research institutions and 19 domestically run educational websites (KEDI, n. d.). KEDI closely works with the IOs which I examined in my research. For instance, KEDI has published the OECD's periodical (*Education at a Glance*) in the Korean language since 1996. KEDI also has run the website (<http://oecd.kedi.re.kr>) to introduce the OECD's educational works to the Korean public while providing educational statistics on Korean education to the OECD. In relation to UNESCO, KEDI presents national reports and research papers at regional (Asia-Pacific) and international seminars, representing the Korean government. KEDI's involvement with UNESCO's work is connected to the WTO in developing quality guidelines for cross-border education. For these reasons, KEDI is an important facilitator of neo-liberal reform policy development between IOs and Korean government.

Table 4 below summarizes in simplified form the IOs' influence to Korean higher education and the general response of Korea. As I explained in this section, Table 4 shows in two pages that each IO has different forms of governing method in influencing Korean higher education while the Korea government responds to IOs actively and positively.

Table 4. IOs' involvement with Korean higher education

	World Bank	OECD	WTO	UNESCO
Governing method	loan, SAPs, and reform policy advice	Thematic peer review (Publications, statistics, etc)	Trade treaty (GATS) through Ministerial negotiation table (diplomatic)	Peer review and cooperation (conference, seminar: world, regional)
Institutional influence to higher education	<p>WBIHD (World Bank Institute Human Development Department) education team: provides seminars, workshops, conference, professional trainings on educational reform (e.g. Strategic Choices for Education Reform seminar in 2005)</p> <p>Education Sector Board (ESB): research on lifelong learning, higher education, knowledge-based economy, publish the <i>world bank report</i></p>	<p>Education Policy committee (EPC): policy prospect, evaluation, advice with confronted major policy issues,</p> <p>Centre for Educational Research Innovation (CERI): long-term policy research for educational innovation based on theories,</p> <p>Indicators of Education System (INES): Publish <i>Education at a glance</i>, policy monitoring, educational statistics information</p> <p>Institutional Management for Higher Education (IMHE): policy discussions, seminars, publication</p>	<p>General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS): multilateral trade liberalization in the service sector,</p> <p>market access i) cross-border supply (on-line), ii) consumption abroad (consumers' territorial movement), iii) commercial presence (territorial legal presence by service suppliers), 4) presence of natural person</p> <p>Doha Development Agenda (DDA): multi-lateral trade negotiation, proposed (11) and received (10) an <i>initial offer list</i> on the opening of educational service Mar. 31, 2003</p> <p>Free Trade Agreement (FTA): regional trade negotiation (multi/bilateral)</p>	<p>Guidelines on quality assurance for cross-border education</p> <p>Developed <i>Guidelines on Quality Provision in Cross-Border Higher Education</i> by UNESCO&OECD cooperation (2005)</p>

<p>Korea's participation to IOs' activities regarding to higher education</p>	<p>Korea takes World Bank's policy advice on government financial support for higher education and system restructuring, World Class University (WCU) project, balanced regional development and the role of HE</p>	<p>Korea actively participates in INES most.</p> <p>KEDI translates <i>Education at a Glance</i> in Korean and publish since 1996</p> <p>Korean council for higher education joined IMHE in Feb. 2002</p>	<p>High rate of studying abroad and int'l student enrolment in Korea, WCU (foreign scholars recruitment)</p> <p>the Law on Private Schools (1997): allowed foreigners to be a council member</p> <p>The Special Act on Economic Free Zones and Jeju Free International City's Establishment and Operation of Foreign Education Institutes (2005. 5.31): enacted</p>	<p>Korea is the 11th in financial contribution of UNESCO and takes part in regional, world conferences actively.</p> <p>Held regional seminars (2005).</p>
<p>Participating national agency</p>	<p>Government (related ministries, esp. economy/industry) and Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI)</p>	<p>All gov't ministries headed by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, permanent delegation, KEDI, Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education & Training (KRIVET)</p>	<p>Government (esp. Ministry of Foreign Affairs)</p>	<p>Government, Permanent delegation (Korean national commission for UNESCO, chair: Minister of Education), KEDI</p>

2.3.2. Internal Dynamics

In this section, I reviewed the basic elements of education and politics in Korean society to investigate internal dynamics during neo-liberal higher reforms in Korea. The foundation of modern education, characteristics of higher education, and contemporary politics will be overviewed in this section to provide readers the necessary background of my research analysis.

Educational Foundation

Korean higher education in my research primarily refers to 4-year university education. I will generally exclude 2-3 year colleges because they have been directed to train students for particular technical/vocational skills rather than academic contribution. Indeed, 2-3 year colleges have not been substantially included in recent Korean higher education reform plans. As of 2014, there exist 201 universities and 139 2-3 year colleges in Korea (MOE, 2014).

Korean higher education (HE hereafter) has been founded on and patterned after the following factors:

- i) traditional Asian philosophy and religion,
- ii) Western ideals by US missionaries,
- iii) Japanese colonial legacy for the bureaucratic system, and
- iv) And post-1950s'US system and educational principles with US and international development aid.

Foreign ideology has profoundly affected Korean HE since the first HE institution (Tae-hak: Kokuryo, AD 372). According to Jeong-Kyu Lee (1998, 2000a), Korean HE was founded on Asian religious and philosophical underpinnings of Buddhism and Confucianism which are still significant cornerstones of Korean society. Confucianism is a Chinese

philosophy which proposes an ethical standard²⁷. The basic concept of Confucianism can be viewed as “the doctrine of the Literate” (Weber, 1947, p. 144, as cited in Lee, 2000a) and “worldly teaching or a parallel to Platonist-rationalist doctrines” (Fubgarette, 1972, p. 1, as cited in Lee, 2000a) for teaching human beings.

Western ideology was adopted from Anglo-Saxon missionaries in the late 19C (Grayson, 1985; Lee, 2000b) during the period of weakened local ruling power in a complicated geo-political situation. Western medical education and Christianity were first introduced through modern Korean universities²⁸ which pioneered science-centred education and an equitable school access (Lee, 2000c). Those universities diffused literacy education to ordinary people, women to the humble birth (e.g. slaves) who never had an access to formal education. Later on in the early 20Cs, the national elite’s animosity towards foreign influence produced an indigenously-established university²⁹.

During the colonial time (1919-1945), Japan oppressed and exploited Korean people. The Japanese colonial government forced Korean people to use Japanese names and language in formal education. At the same time, the colonial government banned the teaching of Korean history and language at schools. Educational activities in Korea became an integral

²⁷Confucianism emphasizes courtesy, filial duty, cooperation, and humanity as moral philosophy and royalty and justice as a political philosophy.

²⁸Yeon-sei University, Sungsil University and E-hwa Women’s Universities were established in this time.

²⁹It was only Bo-seong School that founded as a native private school in 1905 and developed as a junior college in Japanese colonial period (Lee, 2000). This school is now renamed a Korea University which is one of top universities in South Korea.

part of an imperial policy. Japanese imperial universities³⁰ branched out to Korea to promote an imperial education. Unlike Western missionary schools, the Japanese colonial government allowed only the young from Korean elite families to attend imperial universities and thereby were able to foster “pro-Japanese Korean elite agents” (Lee, 2000a, p. 115). Even after the liberation, the Japanese colonial legacy still remains in the Korean educational bureaucratic system (Kim, 2005; Lee, 2002; Seth, 2001 Song; 2008). This legacy is the bureaucratic culture of centralized authoritarian rule.

Lee (2000d; 2006a) and Meade (1951) show how US ideals have become a dominant foreign influence in Korean HE. For example, the Korea-US military government (1945-1950) set up the new educational planning system based on “the spirit of Korean nationalism as well as the principles of the US education” (Lee, 2000c, p. 50). For example, 6-6-4 educational system, egalitarianism (regardless of social status and gender) and the American pragmatic philosophy of education were adopted by the National Committee on Educational Planning. In the 1950s–60s, the U.S. and international aid was the decisive role in expanding post-secondary education³¹ (Yoo, 1983), providing internal motivations such as an exemption from military conscription and the growth of primary education teaching opportunities (Kim & Lee, 2004).

Salient Features of Korean HE

The features of Korean HE can be suggested as below.

- i) rapid quantitative growth by intrinsic social values,

³⁰Keijo University is one of imperial universities established in colonial times and still existing since 1925. After liberation from colony, the school (renamed as Seoul National University) has been a top leading university in South Korea.

³¹At that time, many teacher colleges were established for providing teachers to elementary schools, which were financially aided by U.S, and international agencies.

- ii) great reliance on private resources,
- iii) a strong tie with national economic development strategies,
- iv) hierarchical order among institutions by educational credentialism,
- v) demographic decline since 2000, and
- vi) strong educational governance.

Korean higher education experienced rapid growth with intrinsic social values on education (Lee, 2006b; Seth, 2002) and a great reliance on private resources (Chae & Hong, 2009; MOE & KEDI, 2005). Korea has recorded a high participation rate in higher education (Grub, Richard, Gallagher, & Tuomi, 2009; OECD, 2007; Park, 2002) compared to other countries. Starting from only 19 institutions of approximately 27,000 students (including North Korea boundary) in 1945, the number of higher education institutions in Korea now reaches 340 with 2,206,694 students (MOE, 2014). According to statistics, 70.9% of graduates from secondary education entered into higher education in Korea (MOE, 2014). Social value on higher education degree is considerable because of Confucian culture which values the educated. Undeniably, higher education degree holders have been prioritized in the job market and top-tier school graduates have comprised the national elite groups. About 80 percent of universities and colleges rely on private ownerships³² in Korea (Bjarnason, Cheng, Fielden, Lemaitre, Levy, Varghese, 2009, p. 9; UNESCO, 2014, pp. 22-23).

The Korean industrialization process has become a main pivotal of quantitative growth of Korean higher education. Since the liberation from Japanese colonialism, Korean

³²Private ownership here refers to school foundation, financial management and faculty appointment. The finance of private universities in Korea relies upon student tuition fees and government subsidies. About 75% of the budgets of private higher education institutions are covered by tuition fees. About 8.5% of their budgets come from the business sector, and the remainder is from endowments (Ryu, J., 2006, p. 44, as cited in Kim, 2008).

national leaders have considered higher education as a vital component for the social and economic development and strictly regulated higher education enrolment based on the analysis of the demand for human resources. Accordingly, Korean higher education has been a big supplier of human resources for Korean industry based on an industrial manpower plan of government³³ (Kim, 1980, Y. H. Kim, 2000, N. Lee, 2000), while enabling social mobility of individuals in a sociological perspective. The military regimes (1962 to 1992) took an advantage of higher education development to align with national economic strategies (Lee, 2000e). Kim (1989) discussed that Korean higher education reflected political legitimization as well as economic interests during a period of high rates of industrialization.

A hierarchical order among institutions and regions with regionalism has existed in Korea as a significant public concern (Han, 1990; Jung, 1985). Top tier universities, mostly located in the capital city of Korea, are the privileged place for student recruitment and funding opportunities for higher education institutions as well as other social incentives such as job attainment and marriage for individuals (Kim, G. J., 2005). The Korean people's social value on higher education degree has deepened this institutional and regional stratification, dominating K-12 education.

As a new policy issue, Korean policy makers have also considered a demographic decline. A low fertility rate of Korea has impacted school enrolment since 2000 (Choi, 2008; Lee, 2005). Korean policy makers forecast that this demographic shrink age may become a serious threat to Korean higher education which is highly dependent on student tuition fees to finance operations.

³³Universities including some special purposed universities (e.g. Air and Correspondence University, Industrial Universities, Teachers' Colleges) are related to governmental human resource plans. Two to three year colleges occupy a large portion of industrial linkage as well.

Kim (2001), Mok (2006), and Park (2003) have paid attention to how the Korean government (Ministry of Education) has exerted a tight control over higher education in terms of admission quotas, qualifications of teaching staffs, curricula, degree requirements, entrance exams, tuition fees and so forth. It is apparent that each regime of Korea has strongly regulated the overall educational system (Kim, 2000). This strong intervention can be justified by the long period of Confucian legacy, Japanese colonial experience and the three-decade military rule (Kim, 2008; Park, 2003, Ullah, n. d.). Even under the neo-liberal reform, the Korean government's control is being enhanced through a financial control in implementing national projects (Kim, 2000). Because of the policy emphasis on institutional autonomy, however, school curricula, admission quota and entrance exams became somewhat flexible³⁴.

Characteristic of Contemporary Korean Politics

An overview of Korean political culture helps me find both the consistency of neo-liberal underpinnings in recent higher education reforms and the legitimizing ways for the reconceptualization of neo-liberal principles in Korean educational contexts.

In Korean politics, distinctive elements are present as below.

- i) democratization after long-term authoritarianism,
- ii) the privilege of economic development in national policy plan,
- iii) a tight alliance with the U.S. for military security and economic growth, and
- iv) a strong state versus weak civil society relationship.

³⁴The Ministry of Education (MOE) under the YS regime permitted HE institutions to run diverse academic programs depending on their institutional programming, so that universities and colleges can offer their own specialized and unique curricula. This institutional autonomy resulted in South Korean higher education, escaping, so to speak, from the unified college learning and expanded life-long learning opportunities (Yoo, 2006).

These domestic political circumstances would possibly explain the Korean government's rationale of recent higher education reforms.

The most important aspect of Korean politics is a democratic transition from authoritarianism. Authoritarianism follows the meaning of "the domineering rule of the elite over the masses and the enslaved subjugation of the masses to the elite" (Yun, 1979, pp. 270-278, as cited in Ahn, 2005, p. 348). Korean political culture of authoritarianism is attributed to "a legacy of Confucian tradition, the feudalistic rule of the Joseon dynasty, the oppressive rule of Japanese colonialism and the subsequent military domination of political power"³⁵ (Ahn, 2005, p. 348). Although Korea imported its democratic system from the U.S. in 1948, substantial democracy including electoral politics only became actualized in 1987. For that reason, Korean society had longed for democratization which is regarded as liberation from repressive politics and achieved it in 1987 by ending 37-year military regimes. However, it is important to note that Korea still has a strong authoritarian culture with entrenched Confucian values in bureaucracy as well as in politics (Ham, 1997; Ramirez, 2010).

Korean political outcomes have privileged economic development since the civil war (1950-1953). From the first president Seung-man Rhee (1948-1960) to the current president Geun-hye Park (2013-2018), Korean national leaders considered economic development as one of the most important tasks for their political leadership. As a developmental state, Korea achieved rapid economic growth until the late 1980s (Amsden, 1989; Evans, 1995). Before democratization, dictators (Rhee included) set up two pillars of national urgency: national defence against North Korea and economic development while citizens were aspiring to economic prosperity and democracy, criticizing authoritarian regimes. After a political

³⁵South Korea experienced authoritarian politics (Rhee: 1948-1960, Park: 1962-1979, Chun: 1980-1987), following Japanese imperialist colony (1910-1945) and the long periods of monarchical rules (counted from *Koguryo* AD 37-668 to *Chosun* AD 1392-1910).

democratization, the Korean government made economic matter as a top priority (Khil, 2005b). In order to cope with Asian financial crisis in 1997, Khil (2005a) observed that Korean elites' political discourse about the national economy became more significant in obtaining political power. Accordingly, each regime made considerable efforts to increase the economic growth rate.

Because of its geo-political situation, Korea has maintained a strong partnership with the U.S. since the WWII (Han, 2002). The civil war (1950-1953) in the Korean peninsula consolidated the relationship between the two countries under the umbrella ideology of anti-communism, expansion of the capitalist economy and democracy. Subsequently, economic and social restructuring of Korea after the civil war was strongly supported by the U.S. and U.S. led aid agencies (Park, 1985, as cited in Lie, 1998a). The most ruling political camp of Korea, conservatives is pro-U.S. and anti-communism (Dingankar, 2010). The two country military partnership has been tightened until now in 2014.

In economic activities, U.S. had been the biggest market³⁶ for Korean export by the late 80s (Lee, 2007). Indeed, South Korean economy relied on international trade: about 50% in the 1990s and more than 80% in 2010 (Ban, 2010). In addition, the US cultural influx was inevitable. Korean citizens express some animosity towards the US military presence (Kim, 1996; Lee, 1995, as cited in Lie, 1998b) because US trade policy on Korea and connivance of Kwangju massacre in May 1980 for a military regime acquisition (Chang, 1992; Kim, 1989; Shorrock, 1996). Nonetheless, the U. S. has directly and indirectly influenced Korean politics, economy, national security and culture.

In contrast to the strong government, Korean civil society has been relatively weak in terms of political involvement in the policy making process (Chung, 2001). As a theoretical

³⁶Currently, China occupies this position since 2003.

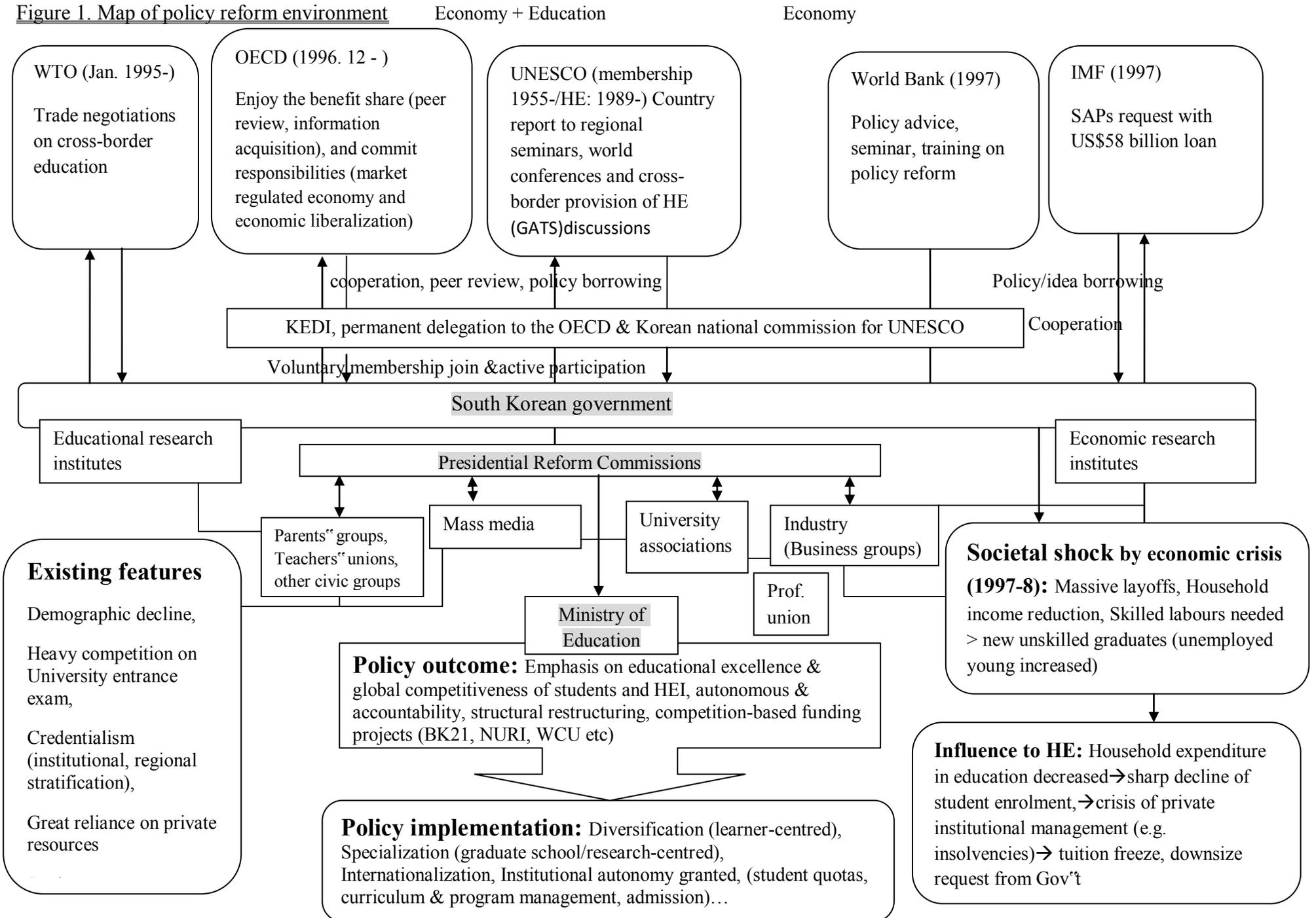
counterpart of state/government in a democracy, civil society plays a crucial role in pluralistic politics (Diamond, 1999). According to Diamond's definition, civil society is here understood as "the realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, autonomous from the state and bounded by a legal order or set of shared rules (p. 221). In achieving political democratization in Korea, labour unions and student groups were radical, but very importantly so. Middle class people (well-educated and materially stable) and citizens' movement groups were decisive in the democratic transition, too (Khil, 2005b). In spite of big contributions at major political junctures³⁷, multiple voices from civil society had been constrained in the policy making process under authoritarian domination (Khil, 2005b).

In the post-authoritarian phase, civil society's concern for policy issues has begun to receive attention in regards to capitalist development and democracy (Chung, 2001; Khil, 2005b). Since political democratization and economic liberalization in the mid-90s, rising business power has made a critical voice in Korean policy making process (Chung, 2001). In recent reform policies of Korean higher education, industry (enterprises as employers), and university associations (institutional) are strong stakeholders. Parents' and student groups are important as financial resource providers and educational recipients at all stages of Korean education. Mass media (TV, radio, newspapers, and magazines) create public concerns on education reform at large. Teachers' unions (professors) still have only a small voice and were only recently were organized in 2001.

³⁷The student revolution (secondary + university) in April 1960 toppled the first Korean president. Later, university and college students led prodemocracy movement in 70-80s with other civic groups (religious leaders, professionals, and intellectuals). This contributed to the cause of democracy in 1987 (Khil, 2005b). In 1987, a strong civilian political band finally terminated South Korean dictatorial leadership (Flower, 1999).

Figure 1 on the next page shows in summary form of the above review of political intersections how the external and internal dynamics influenced recent Korean higher education reform. As I had described in the section 2.3.1. and mapped out in Figure 1, the Korean government received a lot of pressure from IOs for local educational reform. This pressure came in both material and ideological forms. The map of internal dynamics in Figure 1 (as introduced in the section 2.3.2.) reveals that Korea had pre-existing educational concerns and a societal shock by a financial crisis simultaneously in late 1990s. This socio-economic concern combined with a local political condition (i.e., post-authoritarian developmental state with a weak civil society) facilitated neo-liberal reform policy outcomes.

Figure 1. Map of policy reform environment



Chapter Summary

Reading the large volume of literature I displayed in this chapter helped me figure out both external and internal political dynamics that shaped recent higher education policy reforms and the principles of recent Korean higher education reforms (as charted above). Regarding to a political nature of education, I follow the critical thread of academic research in international relations, primarily focussed on neo-Gramscian perspectives (e.g. Robert Cox). It is because my research specifically examines an educational policy change driven by a global-scaled transformation of economic environment and political implications in reform rationale.

Learning that transnational actors have been increasingly influential in local policy change throughout the literature review, I attempted to explore a transnational relationship between IOs and Korea with regard to recent neo-liberal higher education reforms. In order to unveil this transnational condition of politics for neo-liberal education reform, I grasped a policy change mechanism and the ideational work between exogenous and internal forces from related literature. About IOs' influence to educational policy, I agree that there was much heuristic value provided by the idea of "hegemony" as framed by the neo-Gramscians. Not, withstanding this claim about hegemony, I acknowledge there are new forms of influence under the guise of "governance" or "governmentality" and the older forms of straightforward domination and hard power also intersect with the cultural hegemony dynamic and could be explored in more detail and discernment but were beyond the scope and delimitations of this study. I do not rule out their importance or their implications.

For the study on the local response, I paid attention to the role of state and received an insight from a state theory and political sociology of education. All these theoretical readings led me to a journey for the suitable research methodology which will be discussed in chapter 3.1 and then again finally in a theoretical analysis in chapter 6.2 and 6.3. The other two parts of chapter illustrate what the Korean government has done in brief with the

discussions on recent policy reforms and the embedded politics in Korean higher education reform. With these both empirical and epistemological backgrounds, I analyzed my research data in the following chapters.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1. Methodology

3.1.1. Transnational Historical Materialism (THM)

I draw a transnational historical materialism as an overarching theoretical framework for my research. Henk Overbeek (2000) defines transnational historical materialism as “the application of the historical materialist method to the study of transnational social relations” (p. 168). Transnational historical materialism adopts a dialectic understanding of reality as a dynamic totality, as opposed to the mainstream of International Political Economy (IPE) which remains in state-centrism and reductionism. State formation and interstate politics are “moments of the transnational dynamics of capital accumulation and class formation” (Overbeek, p. 169). With Poulantzas’ understanding of the dynamics of transnational class formation and the rediscovery of Gramsci’s analysis of hegemony, transnational historical materialism offers “a coherent framework for the study of social relations at the international level of the contemporary political economy” (Overbeek, p. 172). In this framework, the analysis of the social relations of production provides the basis for an understanding of transnational class and state formation (Overbeek, p. 180).

While the counterpart perspective of IR theories recognizes that state actors and non-state³⁸ transnational actors interact with each other as autonomous political entities in world politics (Risse-Kappen, 1995), THM defines these state actors (both state and non-state) as a *capitalist class actor* (Apeldoorn, 2004; Van der Pijl, 1998). These class actors fundamentally pursue a historical fraction by using the form of ideational control, which is hegemony (consensus-based) in Gramsci’s concept in transnational social relations. With regard to the state role, THM view the state as a *mediator* of transnational relations because

³⁸For example, inter/supra national agencies, non-governmental organizations, multinational companies.

“transnational class is necessarily supported by state power and the projection of the state power internationally” (Apeldoorn, 2004. p. 166; Van der Pijl, 1998).

My ideas on the interrelations between advanced global capitalism and recent Korean higher education reform will be subsumed within the framework of transnational historical materialism. Why and how has individual state, Korea adopted a particular way of educational policy reform? Some specified politico-economic international agencies (acting as a transnational social force) exert discursive ideological hegemonic power to provoke individual states in adopting neo-liberal principles for higher education reform. A global fashion of specific discourse on higher education reform comes from these international organizations which is the “legitimate” mediator of world hegemonic power.

Neo-Gramscian perspective (the Coxian approach)

In order to seek out a transnational relationship, I began from critical theories in the study of international relations. Critical theories in international relations (IR) have contributed to a critical contrast to the school of positivism with its concern for studying domination of unjust political, economic, and social systems (Bieler & Morton, 2003a; Devetak, 2009; Linklater, 1996). For critical theories in IR (such as Marxism, Neo-Marxism and neo-Gramscianism), class interest and economic dimension are the focal points in an analysis of world politics and of contemporary capitalism, while its counterpart tradition, problem-solving theory (realism, neo-realism and neo-institutionalism) concerns itself with power conflicts of national security among nation-states which are treated as rational actors in an anarchic world.

The analytical division of the world-system into core, semi-periphery, and periphery (Wallerstein, 1976, 2004) is still usable at the time of global supremacy of advanced capitalism in questioning an unbalanced power structure among countries, positioning Korea in a semi-periphery division within a world-system structure. Understanding the world-

system as a broadly-viewed economic, political and legal framework rooted in a historical materialism framework, it is undeniable that the gap in technological advancement and an existing status in a world-system division forces different levels and rates of capital accumulation among state-units (Chase-Dunn & Grimes, 1995; Skocpol, 1977). Then, how this uneven capitalistic development of world structure affects local policies?

Developed from a world-system analysis, the world polity/society approach in sociology considers exogenous factors as mechanisms of local policy change. Meyer et al., (1997) argue that a modern nation-state is an exogenously constructed entity for the goal uniformity in a global structure. According to them, the world culture (cognitive and instrumental) is highly rationalized for the universalistic response, which reflects and reproduces pre-existing structures of domination.

Then, in what ways world culture rationalizes an acting unit, a country? World-system and world polity/society approach do not explain the mechanism of this rationalization, remaining in a state-centred analysis. Neo-Gramscian perspective can afford it. Neo-Gramscian perspective fundamentally analyzes how existing world orders have emerged and how dominant norms, institutions and practices were established (Morton, 2003, p. 154). In his notable work of *Prison Notebooks*, Antonio Gramsci (1971) conceptualized hegemony as a vital form of dominance and defined culture as a self-serving hegemonic ideology. Civil society is a distinctive political arena in which hegemony is constructed and contested. Gramsci argues that the dominance of ruling class is based on not only economic power or coercive military power, but also an ability of negotiation with subordinate groups.

Applying Gramsci's view to a wider society, Robert W. Cox (1987) argued that a hegemonic world order is a historical structure and that transnational managerial classes appeared as a crucial social force. The power of dominant social groups is integrated in laws, rules, norms, habits, and even in a quite general consensus, and thus take the form of what

Antonio Gramsci called "hegemony" (Van dijk, 2003), importantly accompanying with a consensus of ideas supported by material capabilities.

For Cox, social forces are the fundamental movers in politics, and domestic politics both shape and is shaped by international political geography (Cox, 1987). Cox claimed that "once hegemony has been consolidated domestically, it may expand beyond a particular social order to move outward on a world scale through the international expansion of a particular mode of social relations of production" (Cox, 1983, p. 171, as cited in Bieler & Morton, 2004). Conversely, transnational process of consensus and consensual guidelines are formulated and transmitted into the policymaking channels of national government and the big transnational corporations (Cox, 1996). Therefore, the world order/historic bloc is viewed as a dynamic of social forces and states (Cox, 1981) and ideology is used as a method of hegemony in international relations (Cox, 1983).

International post-war institutions are not a simple instrument of nation-states, but an arena within a struggle/construction of states and social forces for a new world order in the neo-Gramscians" view (Cox, 1981; Gill, 1986, 1991; Murphy, 1994; Linklater, 1996). Stephen Gill (1991, 1994) argues that transnational elites produce hegemonic ideology (e. g. neo-liberalism) under the US-led world order since the role of elite forges historic bloc as organic intellectuals. In the mode of internationalized production, transnational capital supported and promoted by elite interaction between business, state officials and representatives of international organizations favours the market logic of capitalism (Gill, 1995, p. 400).

There are some criticisms on critical theories from a mainstream study of IR. Due to an economic reductionism, critical theories in IR neither explain the international cooperation between the capitalist bloc and the socialist bloc during the Cold War, nor make clear of developing countries" achievements for economic and political independence and the demise of Soviet bloc (Mingst, 2008). Contending debates exist in historical materialism, too.

Although it came out of Marxist tradition of historical materialism, neo-Gramscian analysis has been criticized for a lack of revolutionary ambition (Cohn, 2001; Saurin, 2008; Strange, 2002) in an overly superstructural ontology (Joseph, 2008; Lacher, 2008). In addition, it does not explore the collapse of capitalist system that classical Marxism importantly regarded, missing a full account of counter-hegemonic emergence (Cohn, 2001, pp. 132-133).

I admit these theoretical silences and deficiencies of the neo-Gramscian perspective. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that neo-Gramscian perspective holds an analytic strength for an ideational control/resist mechanism while extending an analyzing scope to non-state actors in IR studies (Ayers, 2008; Bieler & Morton, 2008; Cohn, 2001; Devetak, 2009; Morton, 2003). In relation to the thesis of globalization and internationalization, Panitch (1994, 2000) and Baker (1999) argue that the neo-Gramscian analysis overlooks a reciprocal relationship between a local (state) and a global level and ignores class conflict within a domestic realm, state. In response, Bieler & Morton (2003b) and Bieler, Bonefeld, Burnham, & Morton (2006) reassure that the state is an integral part of a transnational process of production in the neo-Gramscian approach, underpinning the assumption that the state is where historical bloc is created and counter-hegemony is based.

The neo-Gramscian (Coxian) approach within the framework of transnational historical materialism is pertinent to my research in not only exploring ideological hegemonic power of the US/West-led world order, but also clarifying a state interaction with this non-coercive power in a globalized capitalist system. However, the theoretical approach does not allow me to identify the linguistic mechanisms for the functioning of this world (non-coercive) hegemony. But, supplemented with another research methodology, critical discourse analysis (CDA), will possibly facilitate an understanding of the linguistic mechanisms though and examination of the political discourses and policy texts.

3.1.2. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

A discourse is the way of constituting knowledge, the form of subjectivity and power relations beyond mere expression of thinking and meaning and power is exercised within a discourse (Ball, 1994; Weedon, 1987). Keenoy, Oswick, and Grant (1997) sees discourse as i) “a device for making linguistic sense of organizations and organizational phenomena” versus “ambiguities of social constructions and indeterminacy of organizational experience” and ii) “between a position ...in a social context, including the social and political dimensions in addition to the discursive versus a more narrow focus on the text *per se* (treated as existing in a contextual vacuum)” (pp. 315-316, as cited in Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007). Discourse analysis is an “analysis of what people do with language in specific social settings” (Potter, 1997, p. 146).

Discourse analysis increasingly appears in social sciences as a research tool (Fairclough, 2003; Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Discourse analysis identifies the origin of power from written documentation and narratives in which the power is embedded. Positioning critical attitude at social enactment, researchers of critical discourse analysis (CDA) attempt to discover the correlations between the micro-level of social practice (language use, discourse, written contexts, verbal interaction) and the macro-level of social order (power, dominance, inequality). Therefore, CDA endeavours to elucidate power legitimization by excavating intrinsic meanings of spoken and written textual contexts and structures.

My understanding on critical discourse analysis is mainly derived from a synthesis of Norman Fairclough (1985, 1992, 1995a, 2001, 2003, 2007) and Van Dijk (1995, 1998a, 1998b, 2003, 2008)'s works. About CDA, Van Dijk (2003) states, “CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (p.352). Fairclough (1995b) also explains that

Discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (p. 132)

For Fairclough and Wodak (1997), the necessary elements of CDA are to consider social problems and discursive power relations, historical and ideological characteristics, interpretative and explanatory analysis, and perception of mediated texts on social action (as cited in Van dijk, 2003).

By analyzing underlined meanings of particular language and texts which is findable in Korean policy reform policies and IOs' documentation, I anticipated to disclose the political rhetoric on recent educational reform and embedded power of social relations in two (both heterogenous and endogenous) dimensions. Discourse-driven policy reform (emergence of specific terms in formal communication and weakness of alternative to one way of ideological orientation) will show how the transnational consensus on neo-liberal reform and politics of Korean government has been implied not only at its structural base, but also at the depth of discourse base.

3.2. Methods of Data Collection

To collect data for my research, I utilized two methods: document analysis and content analysis. For document analysis, I gathered related information from a variety of documents collected on-line and off-line in Korea and then categorized the data based on the research design. Content analysis helps me code an extensive amount of data. These methods

support my analysis and provided the basis for confirming and refuting certain assumptions and understandings of the dynamics and dissemination of neoliberal doctrine.

3.2.1. Document Analysis

Document analysis is “a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents – both printed and electronic” (Bowen, 2009) and hypothesizes how an event arose, who is involved and presumes sequences of activities and their causal relationships (Keats, 1982). Bowen praises this method for various functions, historical insights and provision of context, additional questions, supplementary data, a means of change and verification of evidence. In a policy research, Keats suggests the diagnostic objective can be to examine the reasons for or causes of what exists - e.g. What factors underlie particular attitudes or perceptions? Why are decisions or actions taken or not taken?

Document analysis heavily relies upon written records. Documents here mean readily readable materials for the study. Both Keats and Bowen offer that document analysis has some advantages: documents and records are/possess i) stable, reliable and rewarding because they are readily accessible and available, ii) an unchallengeable basis of facts and information as part of the public record, iii) a rich source of well-grounded data about events, people, decisions and situations, iv) low cost basis for time and money, and v) nonreactive as the subjects of investigation.

For my research, I gathered formal records such as policy documents, government reports, official statistics, seminar and conference papers, periodicals and transcriptions produced by organizations (e.g. Korean government, mass media in Korea, IOs) rather than episodic records in casual, personal, and accidental manner (e.g. diaries, brochures) by individuals. As the World Wide Web is an explosive way of releasing public statement, I also utilized electronic form of information that Korean government, public/private organizations and IOs generated.

By conducting data collection from written documents, I aim to find what particular texts the Korean government stressed in public documents and how similar or dissimilar they were from IOs' words and concepts. In other words, I expect to discover how specific texts and discourse of IOs were technically highlighted and ideologically shared with Korean government. Importantly, a comparison of Korean national policy documents to IOs' policy advices followed by their statistics and evaluation informs me not only of how two documentary sources are overtly identical, but also how Korean politics strategically reconceptualised and recontextualized borrowed concepts from neo-liberal discourse.

For the primary source, I first extracted chronicled governmental policies and presidential speeches and treated them as official announcements of the political will for higher education reforms and also included a survey of recently established educational laws. I had easy access to official documents from on-line resource reserves (e.g. website of the Ministry of Education and National Archives & Records Service), archival written materials from the National Assembly library, and the National Library of Korea in Seoul, Korea and National Digital Library on-line as a Korean citizen. I also collected publications and public announcements made by Ministry of Education of Korea and examined KEDI (Korean Educational Development Institute, government subsidiary educational research institute) research papers and publications on recent higher education reforms. Secondly, I carefully examined IOs' research data on higher education reforms through their websites. I also reviewed periodicals and research papers conducted by IOs to withdraw some texts and discourse in their professional evaluation and advice on Korean higher education as well as general higher education reform.

For the secondary source of data collection, I reviewed the topic-related newspaper articles and TV reports. Academic publications, periodicals and dissertations were read and analyzed for various view points on the recent Korean higher education reforms and political implications. For categorizing the political tendencies of newspapers, I examined

Chosun/Chung-ang/Dong-ah Ilbo, Pressian and New Daily for the conservative voice, *Hankyorye* for the progressive voice, and *Yon-hap Shinmun/Kyoung-hyangShinmun* and *Han-kukIlbo* for the medium political voice. I investigated TV reports from three major TV broadcasting companies of Korea.

Table 5. Methods of data collection

Primary source	
Korean government	International Organizations
<p>Presidential speech, public reports/announcement by the Ministry of Education, National Archives & Records Service, National Assembly Library and so forth</p> <p>Research papers and statistic data from KEDI</p>	<p>Research papers, data, periodicals and other publications from the OECD, UNESCO, WB, and WTO including official commissions (OECD, UNESCO) in Korea,</p>
Secondary source (topic/issue related media and literature)	
<p>Mass media – daily newspapers, TV, related educational magazines</p> <p>Newspapers in Korean language: <i>Chosun/Chung-ang/Dong-ah Ilbo/Pressian/New Daily</i> (conservative), <i>Hankyorye</i> (liberal/progressive), <i>Yon-hap Shinmun/Kyoung-hyang Shinmun</i> and <i>Han-kukIlbo</i> (middle)</p> <p>Newspapers in English: Korean Times, Korean Herald and some other overseas newspapers</p> <p>TV: Korea Broadcasting System, <i>Munhwa</i> Broadcasting Company, Seoul Broadcasting Station (three major TV broadcasting companies of Korea)</p>	<p>Academic publications – books, journal articles, dissertation</p> <p>Research communities – domestic and international research institutes (e.g. The institute for progressive education - http://jinboedu.jinbo.net/, Korea institute for educational policy - http://kedu.re.kr/)</p>

3.2.2. Content Analysis

In addition to document analysis, my research design includes content analysis to discover the linguistic mechanisms of political hegemony. Content analysis is “a set of methods for analyzing the symbolic content of any communication” (Singleton, Jr. & Straits, 2005a, p. 371). Any verbal, written, or electronic content can be subjected to this analysis. As a distinctive qualitative research technique, Grbich (2007) compliments content analysis as a “systematic coding and categorising approach...to explore large amounts of textual information in order to ascertain the trends and patterns of words used, their frequency, their relationships and the structures and discourses of communication” (p. 112). Hsieh and Shannon (2005) also define content analysis “as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (p. 1278).

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) offer three approaches to content analysis: i) the conventional approach when existing theory is limited and new insight is needed, ii) the directed approach to validate or extend the existing theory, and iii) the summative approach to discover underlying meanings of words and contents. From among these three, I will generally use the summative approach for my research. Hsieh and Shannon stress that the coding process is the key to content analysis because a coding scheme provides translation.

Content analysis helps reduce the labour in extracting textual evidence from numerous documents. For handling the large volumes of document texts I mentioned in the part of document analysis, I code particular texts and contents for finding neo-liberal assumptions and sort them out into a few categories. For the enumerative content analysis, Carol Grbich (2007) introduces common tools: i) word frequency, ii) rank ordering of words, and iii) key words in context. This method is expected to guide me to the discovery of how often particular texts or contents appear on documentations. Then, I will be looking into why those dominant words, phrases, or sentences are used with my research methodologies.

3.3. Methods of data analysis

3.3.1. Case Study

Defined as a qualitative method (George & Bennett, 2005; Lijphart, 1975; Yin, 2009), case studies have developed as a research strategy (Yin, 1981; 2009) in many academic disciplines (Gerring, 2007a). Information for case studies is obtained from documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participants-observation and physical artefacts (Yin, 2009). Case studies provide a depth of information, allowing descriptive, causative, and inductive analysis (Eisenhardt, 1989; Miles & Huberman, 1984; Yin, 2009). Case studies assume that the case being studied is typical and applicable to other cases of the same type for generalization (Kumar, 2005a). Thus, a case study is ideal when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991).

In considering the case selection of spatial and temporal boundaries, Gerring (2007a) states, “whatever one’s chosen unit, the methodological issues attached to the case study have nothing to do with the size of the cases. A case may be created out of any phenomenon so long as it has identifiable boundaries and comprises the primary object of an inference” (p. 19). Different fields of academe conduct different units of case study analysis related to incidents: individuals in psychology, social groups in sociology or anthropology, human individuals or companies in economics, countries, regions organizations or political incidents in political science. “The case can be either single or collective, multi-sited or within-site and focused on a case or on issue” (Stake 1995, Yin 1989, as cited in Creswell, 1998, p. 62). According to Yin (2009), a single case represents the “critical case” to confirm, to challenge, or to extend a theory or a “unique case” to study rareness or “revelatory case” to uncover previously inaccessible phenomenon. Multiple cases, on the other hand, strengthen the results by replicating the pattern-matching.

“What distinguishes the case study from all other methods is its reliance on evidence drawn from a single case and its attempt, at the same time, to illuminate features of a broader

set of cases” (Gerring, 2007a, p. 29). I anticipate that the method of single case study gives me critical evidence and significant details of a cause-effect relationship since the single case study “relies heavily on contextual evidence and deductive causality” (p. 172). To make up for the internal validity of the single case study, Gerring (2007b) suggests “process tracking” supported with multiple evidence. The operation of process tracking will make the researcher convincing by linking cause and effect, by clarifying the argument and by verifying any uncertainty.

My research is a single case study with a more universal applicability. For example, I presuppose that Korea may represent other countries, especially developing countries and the recent reform of Korean higher education is one sample of cross-case incidents. In short, implementation of neo-liberal reform in higher education is pervasive over many countries and I am motivated to select Korea as one archetypical model of that phenomenon. Focusing on a single outcome (neo-liberal reform), I will construct comparable observations within the case. From among Gerring’s research design suggestions, my research case is located in single-case study (synchronic + diachronic) with a longitudinal comparison (bold columns in two tables below).

Table 6. Research design: A covariational typology

Cases	Spatial Variation	Temporal Variation	
		<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>
One	<i>None</i>	logically impossible	single-case study (diachronic)
	<i>Within-case</i>	Single-case study (synchronic)	single-case study (synchronic + diachronic)
<i>Several</i>	<i>Cross-case & within case</i>	Comparative method	Comparative-historical
<i>Many</i>	<i>Cross-sectional</i>	Cross-sectional	Time-series cross-sectional
	<i>Hierarchical</i>	Hierarchical	Hierarchical time-series

Source: (Gerring, 2007a, p. 28)

Table 7. Matrix of case study research designs

	Spatial variation		
		Yes	No
Temporal variation	Yes	Dynamic comparison	Longitudinal comparison
	No	Spatial comparison	Counterfactual comparison

Source: (Gerring, 2007a, p.153)

3.3.2. Historical Comparative Analysis (HCA)

Along with the case study method, I run historical-comparative analysis to determine any temporal changes. No spatial change occurs in this case study, but there is a comparable temporal variation that comes with the difference of political tendency by each regime of Korea. That is to say, the case in my research is limited to a geographic territory of Korea, but shows a change over time. I will analyze this temporal variation with a historical-comparative analysis (HCA).

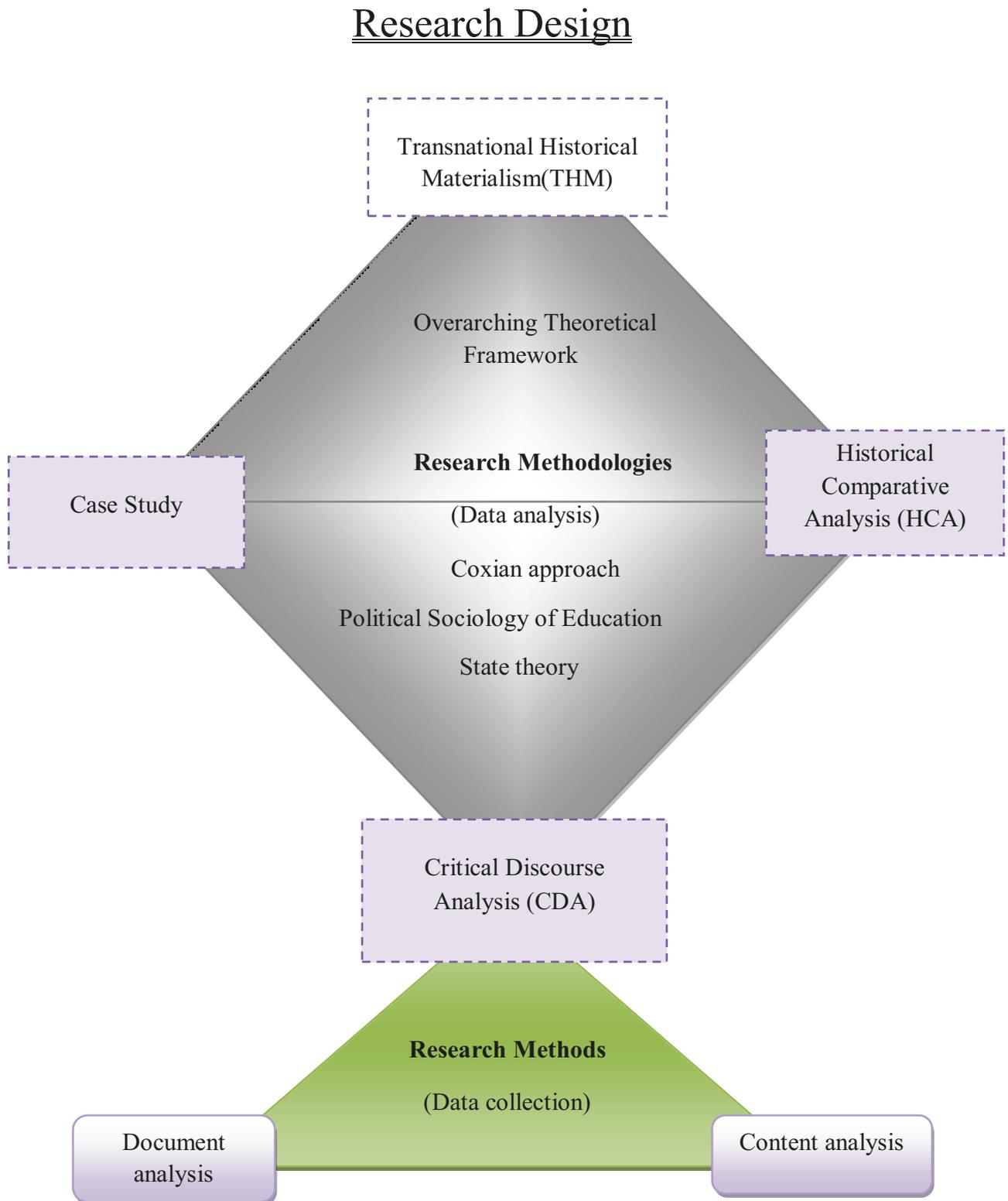
Historical-comparative analysis is largely located in a tradition of historical analysis in terms of dealing with past events. Historical analysis attempts to develop a generalized understanding of the social world beyond a mere description of historical events and evidence (Royce & Bruce, 2005). All historical research uses written materials about the past and allows researchers their interpretation of the events (Singleton, Jr. & Straits, 2005c). Historical analysis is composed of i) reconstructions of past events, which emphasize the accurate descriptions of *what* happened; ii) applications of a general theory to a particular historical case(s), which focus on *how* the theory applies; iii) tests of explanations of historical events, which examine *why* a specific event occurred; iv) the development of causal explanations of historical patterns, which also analyzes *why* events occurred but seeks a more general understanding of social phenomena; and v) the use of history to understand the present, or explain *how* and *why* particular phenomena came to be (p. 366).

HCA is becoming an important research method in social science with the re-emergence of historically grounded and macro-scaled explanations in sociology and political science (Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003). A researcher in HCA unfolds temporal processes over time and analyzes historical sequences to infer causation. Pierson (2003) stresses that historical events are the processes happened over time, not static occurrences at a single point. Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (2003) articulate that HCA focuses on causal relationships, processes over time, and comparisons, not allowing interpretive approaches to historical

incidents. Causal argument is central to the analysis in HCA as the HCA inquiry basically concerns about the identification of causal configurations (Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003). When a researcher compares selected cases, a systematic approach makes the room for a theoretical expectation which links a theory to detailed case evidence and a close inspection of particular cases possibly offers a contextualized comparison, flexibility of spatial/temporal scope (Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003).

Figure 2 (Below), the map of the research design shows how I connected the various methodologies and methods for my research. As illustrated in figure 2., I utilized transnational historical materialism (THM) and critical discourse analysis as two methodological frames for my study. I chose Coxian approach of THM in particular to investigate political dynamics in recent Korean higher education reforms with two other theoretical frameworks– political sociology of education and state theory. I entirely relied on documentary analysis for my data collection, using the document and content analysis. Case study and historical comparative analysis were employed as the methods of data analysis.

Figure 2. Research Design



3.4. Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity cannot be separated from each other. Both are equally crucial in conducting qualitative research. In a qualitative study, a researcher concerns about *reliability* for the stability and consistency of the study, while requiring the congruence between an operational definition and the concept to be measured for research *validity* (Singleton, Jr. & Straints, 2005b). Lincoln and Guba (1985) claim that “since there can be no validity without reliability, a demonstration of the former [validity] is sufficient to establish the latter [reliability]” (p. 316). Accordingly, both conditions are vital to ensure the quality of research when a researcher designs, analyzes and judges the study (Patton, 2002).

To enhance certainty of reliability and validity in qualitative terms, Shenton (2004) complements that many qualitative researchers have preferred Guba and Lincoln (1985)’s suggestion of essential criteria – credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity/generalizability), dependability (reliability), and confirmability (objectivity), refining particular strategies (see Table 8). Taking Shenton’s suggestion to heart, I employed strategies for the appropriate method adoption, triangulation of methods, in-depth description on methodology, explicit audit trail, peer debriefing, commentary reflection and a member check for accuracy and completeness of my research.

Table 8. Strategies for credibility and reliability (trustworthiness in Sheton’s use) for qualitative research

quality criteria	possible provision made by researcher
credibility	<p>Adoption of appropriate research methods Early familiarity with culture of participating organisations Random sampling ,Triangulation of different methods/informants/sites Tactics to help ensure honesty in informants Iterative questioning, Negative case analysis Debriefing sessions between researcher and superiors Peer scrutiny, reflective commentary Description of background, qualifications and experience of the researcher Member checks(of data collection, interpretations/theories) Thick description of phenomenon, Examination of previous research</p>
transferability	<p>Provision of background data and detailed description of phenomenon for comparisons</p>
dependability	<p>overlapping methods In-depth methodological description</p>
confirmability	<p>Triangulation Admission of researcher’s beliefs and assumptions Recognition of shortcomings in study’s methods In-depth methodological description to allow integrity of research Use of diagrams to demonstrate audit trail</p>

Source: Author modified based on (Sheton, 2004, p. 75)

3.5. Researcher's Consideration

Unlike a quantitative researcher who intends to keep a distance from a research process, a researcher in qualitative study deeply involves himself or herself within a research procedure (Winter, 2000). A researcher's perception on validity influences the validity in the study (Creswell & Miller, 2000). In other words, a qualitative researcher is "the instrument" (Patton, 2002, p.14) of research and constitutes research reliability and validity. Further, researcher's attitude to the reality is decisive in qualitative research. A qualitative researcher should be "responsive and adaptable to changing circumstances, holistic, having professional immediacy, sensitivity, and ability for clarification and summarization" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, as cited in Morse et al., 2002, p. 5). A researcher's skills in data collection and in analyzing the philosophical/theoretical underpinning attached to the research are the key to the production of good quality research.

In the research process, I developed research skills on data collection and analysis and learned to deploy multi-methods, a specific methodological approach and a critical theoretical framework to strengthen reliability and validity of my research. Since my data collection does not include interfacing with human participants, and only includes conducting document analysis, the primary concern for the research is that my analysis of texts, discourse and documents should be accurate and this accuracy explicitly and adequately reflected in my dissertation paper. Because languages in policy documents imply political rhetoric and multiple effects, language and discourse in IOs' documents underpin political intentions of neo-liberal reform. Referred texts and discourse in other primary and secondary sources manifest each stakeholder's voices as well as their response to policy change. In this regard, I made efforts to uncover hidden meanings and underlying assumption in texts and in discourse.

Policy texts and documents can be more easily comprehended as the resultant consequence of “conversation” between and amongst institutions.

In the qualitative analysis of empirical document texts, “a consideration of ethics needs to be a critical part of the substructure of the research process from the initial conception of your problem to the interpretation and publishing of the research findings” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005, p. 86). About the ethical issues in relation to the researcher’s position, I considered some principles of researcher’s behaviour important: to avoid bias, provide or deprive of an intervention, appropriately use research methodology and information, and correctly report findings (Kumar, 2005b). Using proper research tools and trustworthy information, I was careful not to succumb to the above kinds of bias when researching. “Bias is a deliberate attempt either to hide what you have found in your study, or to highlight something disproportionately to its existence” (p. 214).

IV. Data Collection

4.1. IOs

In this chapter, I arranged the collected data from IOs to examine external dynamics for Korean higher education reform. I selected four IOs' documents for my research data because of the relevance of recent Korean higher education reforms and the accessibility of the institutional archives. I took an advantage of a large number of online resources that IOs are open to the public and extracted their text evidence for my critical discourse analysis. In the meantime, I was frustrated by the data imbalance between the WTO and other three IOs. Though I wanted to obtain important text evidence from the WTO, I carefully reviewed the available documents and withdrew text data that are related to higher education.

World Bank

For the IOs' perspective on higher education and its reform, I collected documents from four international organizations (The World Bank, the OECD, UENSCO, and WTO). First, I looked into the World Bank's documentation to obtain related information on recent higher education reform. Research text sources were collected from 10 documentation sites, the World Bank homepage, reports, working papers and publications (see Appendix A). These documentary texts explicitly and implicitly reveal the views of the World Bank on the role of higher education in a changing economic environment, the rationale of higher education reform and the educational concerns of the World Bank.

The official website of the World Bank introduced numerous ideas on higher education; a sharp identification on the role of higher education, the correlations of the knowledge and skills generated through higher education, key issues on educational policymaking, and the work of the World Bank for education. For higher education, the

World Bank focused on quality outcomes, efficient institutional governance, support for reforms and innovations in a close partnership with other IOs (e.g. OECD, UNESCO).

Selected working papers and publications are largely about higher education and its development for a knowledge economy. The World Bank has thematized the needs of higher education reform for a knowledge economy over the last two decades. Other World Bank documents also investigated Korea and the Korea Development Institute (KDI) and Korea Educational Development Institute (KEDI) provided the information.

According to the collected World Bank documents (from 1994-2012), education reform is essential for countries to enhance national competitiveness in a knowledge economy because higher education is the generator of future labour force and innovative research. Regarding to the role of government, the World Bank suggested a strong leadership as the basis for all sector reforms including education formulated through a well-established consensus towards knowledge economy. The World Bank diagnosed Korean education as uncompetitive due to various practical constrains, a lack of creativity, a weak research network with industry and a higher education and a job market mismatch. In implementing education reform to remove these drawbacks, the World Bank advised the Korean state to eliminate tight government controls and reform higher education with an “entrepreneurial, accountable and responsive” paradigm to meet industrial needs better.

OECD

OECD documentation indicates that the OECD has a special interest in higher education and expresses a clear voice for comprehensive higher education reform aligned with its overarching economic agenda. A total of 13 documents, special-themed conference papers, a ministerial report and education policy-related periodicals are selected from the OECD homepage website as open sources (see Appendix B). Text excerpts were from the

original bodies of documents and sometimes from the executive summary of long-paged documents. The gathered document data reinforced my research on why the OECD encourages higher education reform and what the OECD specifically suggests to national governments for higher education reform policies.

Through all documents, I found that the OECD identifies the role of higher education as a fundamental catalyst for national economic development in a knowledge economy. According to the collected documents, the OECD suggests that countries have higher education policies that conform to national priorities. This idea connects a human capital or human resource development plan to an economic perspective and a quality improvement for an educational perspective. The OECD (from 2000 to 2012) suggests that Asian countries should prepare appropriate human resources through education reform. Accordingly, the OECD encourages member countries to perform higher education reforms and establish realistic reform strategies with a link to labour market requirements, quality improvement, research capacity enhancement, internationalization and innovation.

UNESCO

UNESCO considers education as one of its primary tasks and categorizes many sources of information in regards to educational issues. Subsequently, I limit my research data to higher education reform discussed from 1995 to 2012. I extracted UNESCO text data from 8 big volumes of documentation including the official website (see Appendix C). These documents indicate the views of UNESCO for higher education reform in a changing policy environment and on emerging educational issues in higher education.

Similar to the World Bank and the OECD, UNESCO emphasizes the role of higher education in a changing environment, globalization and a knowledge economy. UNESCO defines higher education reform as an unavoidable task for countries. The rationale of higher

education reform is suggested not only to ensure national development, but also to take the leading role in a changing society. Developing countries are encouraged to utilize higher education to narrow the industrial gap between countries. UNESCO regards higher education as a salient drive for national development with the possibility of high-skilled human resource development and advanced & innovative research.

As an education-concerning organization, UNESCO (from 1998 to 2012) develops initiatives and guidelines for quality improvement of higher education with other IOs. The partnership with the World Bank for the Global Initiative for Quality Assurance Capacity (GIQAC) was made to advance educational quality of developing countries by sharing good practices and knowledge. This initiative is the venue for discussion and information sharing on quality assurance and prospective cross-border educational activities. UNESCO created a guideline for quality assurance in conjunction with the OECD and distributed it to the international community. This guideline was purposed to facilitate cross-border activities of education under the General Agreement of Trade in Services (GATS) of the WTO.

WTO

For WTO text data, I collected text sources from the official website of the WTO and other written documents - the GATS article (see Appendix D), annual reports (2001-5), and world trade reports (2003, 2007). For the WTO, education is only one of numerous global trade items and does not occupy a big portion of world trade compared to other commercial goods. Thus, I aim to understand how the WTO considers higher education for its primary economic mission and trade liberalization. In selected documents, the WTO never sets the topics or directly deals with higher education reform; however, it is worthy of noting the basic framework of educational liberalization (internationalization) through the WTO official statements.

Trade liberalization in education has slowly expanded to member countries, but higher education has been the most active sector for international trade in education. GATS confines education as a “public service,” but education is categorized as a tradable service because education becomes more open to market providers. In other words, higher education in many countries enters a competition phase between government and market suppliers as well as between domestics and the internationals. Subsequently, international trade in higher education is underway through four modes of supply identified by the WTO: Cross-border supply (mode 1: e.g., online learning), consumption abroad (mode 2: e.g., studying abroad), commercial presence (mode 3: e. g., foreign direct investment, branch campus), and presence of natural persons (mode 4: e.g., foreign faculty members).

For the question of GATS political influence on local policy, the WTO (from 1995 to 2005) responds that the organization is not able to force member countries into liberalization policy. However, the WTO exercises a rigorous monitoring of compliance by members to implement agreements once it happens. I found that WTO reports indicate few commitments in education due to local sensitivity which brings basic concerns on the public nature of education and equity issues. In regards to the progress of market liberalization for education services, the WTO compliments the advantages of educational trade connected to economic benefits. Furthermore, this was also the when trade in services became a global commodity and educational entrepreneurship became the object of GATT-WTO regulation (Robertson, 2012)

4. 2. Korea

For the first part of Korean policy documents, I collected the transcripts of four presidential inaugural addresses, open presidential speeches and speeches by appointed administrators (ministers and a general director of education). These official documents

demonstrate the policy directions of each administration and the core ideas of each speaker towards higher education reform. I obtained English written transcripts of three presidential inaugural addresses (1998, 2003, 2008) and one presidential open speech (2008). I translate all other speech transcripts from Korean texts into English for my research data.

Other government policy documents are the year plan reports. The Ministry of Education produced the reports and based the on the discussions with the policy committee of each administration. All the reports are disclosed to the public as the yearly guidelines for government activities in education. The year plan reports reveal each administration's primary policy visions, directions and major tasks for education. Policy environments and diagnoses are identified at the beginning of each administration while policy achievement and reflections are presented at the end of each administration.

Text data from the year plan reports provide me the evidence that each administration's privileges for specific policies. The political vision of each president is normally revealed in the second year of year plan reports after a first year adjusting period for new administration. The highlighted words on the third or fourth year of each administration illustrate what policies are being developed during presidential terms. The keywords at the ending year of presidential incumbency represent the most important or urgent educational issues that policy makers wish to finalize during their tenures. Some languages are overlapped in same or different forms over four administrations. However, some texts appear in particular administrations only. Therefore, year plan reports are important to show the ultimate political vision of higher education reform as well as pressing underlying issues of each administration.

The YS administration (1993-1998)

I have five presidential speech transcripts, one ministerial speech and ministerial year plan reports for the YS administration (1993.2-1998.2) (see Appendix F). In his inaugural speech, president Young Sam Kim (YS) proposed a radical vision for the future of Korean education with the idea of *NEW* (*Shin* in Korean). In this presidential speech, YS Kim did not establish concrete plans for education despite a political pledge that emphasized his role as an education president in a presidential election. After the first year of his presidency, however, the YS administration created a specific plan for NEW education (*Shin Kyoyuk* in Korean) that overhauls all levels of education, from elementary to post-secondary. The YS educational policy is based on the diagnoses and recommendations of the 1994 year report and the discussions by the Presidential Committee of Education Reform.

President YS Kim unveiled a complete educational vision by the time his administration finalized the 5. 31 Education Reform Plan in 1995. With this reform plan, YS Kim stressed the need for essential changes in Korean education to prepare for the future, *information society* and *globalization*. At the education reform committee briefings, YS Kim urged all-out devotion by his cabinet, institutional participation and citizen awareness to make success for the construction of new framework. All the transcripts of committee briefings showed the political ambition of national leader and a strong administrative support.

The year plan reports (1994 – 1997) of the YS administration unveil the main theme of education reform with the ambitious plan of NEW Korean education. The new policy environment was set for the approaching future reality that Korea faced at that time and the year plan reports portrays this viewpoint as *liberalization*, *globalization*, *information age* and *society of the 21st century*. The YS government encouraged a pan-national educational reform and sought efficient ways to advertise Korean citizens. According to the 1996 report, education reform expo, special professional development on educational reform practice,

public relations activities (public awareness campaign, film, advertisements, newspapers) and other open PRs (brochures events, discussions) were promoted.

The DJ administration

I have four presidential speech transcripts, one ministerial interview and year plan reports for the DJ administration (1998.2–2003.2) (see Appendix G). In his inaugural speech, President Dae-jung Kim (DJ) emphasized a historical change of industry and the societal response to it. DJ Kim defined this new historical feature as a *knowledge-information society* and desired that Korean youth adapted this industrial change successfully. DJ Kim pointed out the need for reform to solve the burning domestic issues in Korean society, university entrance exam and a meritocratic society (political alternative to credentialism). In other official speeches, DJ Kim highlighted a university role for national economic development in a new industrial era. At the end of his administration, DJ Kim connected higher education reform directly to an economic success while remaining in the reform principle of autonomy, accountability and a competition-based mechanism. The interview of one minister, Hae-chan Lee also revealed that the DJ administration considered higher education significant for national economic competitiveness.

In compliance with a re-identified policy environment, a *knowledge-information society* which was consistently shown for the report from 1999 to 2001, the DJ administration created different reform policy plans from the former. The core theme of reform goal became changed from the *enhancement of university competitiveness* to *high-skilled/high quality manpower* or *human resource development* in subsequent year reports. Key words such as *autonomy, accountability, diversification, specialization and national competitiveness* are repeated same as the basic directions in YS administration reports.

The Roh administration

I have only one speech transcript, Presidential inaugural address and administrative year plan reports for the Roh administration (2003.2–2008.2) (see Appendix H). I presume that higher education reform did not have a political attention under the Roh administration as much as the other three administrations. President Moon-hyun Roh (Roh) mentioned an educational change in his inaugural speech only for the broader national goal. This text data were far more limited in my examination of political concerns with higher education. The only idea I can grasp with his inaugural speech is that Roh's utterance on education is consistent with the addresses by other presidents in which educational change should help achieve a national goal.

The policy environment was only dealt with once in the year plan reports of the Roh administration. The Roh administration set the policy goals each year as: *all citizens' HR capacity enhancement* for 2003, to make Korea a *HR power country* for 2005 and 2006 and to use *HRD for national opportunity* for the 2007. *Human resource development* (HRD) had been the cornerstone for the higher education policy of the Roh administration. *Industry-academy research cooperation* was continuously shown in the reports with regard to regional university development. The word *innovation* was used extensively in the year plan reports since the innovation reform committee was launched in 2003. A specified internationalization strategy for trade liberalization in education was uttered/identified in the 2005 report and was a critical issue that needed to be processed.

The new words utilized by the Roh administration were *participation* and *transparency*. *Participation* is to encourage a democratic decision making process in institutional management. *Transparency* is to promote the autonomous management of private universities under the Three No's policy (no donation admission, no institutional entrance exams, no ranking students based on their high schools). In fact, private university

school foundations in Korea were notorious for corruption and dishonesty in terms of hiring and financing. Words such as *M&A, merge and closure* express a stronger and more specific description of university restructuring during the Roh administration. Economic terms like *incentive, high value-added human talent, export of Korean education* appeared for the first time in Roh time year plan reports of the Roh administration. However, *diversification* was talked about less on the year plan reports. The emergence of new words in the Roh administration presented a complex but distinctive political implication.

The MB administration

I have three transcripts of presidential speeches and five year plan reports for the MB administration (2008.2 – 2012.2) (see Appendix I). In his inaugural speech, president Myung-bak Lee (MB) explicates that the governing philosophy of his administration is *pragmatism, democracy and market economy*. This ideological triangle is the foundation of policies of the MB administration that include education. The MB administration places significant importance on education reform for national competitiveness and the development of whole society. The notion of a *knowledge-based society* again becomes the ultimate goal of education reform so that *competitive human talents, autonomy and educational excellence* were emphasized under the MB administration.

The year plan reports of the MB administration do not stress the reform needs strongly as the former administrations did; however, definite reform policies are implemented in practice. *Specialization* is the most favoured word for university restructuring and competitiveness in the reports of the MB administration. In addition, words such as *autonomy, accountability, and diversification* are also common. *Academy-industry cooperation* is stressed more than any other administrations. The key words in the year plan reports of the MB administration are *human talents, university competitiveness and a job link*. Because the

MB administration merged the Ministry of Education with the Ministry of Science and Technology, the policy vision of subsequent later year reports (2011, 2012) embraces both science technology and human talent strategies. For policy directions, accordingly, the MB administration highlighted the connection between education and job.

V. Data Analysis I: Thematic analysis

5.1. Ideological Consensus: Shared Macro Themes

By juxtaposing the primary data collected from both sides, I found that IOs' discourse on higher education reform concurred with the main ideas of the Korean government over the past two decades, particularly in the macro dimension of higher education reform policy. So, what ideas were shared between two parties through document discourse? I set up this macro dimension of idea sharing into five categories as follows: the views on higher education in a new policy environment, the rationale of higher education reform, government role, reform directions, and IOs' policy advices and major tasks in local practice.

5.1.1. Higher Education in a New Policy Environment

Identifying a new policy environment as a *knowledge economy and globalization*, IOs' documents emphasize the importance of higher education in this new circumstance. IOs described the role of higher education the main venue for knowledge creation& skills (World Bank, 2000), a major driver for economic competitiveness (OECD, 2008), a salient drive/key factor/major driving force/essential component for national development and a high-skilled manpower generator (UNESCO, 1998, 2003, 2011), and one tradable service sector in a globalized economy (WTO, 1995). In other words, the four IOs see higher education as "an important engine for national development" which brings countries economic competitiveness in a global competition.

Likewise, Korean policy documents identify a policy change environment as the *liberalization/information society, globalization, knowledge-based society and economic crisis* (both domestic and international). Concerning this policy environment, the Korean government strive to set up the new visions of higher education for the 21st century. National

leaders in four administrations claim the role of higher education “to enhance citizen’s creativity and learning capacity” (Kim, Y. S., 1995a), “economic development through university research” (Kim, Y. S., 1998), “to enhance national strength as well as institutional competitiveness” (Kim, D. J. 2001), “to nurture creative high skill brain and to secure world class basic science skills... for securing national competitiveness in an infinite competition time” (Chung, n.d.), and “to contribute to national competitiveness and the advancement of Korean society, to expand qualitative education opportunity and foster the knowledge-based society leading global talents” (Lee, M. B. 2008). In brief, all four Korean administrations in my research define the role (policy vision and goal) of higher education as “to nurture high caliber human resources and to enhance national competitiveness.”

Therefore, document text sources demonstrate that IOs and the Korean government have the similar views on the role of higher education in an identified policy environment, a globalized knowledge economy.

5.1.2. The Rationale of Reform

The distinct roles of higher education in and for a new policy environment allow IOs and Korean policy makers to reach the tacit agreement on the urgency of policy reform. IOs discourse on the imperative of higher education reform is similar to what the Korean government document. IOs express the urgency of higher education reform with the words, *unavoidable, pressing, essential task* while the Korean government highlighted the needs of reform with the words, *core, primary, historical, necessary task, and the needs of time*. As a legal and administrative framework, reform policy requires (valid) reasons to reconstruct the existing system.

Reform tasks should be carried out, according to both parties, to a) respond to new social and economic demands, and then b) ensure national competitiveness. IOs argue higher

education reform is needed to improve responsiveness to a new policy environment. Subsequently, IOs discuss higher education reform based on the assumptions that higher education fosters human capital (OECD, 2000, 2007) and strengthens national competitiveness (World Bank, 2000). IOs also expect that higher education reform would contribute to a poverty reduction and welfare benefits (World Bank, 2002) while bridging the gap between the developed and the developing world (UNESCO, 2003).

The Korean government approaches higher education reform in a same context, but with a stronger emphasis on national interest. To advocate the urgent need of higher education reform, the YS administration (1993-1998) produced a catchphrase about education: “to save the country” (Lee, M. H. 1997), “country’s survival strategy” (Kim, Y. S. 1998). The subsequent administrations presented slogans such as “to enhance national strength and institutional competitiveness and to prepare for the 21st century” (Kim, D. J. 2001), with following national goals: to become a “HR power country, for participation and autonomy” (Year Plan Report, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007), for “world-leading advanced country, and science-technology & human talent power country” (Year Plan Report, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013).

In short, both IOs and the Korean government value higher education reform as a necessity for the global economic environment of the 21st century, both fostering human resources and enhancing national competitiveness.

5.1.3. Government Role

IOs outline the role of government in constructing legislative, political, financial frameworks and a regulatory environment for higher education reform. Underlining the word *supervisor*, the World Bank recommend national governments to exercise a *strong leadership* for overall reform policy implementation (World Bank, 2000). This leadership is to create a

positive policy environment with a funding leverage and a coherent policy framework. UNESCO also calls for the creation of positive policy framework for the role of government (UNESCO, 2005a, 2006). The OECD advises countries not to exert central government's direct control, but rather to ensure institutional autonomy and accountability. To promote internationalization in higher education, the IOs define the role of government as an *effective facilitator* (OECD, 2010; World Bank, 1998).

In response, Korean political leaders exert a strong leadership in carrying out comprehensive reform strategies in higher education. Document data show that the Korean government encourages the atmosphere of higher education reform especially around 2000. Korean political leaders also sympathize with the reduced government role in accelerating higher education reform policies. Accordingly, YS Kim proclaims a reduced government intervention in the new educational vision of country at his official speech (Kim, Y. S., 1995a). The KEDI reports emphasize the role of national government as a *strategic coordinator*, not a direct controller for higher education policy reform (1998a, 1998b, 1999). A funding mechanism helps the Korean government retain a strong leadership, while resulting in controversial discussions on the evaluation method for funding distribution (Moon & Kim, 2001).

5.1.4. Reform Direction

IOs advise countries to carry out *comprehensive, coherent, iterative and long-term* (World Bank, 1994, 2002; OECD, 2008) reform plans for higher education. To implement this "full-scaled" policy reform successfully, IOs suggest *an incremental way* and a *consensus building* (World Bank, 2002; OECD, 2008) which might act as a buffer for internal conflicts. IOs also recommend countries to pursue *best-practice*, and *incentive-driven/performance-based/market-oriented* methods (World Bank, 1994, 2002; OECD,

2008), the so-called *neoliberal mechanism* for effective policy implementation. Specifically for Korean higher education, the OECD (2005a, 2007) distinctly advises a national government to set up strong competition, deregulation, transparency, and regulatory framework.

Along with these IOs' recommendations and basic directions, Korean policy documents show that the Korean government carried out "comprehensive" policy reforms over four administrations. Each administration called for nation-wide policy reforms in higher education, each with new slogans - *new education* (YS), *education country* (DJ), *HR power country* (Roh), and *human talent power nation* (MB). The YS administration strived to publicize the imperative needs of higher education reform through a mass media public campaign and an exhibition, stressing public awareness. The president YS Kim repeated *all citizens' consciousness* in his official speeches to make education reform known widely and to encourage its successful implementation. In the DJ and Roh administrations included various educational stakeholders for national policy committees and thus enhanced a democratic policy-making process. *Transparency* became an important pillar of higher education reform.

According to Korean policy document data, it is clear that the Korean government launched a nation-wide funding project (BK21) for higher education research development in the DJ administration. This project is led by market-principles, *performance-, competition-based* and *incentive-driven*. The subsequent two (Roh and MB) administrations initiated similar funding programs (BK21II, NURI, LINK, WCC, and EXCEL). These funding projects demonstrate that Korea performed a "comprehensive and long-term" policy reform for her higher education by using a coherent market-principled method. KEDI (1998b, 2002) once reported to the IOs that the Korean government must perform an *active commitment* in

implementing reform policies with passion and consistency but no political influence, highlighting fairness for a market competition.

5.1.5. Policy Priorities

IOs and the Korean government have common themes in policy priority for higher education reform. These priorities are *autonomy, research, internationalization, and employability* (labour/job-market link and manpower fostering, in other words).

IOs

IOs identify **autonomy** as crucial for country's higher education reform policies. Autonomy here refers to an autonomous institutional management paired with accountability. UNESCO emphasizes an idea on the need of increasing autonomy as "a necessary requirement for fulfilling institutional missions through quality, relevance, efficiency, transparency and social responsibility" (World Conference on Higher Education, 2009).

IOs highlight **research** excellence by the efforts of quality improvement, R&D link with industry and foreign institutions. Research enhancement is consistently mentioned on IOs documents in terms of *national innovation* (WB, OECD) and *country's development* (WB, UNESCO). The World Bank encourages research capacity in particular for *basic and applied, science-technology, leading-edge fields* which bring economic benefits to countries in a knowledge-based economy. The Bank projected the World Class University (WCU) initiative, stressing research in basic science and technology. UNESCO emphasizes developing countries' research capacity for countries' competitiveness due to the importance of knowledge created through higher education (UNESCO, n. d., 1998, 2003, 2005, 2009). The OECD highlights the words - *a globally competitive research base, strong public research, and an effective university-industry link* for research capacity enhancement (OECD, 2008, 2010).

Internationalization³⁹ in education is an emerging topic to IOs. WTO is well aware of a tardy process of cross-border activities in education due to an educational sensitivity as a public nature. The OECD calls for a country's policy framework for internationalization, concerning the imbalance of supply – demand and the absence of system support (quality assurance and accreditation). Just the same, UNESCO promotes international cooperation, complementarity, assurance and an accreditation system.

Labour market is a significant focus of IOs' higher education strategies. The World Bank suggests that countries to consider both domestic and international labour market when making higher education reform policy. The OECD stresses a strong tie between labour market and higher education policy, considering the employability of higher education graduates (Grubb, Sweet, Gallagher, & Tuomi, 2006; OECD, 2008, 2009). In discussing Korean higher education, the OECD pointed out that there had been a mismatch between a job market and qualified human capitals produced from higher education (2007).

KOREA

The Korean government, too, regards above four themes as core tasks for higher education reform policies. The word ***autonomy*** consistently appeared on all year reports of four administrations and in political leaders' official speeches to emphasize institutional competitiveness in a narrow sense and overall higher education restructuring in a broad sense. In Korea, *diversification*⁴⁰ and *specialization* became an important topic under the theme of autonomy. In addition, *accountability* had been addressed along with the discourse on autonomy.

³⁹Cross-border activities in general

⁴⁰Diversification here should be understood differently from what IOs signify. See the next section for the details.

Research capacity is developed for institutional accountability at the beginning of the reform period in Korea, but later evolved as an axis of nation-wide funding projects, industrial cooperation, internationalization and high-calibre manpower strategies. Under the theme of **internationalization**, Korean policy document discourses encourage cross-border educational activities in higher education. The notion of internationalization here embraces a national response to trade liberalization during the YS and DJ administrations, international competitiveness of universities (training and research), global leadership and HR plan for the Roh administration.

Similar to IOs' efforts, the Korean government considers a more robust **job market** as an important goal for higher education reform policy. Subsequently, a job market became a holistic political agenda in the policy discourse with *human resource development* in the DJ and Roh administrations, *high-skill/high-calibre manpower* in the YS and DJ administrations, *manpower* in the Roh and MB administrations, and *human talent* for the YS, Roh, and MB administrations. When the domestic job market grew unstable due to national economic downturns in 1998 and 2008 respectively, a job market became a hot button issue for higher education policies in Korea and this issue was well reflected in policy discourse.

Table 9. Agreed themes between IOs and Korea

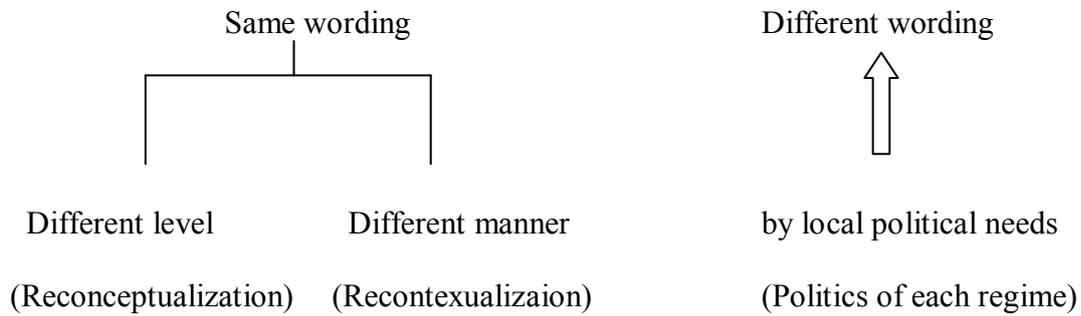
HE in a new policy environment	Higher education in and for the new time, knowledge economy and globalization
The rationale of reform	To foster human capital (HC) or human resources (HR) for global competitiveness (of individuals and a country) in a knowledge economy
Government role	supervisory role, to provide a legislative, political, financial framework and a regulatory environment,
Reform direction	new vision, consensus-based, comprehensive, long-term, coherent, science technology-concerning, market-oriented(incentive-driven, competition-based, best-practice encouraged) and with social and economic objectives of country
Policy advice and core task	Autonomy& accountability (deregulation, regulatory framework, transparency) Research development, internationalization, employability in a new labour/job market (manpower, human talent/capital/resources)

5.2. Ideological Divergence

5.2.1. Unique Development of Supranational Consensus at the Local Level

In spite of a number of agreed-upon themes on macro-perspective reform schemes, the Korean government adapted different ideas from IOs' suggestions for some parts of higher education reform. In my research data, this localization was shown in two ways, 1) different meanings in same word (semantic divergence) and 2) different ideas due to differing primary political interests.

Figure 3. Localization of IOs’ discourse



Different meanings of the same word (Reconceptualization and Recontextualization)

The presence of different meanings in same word refers to linguistic divergence, which can be explained in two ways: text use a) at different levels and b) in different manners.

Some of IOs’ specific texts regarding higher education reform are adapted to Korean policy documents, but at different levels (see Table10 below). For example, both IOs and the Korean government considered *quality improvement* in higher education reform, but their focal points are different: IOs dealt with the phrase, *quality improvement* specifically for the improvement of educational contents, emphasizing systematic support such as assurance and accreditation system while Korea approaches the same word for institutional competitiveness through research and teaching excellence. That is to say, IOs strives to establish a practical base (system) while Korea uses the same word to encompass overall development of higher education system in Korea.

Table 10. Same language use at different levels (Reconceptualization)

	IOs	Korea
Quality improvement	the improvement of educational contents (conceptualization, evaluation, assurance)	institutional development in general (teaching/education and research)
	Focused on a practical base (system)	Broad concept
Job market-concerning education	To foster human capital suitable for a new job market condition (global scaled, high-tech industry)	To foster human resources suitable for a job market condition (<u>being competitive</u> for global competition and a knowledge-based industry) To connect university graduates <u>directly to a job market</u> (more practical approach)
	More focused on a new job market environment (broad)	More focused on nurturing human resources for a new job market (more practical)

Meanwhile, some words shown on documents of both (IOs and Korea) indicate disparate concepts (see Table11). For instance, *diversification* in IOs' documents stand for the diversified paths of financial source (expansion to the private sector). But the same term in Korean policy documents meant various academic programs at an institutional level.

This linguistic divergence provokes fundamental inquiry of why supranational ideas became transformed in local practice. I would argue that this localization of global discourse signifies that domestic political needs affect reform policy formulation.

Table 11. Same word in different manners (Recontextualization)

	IOs	Korea
diversification	Diversified ways for financial source	Diversified academic programs
academy-industry link	For funding mainly	For joint research project and employability
Internationaliz(s)ation/ international cooperation	Institutional cooperation beyond national boundary Cross-cultural understanding	Response to cross-national/cross-border activities, Cooperation with IOs, International aid
Social issue-concerning	Equity (educational access)	Equality (consideration for income difference)

This finding suggests that not all IOs’ policy discourses are adopted wholesale as local reform policies. Rather, the Korea government adopted policy texts that are symbolic for neoliberal reform, but localized the use of those words for its own practical purpose. Even though the Korean government borrowed policy language from IOs, in other words, local reform demands re-contextualizing the meaning of those words.

Different ideas based upon differing primary interests

Another ideological divergence is to produce different wording. Some policy priorities appeared in Korean policy documents that did not directly appear in IOs documents. The themes such as *national economic crisis, regional development, transparency⁴¹, participation,*

⁴¹Transparency is understood as one way to consolidate autonomy for institutional management in IOs documents. But transparency in Korean reform policies specifically refers to the exposing corruption of Korean higher education institutions.

and *world-leading* are shown only in Korean policy document. The presence of these words point to the Korean government's priorities for overall reform policy settings in the last 20 years emerging from local reform demands.

One account of such local demands is the fact that Korea had been sensitive to her national economic situation when making higher education reform policies. It is because Korea encountered two periods of economic downturn as a result of global financial crisis in 1997 and 2008. Social instability (e.g. income gap, lay-offs, youth unemployment, early retirement) caused by this economic fluctuation is also significant when considering educational reform. Other chronic issues at local level such as credentialism, regional imbalance, institutional governance, a mismatch between education and job are targeted for higher education reform policies within a neoliberal reform paradigm.

In addition, IOs adopt the discourse of *development* as a broad concept of growth of all kinds, while Korea narrows the scope of this term to national competitiveness in an economic setting. This difference manifest itself linguistically in the policy discourse: IOs' focus on *development* and the Korean government's focus on *competitiveness* emerged from each party's respective political goals for higher education reform.

Table 12. Different ideas upon differing interests

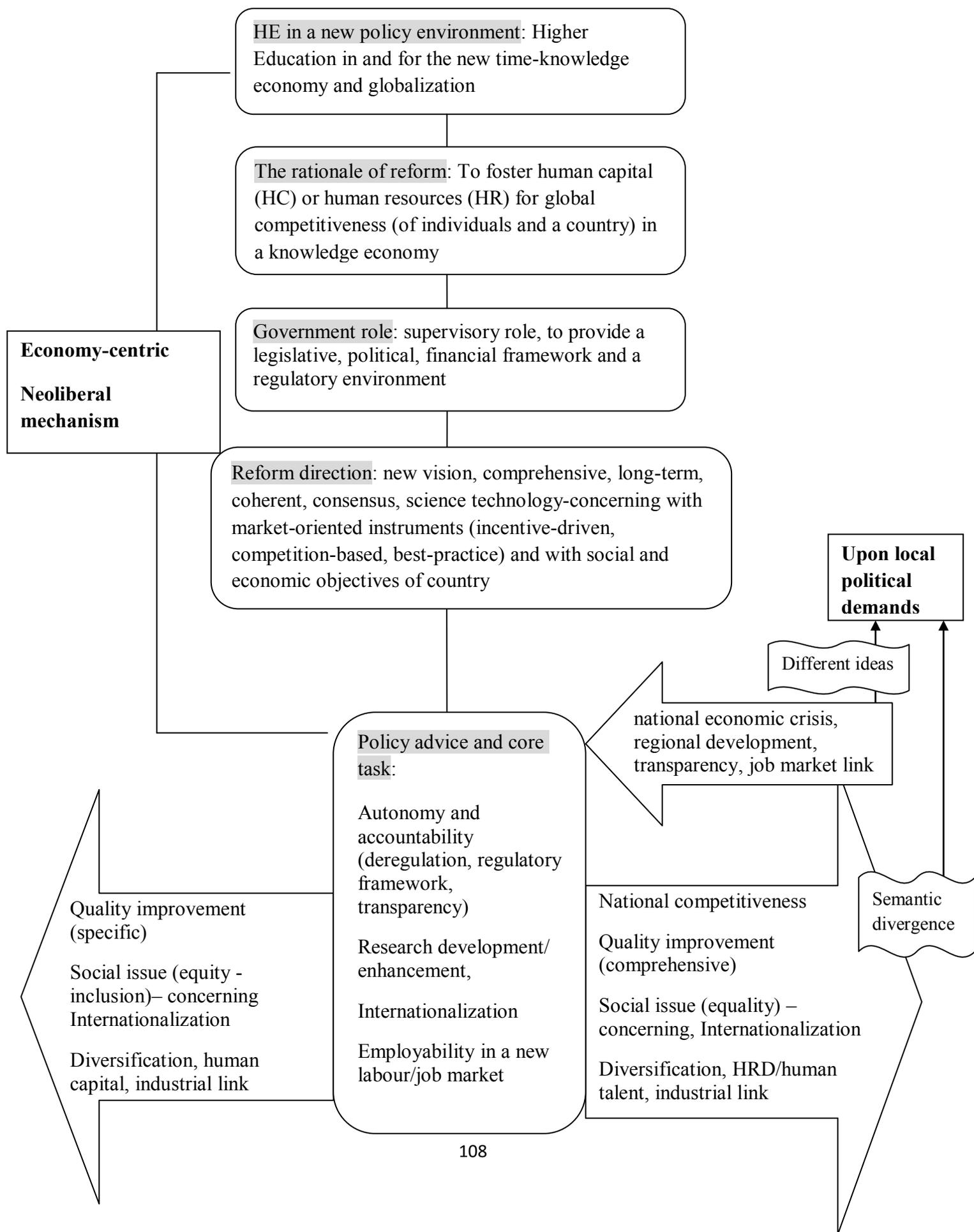
	IOs	Korea
Reform direction	Upon local needs and circumstances	national economic crisis, regional development, transparency, participation, world-leading
Policy advice and core task	National development	National competitiveness
	Broadly embraced	More economic perspective

These local variations in policy option reveal that the Korean government prioritizes certain policy agendas *beyond* IOs’ broader reform advices. What is more, specific reform tasks were linguistically highlighted depending upon each Korean regime’s particular political tendencies or imperatives. This will be discussed again in the later section 6.3. for a theoretical analysis.

I organized Figure 4 on ideological consensus and divergence to summarize what is shared and what is different from each other between IOs and Korea regarding to higher education reform. As shown in Figure 4., by and large both IOs and Korea agreed to the macro dimension of the higher education reform: the higher education role in a new policy environment, the rationale of reform, a government role, general reform directions, and policy priorities. Meanwhile, Korea had different ideas from IOs’ policy recommendations for her reform policies. This ideological divergence appeared as 1) a semantic divergence – reconceptualization and recontextualization and 2) an ideational divergence developed by local demands. I define this textual divergence as the localization of global discourse. In the following chapter, I analyzed this localization process within my theoretical/methodological frameworks.

Figure 4. Ideological consensus and divergence

Ideological consensus and divergence



VI. Data analysis II: Theoretical analysis

6.1. In the Eye of Critical Discourse Analysis

Examination of both sides' documents reveals that IOs and Korea share core ideas on higher education reform. After a thematic comparison, I moved to the enquiry of idea sharing process with a discourse analysis. To understand discourse analysis and its research technique, I have an initial help from Jorgensen & Phillips (2002). Synthesizing various CDA approaches, Jorgensen & Phillips (2002) note that identified common features of CDA are linguistic, dialectical (constitutes and constituted), empirical (textual analysis), ideological (contribute to a social order by power relations), and critical. Accordingly, I comprehend that CDA analyzes texts for the discursive dimension of the social world, recognizing its production, reproduction and reflection role of the social order. In addition to an empirical study, the ideological analysis of language use helped investigate the critical dimension of policy discourse.

In the perspective of CDA, discourse is not only a "reflection," but also a "process" of social relation. About this nature of CDA, Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) claim that Discourse is a form of social practice which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices. As social practice, discourse is in a *dialectical* relationship with other social dimensions... In critical discourse analysis, language-as-discourse is *both* a form of action through which people can change the world *and* a form of action which is socially and historically situated and in a dialectical relationship with other aspects of the social. (pp. 61-62)

Because discourse in communication events creates a dialectical relationship, discourse in formal documents (e.g. data: speech transcripts, administrative reports and IOs' official documents which are already shaped by a social order) generates a new relation

between text creators and text readers and affects a social order through ideological reproduction. In other words, policy discourse reshapes social practice as documented texts are already shaped by the existing social order and reproduce a particular social power. Without a deeper microanalysis of social relations, I cannot specify exactly how social practices are reshaped except to say that Korean authorities have much latitude in interpretation of the documents, selection of IO initiatives, and the choosing different actions consequence for me to point out here that cultural reproduction is not simple transmission of international imperatives but rather a co-production of political and practical outcomes with national and local agency.

Here, I should make clear that discourse is not politically neutral; it is produced and consumed for the purpose of political dominance. Jaffer Sheyholislami (n. d.) articulates that language is ideologically driven and the aim of CDA is fundamentally “to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias.” Like my document data, discourse in official documentation can be seen as the crystal of what a discourse maker intends to deliver to audiences for a political purpose. Wodak and Ludwig (1999) also argue that discourse “always involves power and ideologies. No interaction exists where power relations do not prevail and where values and norms do not have a relevant role” (p. 12 as cited in Sheyholislami, n. d.). Therefore, I argue that politics is embedded in policy document discourse because discourse is made by people who ultimately seek for a political power, the control over others.

Van dijk (2001) defines (social) power as control, more precisely “to control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups” (p. 355). Of course, different types of power exist. As is widely known, there exists both coercive power through physical and military force and a non-coercive power through mental persuasion which relies upon knowledge, information,

authority, and etc. With regard to power in discourse, the latter is highlighted in his assumption on the with Gramsci's concept of hegemony.

Van dijk (1993) argues that there are two ways of power control: control of public discourse, and mind control. Once a powered social group exerts an exclusive control over public discourse (access to source information and control over text structure, topic choice and context), this dominant group seeks to use mind control to reproduce their political power. In explaining the ways that dominant power is engaged with mind control, Van dijk (1993) draws upon other CDA scholars' ideas, namely the attitude of discourse taker (trust on provided discourse), the lack of alternative conditions, the obligatory nature of situation as a result of author's intention (e.g. in education and job), and the lack of information. Of course, an ideological acceptance process is made through the context and text structures of discourse. In this sense, the control of public discourse and people's mind yields genuine political power that can dominate others. That is, a dominant social group controls public discourse through expertise, authority, and privileged access to information and can succeeds in gaining more power over others.

My data analysis is designed to uncover the presence of (unequal and power-led) power relations in policy discourse. Texts in policy documents and other official documentation are the outcomes of political negotiation process. For instance, a speech transcript, especially of presidential speech is the final refinement of political project. As for the political dimension of discourse, Jorgensen & Phillips (2002) pointed out that

Critical discourse analysis is „critical“ in the sense that it aims to reveal the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world, including those social relations that involve unequal relations of power. ... Critique aims to uncover the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of unequal power relations, with the overall

goal of harnessing the results of critical discourse analysis to the struggle for radical change. (p. 63)

Because IOs' core ideas and strategies on higher education reform are reflected in Korean policy documents, the specific narratives and texts on IOs' documents appear similar to those found in Korean reform policy documents. As a CDA researcher, I analyze document texts as the first step in investigating the discursive practice of political discourse. This micro-level analysis serves to withdraw the embedded politics via empirical text analysis, suggesting me a path toward broader social practice. To perform a micro-level discourse analysis, I first classify the linguistic feature of document data by text, grammatical element, and style.

6.1.1. Linguistic Feature: Lexicon, Grammar, Style

According to Fairclough (1992), linguistic analysis includes an analysis of text organization as well as an analysis of linguistics. This analysis shows how texts draw upon linguistic systems. I understand linguistic analysis in this extended sense to cover not only the traditional levels of analysis within linguistics (phonology, grammar up to the level of the sentence, and vocabulary and semantics), but also an analysis of the textual organization in the sentence, including intersentential cohesion and various aspects of the texts that have been investigated by discourse analysts and conversation analysts (including properties of dialogue, such as the organization of turn-taking).

Lexicon

Words are rudimentary elements in making up discourse content. As the basic component of document discourse, words are significantly associated with ideological permeation. Van Dijk (1995) sees lexicalization as "a major and well-known domain of ideological expression and persuasion" (p. 25). Accordingly, wording is decisive for the level

of social change that political power promotes. Consistency of specific text use in different documents signifies an idea sharing, while a new word choice or discontinuity of text use implies new issues or different ideation arising in policy discussion. As I am not a linguist, I do not want to segment each word too minutely (e.g. prefix, suffix, phonemic, and syllable) for my analysis. In my analysis, I mainly focus on that what is chosen for official document implies what is politically intended for a distribution to the public. Without phonological information, I may assume that my document discourse had contextual emphasis on specific words.

Regarding higher education reform, the most frequently explicit words in my document data are *knowledge/-based, globalization, national/economic/social development/competitiveness, human resources (-capital, manpower), quality, research, autonomy/deregulation, internationalization/cross-border education, job/labor-market (employability), diversification, specialization, capacity, and innovation*. These words came into view as identifying the important purpose and method for higher education reform in both IOs' documents and Korean policy documents.

Globalization and *knowledge economy*, for example, are significantly mentioned in IOs and Korean documents to highlight the broad-scaled social condition of higher education transformation. Subsequently, *responsive/response/respond, correspond, ready, prepare, meet*, are partnered with the words, *globalization* and *a knowledge economy* to explain the ultimate reason of higher education reform. Other words came along with verbs such as *foster/nurture, improve, enhance* and *link*.

globalization, knowledge/-based national/economic/social development/	+	responsive/response/respond, prepare, meet correspond, ready
competitiveness, human resources/ -capital, -manpower, quality, research, autonomy, industry, job/labour-market (employability) internationalization/cross-border, diversification, specialization, capacity, innovation, evaluation	+	foster, nurture, improve, enhance, link

This wording tells us that the two parties, the IOs and Korea, concur with the macro-themes on higher education reform, such as the policy environment, reform goal, and direction. Further, I figured out how much the IOs and Korea are ideologically similar in setting up higher education reform plans.

In the meantime, particular words such as *excellence/excellent, competition, evaluation, performance-based, best practice, incentive-driven, efficiency, accountability, consumer/student/customer-oriented, market-oriented, market-principle, supervisor* are often utilized as a reform policy mechanism in my collected document data. This wording preference reflects a specific ideology, neo-liberalism. Additionally, IOs and the Korean government express the will of neoliberal reform with words from an economic field such as *M&A, customized, cost, corporatization, and comparative advantage*. This interdiscursivity—borrowing words from other genres/fields – enables an ideological mixture that demonstrates an ideological conflict and political struggle. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) explain that

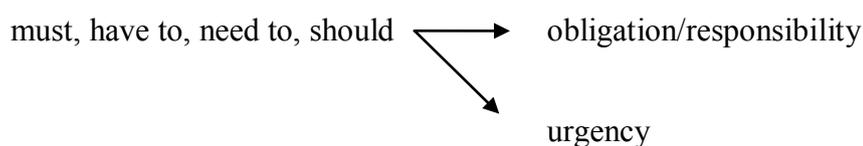
Interdiscursivity occurs when different discourses and genres are articulated in a communicative event... *Creative* discursive practices in which discourse types are combined in a new and complex ways... are both a sign of, and a driving force in, discursive and thereby socio-cultural change. On the other hand, discursive practices in which discourses are mixed in *conventional* ways are indications of... the stability of the dominant order of discourse and thereby the dominant social order. (p. 73)

By importing new genre language, the discourse in my document data indicates the evidence that text users are seeking for a cultural change in education. After the cultural change which brings economic importance in education, the consistent use of new genre language over years maintained a dominant power.

Jorgensen & Phillips (2002) also point out that “The order of discourse is the sum of all the genres and discourses which are in use within a specific social domain... orders of discourse are particularly open to change when discourses and genres from other orders of discourse are brought into play” (p. 72). This account helps me to understand the formation of discourse on neo-liberal higher education reform in my document data. The emergence of language from the economic field (e.g. market, competition-based, consumer, corporatization, M&A, incentive-driven) in IOs documents and Korean policy documents indicates that document language creators give the priority to the economic environment and neo-liberal way of reform. The frequency of relative words can be equivalent to the political dominance of discourse. That is to say, IOs and local policy makers can legitimize policy reform and its neo-liberal way by employing and exposing specific discourse on higher education reform - highlighting the necessity of policy change and introducing neo-liberal mechanism.

Grammatical elements: modality, passive form, tense

I perceive that my research data contain **modal verbs** significantly such as “should,” “have/need to,” and “must” to claim the necessity of higher education reform and the methods of policy implementation. In a general communication approach, these modal verbs grant a speaker an advisory position while imposing an obligatory task to an audience or receiver. The use of these verbs in official documents creates the urgency as well as the mood of obligation. At this point, I argue that this modality contributes to the creation of the context which discourse creators *wish* to have. These verbs sometimes add a vitality by using some adverbs that provoke an immediate action (e.g. urgently).



When IOs use these modal verbs in their official documents, readers are apt to construe document discourse (sentences) with a strong sense of responsibility. I provide some data extracts below as examples.

- (a) To meet the increasing need for creativity in a knowledge economy, Asian countries must reform the curricula and orientations of their educational systems (OECD, 2000a).
- (b) Governments need to develop a new role as supervisors, rather than directors, of higher education. They should concentrate on establishing the parameters within which...(World Bank, 2000).
- (c) The tertiary education⁴² sector should be restructured based on increased competition

⁴²In their written documents and website information, IOs (the World Bank and the OECD) uses the term „tertiary education“ in a broad sense that includes all post-secondary education such as colleges, technical training institutes, community colleges, nursing schools, research

between institutions, including those from abroad, to improve its quality. (OECD, 2005).

- (d) They (referring to developing countries here) need to enhance their high level training and research capacities massively and urgently, if they wish to avoid marginalization and exclusion. (UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education, 2003).

Source (d) even seems to warn readers by adding adverbs and an if-phrase. By using adverbs, “massively” and “urgently,” the main clause induces the comprehensive and immediate need of reform. In the subordinate clause, “if-” presumes what would happen to countries unless they follow IOs’ advices on the voluntary transformation of country’s higher education. This assumption associates audiences (state governments, higher education institutions or even public audiences) with the negative situation: they remain left behind in a global competition (both social and economic) when state governments refuse to board on the “neoliberal” reform train. In other words, UNESCO urges countries to enhance overall teaching and research quality of higher education, but local government would accept this appeal as an unavoidable task as long as they want to be integrated into a world society.

In Korean document data obligatory modal verbs are often shown as well. Through modality, the policy discourse in Korean documents takes for granted the need of higher education reform and even describes it as destiny in accordance with country’s strong ambition for a macro-national vision. See the textual evidence below, from the Korean documentation source.

- (e) We have to start globalization with education reform to take off for the core country of the 21 century world. Education reform is the epochal task that we have to undertake altogether (Kim, Y. S., The whole country educators’

laboratories, centers of excellence, distance learning centers, and many more” (World Bank, n.d.)

meeting, April 27, 1995).

To live at the core of the world, not at a periphery, we must carry out educational reform... (Lee, M., Inaugural speech by the new minister of education, August 8, 1997).

Reform policy must be implemented to enhance national strength as well as institutional competitiveness... Education should nurture human talents/resources for the knowledge-information society (Kim, D. J., The briefing meeting for the improvement of educational environment, July 20, 2001).

Education should also be renovated commensurate with these national goals (Roh, M. H., Inaugural speech on education, February 25, 2003).

Higher education must contribute to national competitiveness and the advancement of the Korean society by research capacity and industrial collaboration (Lee, M. B., Inaugural speech, February 25, 2008).

These modal verbs also play a role in encouraging a “neoliberal way” of higher education reform.

- (f) The Korean government must establish a competitive education system that is built on the principles of autonomy, responsibility, and productive competition by reorganizing current education system... Universities should move away from the uniform management of undergraduate programs, and they should implement customer (students)-oriented education programs and university management. (World Bank, The part of Developing Human Resources for KBE/S authored primarily by KEDI - Annual Bank Conference on Development – Thematic workshop on creating a knowledge-based economy, Road to a KBE: The case of Korea, June 2000).

Deviated from uniform and standardized system, education should be changed

for the system that ensures autonomy and excellence (Lee, M. B., Global HR Forum 2008 congratulatory message, November 5, 2008).

Autonomy of colleges and universities should be respected to the utmost (Lee, M. B., Radio address to the nation, February 23, 2009).

Modality shown in IOs" and Korean documents can be related to political aims. It is worth noting that the Korean government connects the necessity of higher education reform with a macro-scoped national plan; strengthening national competitiveness and finally becoming a center of world power. By expanding the range of meaning to a national macro vision, the Korean political leaders effectively justify the importance of reform.

Passive form is pervasive in IOs" documentation and Korean policy documents. The use of passive form in documents implies that action and object (by verb) are considered more important than actor (subject). In many sentences, government and higher education take the place of subject position, but they also serve as the targets of action, in effect. Frequent use of passive form and nominalization emphasizes the particular focus on the discourse of reform needs.

(g) The tertiary education sector should be restructured based on increased competition between institutions... (OECD, Executive summary from Country review of OECD economic surveys, 2005a).

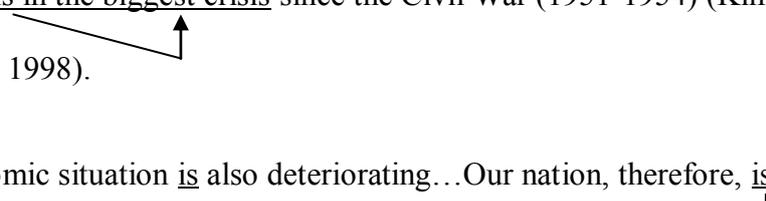
Reform policy must be implemented to enhance national strength as well as institutional competitiveness (Kim, D. J., The briefing meeting for the improvement of educational environment, July 20, 2001).

Education should also be renovated commensurate with these national goals (Roh, M. H. Inaugural speech, February 25, 2003).

...education should be changed for the system that ensures autonomy and excellence (Lee, M. B., Global HR Forum 2008 congratulatory message, November 5, 2008).

Many discourses in my document data are composed of either present tense or future tense. First, *present tense* is mainly used to display the current status of subject in my document data. As a result, the use of present tense generates a negative self-image by framing current status of subject as negative or in need of decisive transformation. I provide a sampling of texts below to show how Korean political leaders represent the current status of country's economy to Korean citizens with a negative self-image.

(h) Our nation's economy is in the biggest crisis since the Civil War (1951-1954) (Kim, D. J., Inaugural speech, 1998).



The international economic situation is also deteriorating...Our nation, therefore, is in urgent need of a new economic growth engine and viable development strategies (Roh, M. H., Inaugural speech, 2003).

IOs also strive to present negative elements of subject (mainly higher education or member countries). Regardless of authenticity of content, the subjects in the sentences below are depicted as negative.

(i) the sector is in crisis throughout the world...The crisis is most acute in the developing world...Higher education systems in developing countries are under great strain. They are chronically underfunded, but face escalating demand...As a partial consequence of noncreative Korean graduates, strategic partnerships among universities, private corporations, and research institutions are weak...(World Bank, Higher education: The lessons of experience, 1994).

To differing degrees, all Asian countries face a shortage of human capital needed for more knowledge-based economic development (OECD, Knowledge-based industries in Asia, 2000a).

The present tense also produces a discourse style that appears to be a confident and strong assertion. This assertion style is discussed in the next section, style.

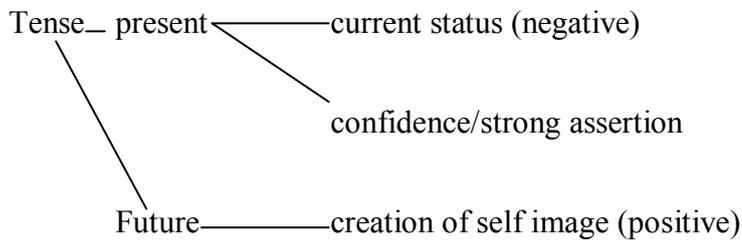
Future tense, on the other hand, produces a future self-image that would result from reform. My document data (except for the year plan reports) are records that are serve to record past events, but the document content itself mostly pertains to the future⁴³. By using future tense, document texts stress the reform necessity as well as the firm will to act. That is, IOs and the Korean government present the ideal goal of reform by using future tense, while implying what would happen with reform or in the absence of reform.

- (j) The new government will make an effort for our young generation to take a leading role of knowledge-information society.... As you know well, the 21 century will be the time of information and knowledge industry (Kim, D. J., Inaugural speech, 1998).
- (k) Without improved human capital, countries will inevitably fall behind and experience intellectual and economic marginalization and isolation. The result will be continuing, if not rising, poverty (World Bank, 2000, pp. 17-18).
- (l) Strengthening the capacity of tertiary education institutions ...will increase their contribution to poverty reduction through... (World Bank, Constructing knowledge societies: new challenges for tertiary education, 2002, p. xxxi).
- (m) Failure to address human capital needs through education and training will overshadow the future potential of the Asian countries to develop knowledge-based industries. (OECD, Knowledge-based industries in Asia, 2000)

Data (j) is an example of the government's strong will and solid belief about the necessity of reform. Yet, (k) – (m) suggest a negative picture in the form of an “unless- case,”

⁴³The Year Plan Reports by the Ministry of Education are not written in a full-sentence form, making a verb tense analysis difficult; however, the content of this report pertains to future plans.

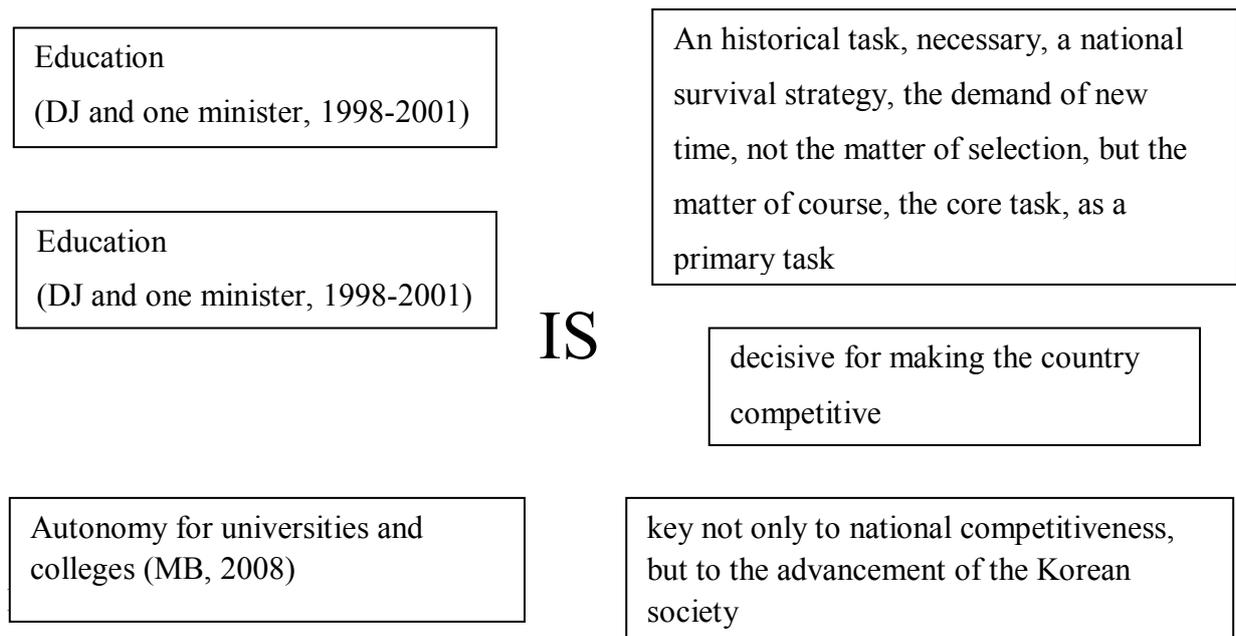
contributing to the sense of urgency for reform. These discourses present the future-oriented nature of these documents.



Style: formality and assertion

The documents I examined are written in ***formal and assertive*** tone as they are official records. Formality in official documents presupposes that the information has already been affirmed through an official procedure. This does not mean that the document content is absolute; however, formal document discourse conveys a certain level of public confidence and credibility. The discourse in official documents is carefully refined for a specific communicative aim, which conveys the abstract of the dominants’ idea (politically empowered minors) to the non-dominant public (the majority).

My data discourse from the IOs and Korea has an assertive tone throughout. This tone conveys a strong assertion or confidence. In addition to modal verbs of obligation, for example, the Korean government used *To-be verbs* in justifying the needs of higher education reform. By placing impact complement words (e.g. historical, core, primary, decisive) right after to-be verbs, the effect of assertion is strengthened to support the necessity of reform.



The assertive tone also emerges in the negative form as follows:

- (n) We chose education country. World top economy cannot be achieved without world top education... To have a global competitiveness, there is no other way, but with education. Education country is the one that decides the national luck of the 21st century... Education is the only way to survive. And to make world top education is to make world top economy (Lee, M. B. Inauguration speech, February 15, 2008).

By using *not* or *no*, a speaker stresses messages more strongly. If my document sources are informal, conversational, or interrogative, there could be more space for counterargument. This assertive tone is related to the strong authority granted by political capacity and not so it seems, an intention from dialogue, argumentation and reorientation's of political action.

6.1.2. Reproduction Procedure

How are these linguistic features formed in a discursive practice? What process is made in the documented texts? Other than lexical choice, syntax is crucial in the formation of discourse. The particular ways in which those words are presented gives readers the intuition

about how the word organization (syntax) can impact people's mentality and ideological representation. Because a discursive practice is the venue for both political ideology consumption and (re)production, I concentrate on finding the means of text feature incorporation in this section. This process truly contributes to conveying a dominant ideology in discourse. For an ideological distributor (a discourse maker at the same time), an ideological manipulation is viable in this way. I find three linguistic patterns of ideology transmission and reproduction in this section.

Repetition (spatial frequency)

First, above linguistic features are displayed through repetition. As described in earlier sections, particular words (the words in *I.I.I.*) are widely repeated in both sides' documents. I argue that this horizontal overlapping constitutes a contextual discourse about higher education reform. Namely, the appropriateness of reform in the new policy environment (what the document discourse flow creates as new) and its methodological application (neo-liberal) can obtain justification. As long as particular languages travel in an inter-national and supranational sphere, targeted audiences (e.g. state governments) or the general public have no choice, but to pay attention to what they encounter. Eventually, those repeatedly exposed linguistic features influence discourse takers. To get at the specificity of influences and changes in practice would require a different kind of study regarding practical micro-effects; however, shifts in syntax and meaning regarding the spatial frequency of language use hinders readers/audiences from considering other elements of a reform environment. In other words, a survey of restaurant menus cannot tell us what the customers specifically choose to eat, but it can tell us that if "fish" is not on the menu then fish will not be eaten. In the same, when policy makers provide politicians with a particular menu of reform it is important to know what is NOT considered an option as well as when they eventually do consider to do. That policy makers and politicians do certain things is event in

the outputs and outcomes registered in the policy document, telling me they did this or that, establishing the functionality of the action rather than then intention. Intentionality may be identified also in written documents when officials explain their action but without interviews or another appropriate methodology I cannot identify what any specific individual intended or did but I CAN identify conversations and outcomes between institutions with CDA. This assumption leads me understand how ideological manipulation in the name of “neoliberal” administration entails the wishes of the dominant power circulate in the political domain through discourse.

Here, I should point out that this repetition effect may also influence the order of importance as well. For example, Korean policy documents repeated some phrases, such as *to enhance national competitiveness* and *to prepare for knowledge information society* regarding to the reform needs within other linguistic features (grammar and style) mentioned earlier. Accordingly, other domestic policy issues such as demographic decline are de-emphasized as they are marginalized from major concerns at the beginning of reform discourse. For example, the discourse about university-student ratio appeared in Korean policy documents around 2000, but was still pre-empted by the discourse of knowledge economy and national competitiveness in the order of priority.

Coherence (Temporal frequency)

The second linguistic practice is a coherence of the discourse shown in both sides’ documents over time. This temporal coherence helps to impart the core values of reform principles over years. For instance, *knowledge-economy* and *globalization* are shown and considered as a major driving force of higher education reform in IOs’ and Korean policy discourse. *Autonomy*, *quality*, and *research* are discussed regarding the major issues of higher education reform over time. *Internationalization/cross-border activities* are developed from conceptualization to actualization.

Not too different from a spatial repetition effect, a temporal persistency promotes an “emphasizing” impact, enabling a public awareness of related topics and issues. That is to say, both a spatial and temporal repetition of linguistic features contributes to a discourse construction about higher education reform by stressing intended sets of discourse. I see that this discourse setting is politically intended to highlight a specific discourse on reform. In another respect, however, the continual presence of this discourse means that those issues are not solved in spite of long-term commitment. For example, *quality, autonomy, research development, industrial link and internationalization* are still part of the ongoing discourse in policy practice. Unless discourse makers stop discussing, these issues will be continually shown in reform policy-related documents.

Borrowing

The third practice of mentioned linguistic features is borrowing. I would say that borrowing does not occur as a two-way process, but in one way, from IOs to Korea. . Linguistic borrowing should be distinguished from ideology sharing. Linguistic borrowing presents a precondition of tacit consensus on ideology sharing. For example, *best practice* is the language that Korea adopted from the OECD, while *world class university* is from World Bank, and *internationalization*⁴⁴ is from UNESCO. As examined earlier in the section 6.1.1., the grammatical use and writing format also have a role in composing the contextual meaning of discourse. Because one of IOs’ central tasks is “policy advice,” it is not abnormal that IOs’ discourse style can be transferred to local governments. Discourses in IOs’ documents are ultimately open for local borrowing indeed. Consequently, a number of words and finally a dominant ideology of world politics move to local governments in the condition of idea sharing. This can be inferred that Korea draws substantive ideas about higher education

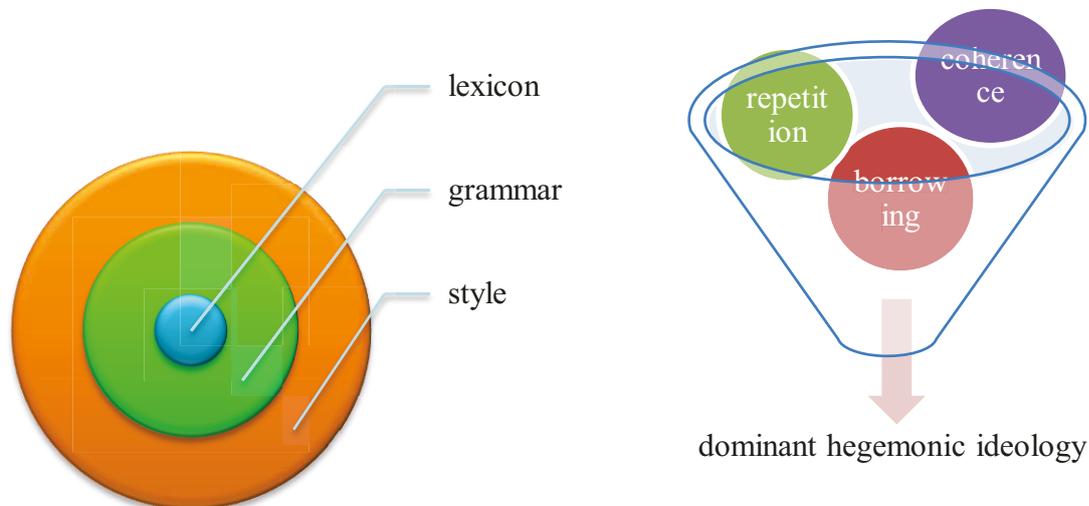
⁴⁴ Still, Korea stays with internationalization while UNESCO uses this term as cross-border education.

reform from IOs. Surely, this borrowing mechanism rests on the presumption that Korea agrees with these IOs on fundamentals of designated topics and issues. I explored this process in my literature review on the mechanism of policy change in section 2.3.1.

In a political dimension, this borrowing function is significantly related to power relations in world politics. I argue that this local consumption takes a role in enhancing IOs' political power in world politics. Bringing IOs' linguistic features and their implicit ideas into local policy documents permit IOs to wield supranational political power on local reform policies. This will be discussed more in the next section. On the other hand, this borrowing practice enables local political leaders to rationalize higher education reform by using external discourse when domestic political motivation is weak or strongly opposed. Thus, I claim that borrowing ideas from IOs provides the Korean government a basis for its reform reasoning.

Figure 5 below synthesizes the above explanations on text organization and its discursive practice. The figure on the left shows how the lexicon and syntax are configured/combined to construct the intended contextual meaning. The figure on the right presents the process of the left figure in a broad scope. Through horizontal and vertical repeating and one way borrowing, my document data discourse continually shares a specific ideology and contributes to ideological reproduction.

Figure 5. Text and discursive practice in CDA



6.2. Understanding Macro-politics by THM

6.2.1. Shared Ideology

These discourse sharing tools, linguistic features and a syntax organization prove ideological consensus between IOs and Korea. What is ideology? I understand the concept of ideology as “the overall abstract mental systems that organize... socially shared attitudes” (Van dijk, 1995, p. 18) so that ideologies “indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members” (p.19). Subsequently, ideologies are “not merely systems of ideas, but very specific basic frameworks of social cognition” (Van dijk 1995, p. 21). According to Van dijk (2006), ideologies “are expressed and generally reproduced in the social practices of their members, and more particularly acquired, confirmed, changed and perpetuated through discourse” (p. 115). Thus, the strategies of discourse formation enable discourse makers to exert an ideological control.

Regarding to the analysis of ideology, Van dijk (2006) points out that

Discourse is not always ideologically transparent, and discourse analysis does not always allow us to infer what people's ideological beliefs are...concept of ideology is non-deterministic: members do not necessarily and always express or enact the beliefs of the groups they identify with...This is strategically true in international negotiations and bargaining situations in which the suspension of explicit ideological statements may be relevant. (p. 124)

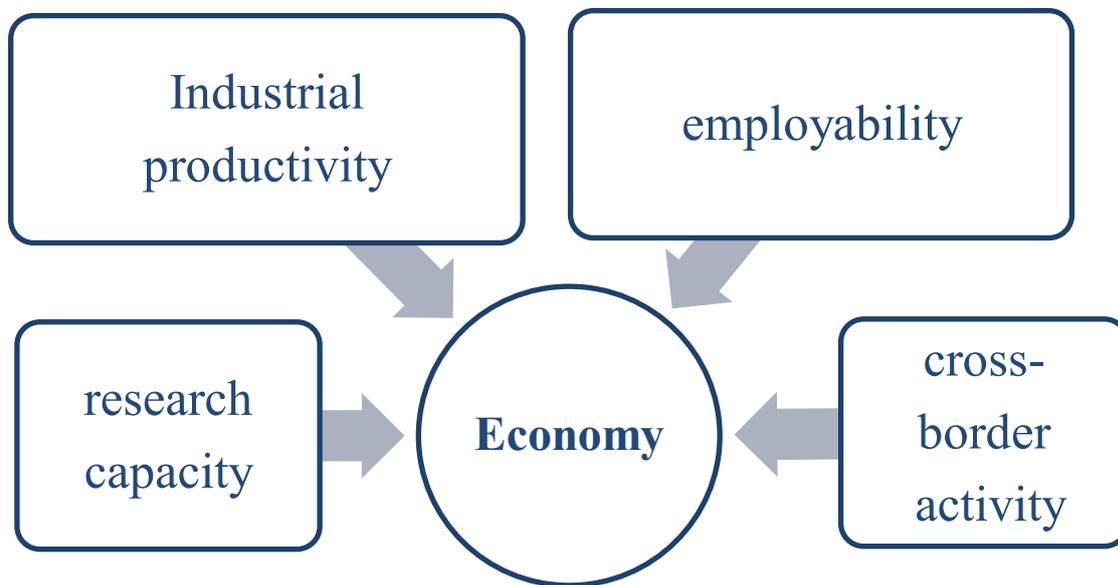
Thus, CDA researchers should devote their time and efforts to uncovering the underlying ideology in discourse because of the complexity and implicitness of discourse structure (structure here means the device of text exposure).

Then, what ideology is shared between IOs and Korea through document discourse? Briefly speaking, I identify one part as reform “rationale” and another part as reform “mechanism.” In other words, I argue that both IOs and the Korean government supported an “economy-centric” rationale and chose a “neoliberal” mechanism to carry out recent higher education policy reform.

Economy-centrism

A strong emphasis on the economy is entailed in the premise that IOs and Korea agree that a recent industrial transformation increased the importance of higher education. This presupposes that both prioritized the economic contribution of higher education. Subsequently, the economic condition of the 21st century - globalized knowledge economy - is considered as a breeding ground for potential policy reform. Concerning this policy environment, both IOs and Korea regard higher education as a key drive for economic development. Industrial productivity and employability from higher education are considered significant as well. IOs and the Korea government also encourage a research capacity with the links to industry and cross-border educational activities. This encouragement is fundamentally with the rationale that such reforms would lead to economic advantage.

Figure 6. Economy-centrism



Here are some text excerpts that support my assertion.

- (o) ...universities must become stronger and lead this nation's economic development. There is no other efficient ways... The government's firm belief lies on that the national economy goes well only when universities are good... (Kim, D. J., The luncheon with university deans and presidents: Preparing for the 21st century, May 18, 1998)
- (p) In a drastically changing society, education reform is the necessary task to be taken for the way to a powerful knowledge economy country... World top economy cannot be achieved without world top education. To have a global competitiveness, there is no other way, but with education... In this sense, education is the one that decides the national luck of the 21st century... And to make world top education is to make world top economy. (Kim, D. J., The improvement of educational environment briefing meeting: Education is decisive for the 21st century, July 20, 2001)

From (o), text readers would not have difficulty in seeing how strongly a Korean national leader links the role of higher education to economic development. By noticing a strong modality (*must*) and a chosen lexicon (*firm belief, only when*), I have a sense that the role of universities is significantly bonded to the national economy in Korean context. I have no phonetic data of (o), but it is not difficult to figure out the strength of the speaker's tone regarding the economic functions of higher education such as development, employability, and international competitiveness through knowledge production (research, technology innovation, etc.) in an identified industrial environment.

Similarly, a discourse in (p) implies that educational reform is closely connected to economic goals. Through not only the words (*necessary task, decides, national luck, etc.*), but also the way in which intended meanings are stressed through repetitive use of negation (*cannot, without, and no*), the discourse meaning – the views on higher education for a national economic vision – is strongly emphasized. *World top economy, world top education, global competitiveness* – basically reform goals – can be inferred as a political ambition of the regime (1998-2003) at that time.

(q) Amid a structural change is urgently needed in education to unravel educational problems, education should be at the forefront to solve national economic crisis and social structural problems by the roots (1998), University competitiveness for nurturing high-level man power... Education policy to overcome an economic crisis (1999), Enhancement of higher education competitiveness for the improvement of national competitiveness (2003), University education and research adaptability for industrial needs (2007), Advanced educational system to link education to job positions (Ministry of Education, Year Plan Report 1998-2007)

Administrative Year Plan Reports are also explicit in expressing the economy-centric ideology. The chosen text data (q) make it clear that higher education and its activity (*manpower, research and job link*) are associated with the national economy. The text discourse in the 1998 year plan report addresses local educational problems that could be a fundamental reason for and a top priority of education reform; however, the document discourse is likely to rank national economic problems (which is defined as a “crisis” here) ahead of a practical cause (educational problems). The structural problems of Korean society are deemed as another macro goal of Korean higher education⁴⁵. *For industrial needs* in the 2007 report manifests what the Korean government desires from higher education as a substantive outcome which is an economic contribution.

This notion about the economic contribution of higher education is not different from IOs“. As the WB, OECD, and WTO (though not UNESCO) are originally “economic” institutions, it may be natural that these IOs advocate for the economic function of education.

(r) Tertiary education policy is increasingly important on national agendas. The widespread recognition that tertiary education is a major driver of economic competitiveness in an increasingly knowledge-driven global economy has made high-quality tertiary education more important than ever before.

Main Policy directions: Strengthening ties with the labour market

- Coordinate labour market and education policies
- Improve data and analysis about graduate labour market outcomes
- Strengthen career services at secondary and tertiary educational levels

⁴⁵ Structural problems here possibly means the social influence which Korean higher education generates in Korean society in a negative way such as institutional or educational credentialism for employment, marriage or etc.

- Enhance provision with a labour market orientation

(Executive summary from Tertiary education for the knowledge society, OECD 2008)

With the statement (r), I argue that the reason for a change in higher education change (especially seeking for high-quality) is not practice-driven, but ideology-driven, which means the text discourse (r) reflects the OECD's ideology which views education based on economic goals. There is room for the further debate on some issues in (r), however. First, I question the term, "high-quality." Who measures the quality of higher education, and with what method? A ranking system that uses peer-review which values the best practice based on international comparison is the OECD's evaluation system. In other words, the OECD's evaluation method (which emphasizes "the better" by comparison) determines educational quality. Then, what kind of educational attainment brings "high-quality?" And who agrees with the OECD's concept of high-quality? If the conception of high-quality is decided by the OECD members, then this concept would be ideologically constrained or enabled (such as its prioritization of economic goals) and would not be universally acceptable because it represents a particular interest of specific people. So, the paragraph should be stated as "We/members agree that..." to appropriately specify interests and meaning.

Regarding the first sentence, "tertiary education... national agendas" describes the limited "fact" that might be collected ideas from the OECD's like-minded members). So, the assumption of "a wide recognition" on the importance of higher education in a knowledge-driven economy can be controversial, too. Is it truly widely recognized? If so, I would ask who distributes this idea to an international society. As my literature readings for a policy change mechanism (see 2.3.1. external dynamics) suggest, transnational actors committed ideational work on specific ideology diffusion. Of course, higher education can be important in a new economic environment, but nobody can assure that this environment needs the quality of higher education. Thus, I would say that a "wide recognition" for the importance of

“high-quality” education in a new economic environment is the OECD’s own political ideology, which prioritizes the economy over the concerns of other fields (e.g. social, educational, etc.). This is why the main policy directions in (s) indicate a tight connection between the labour market and higher education.

- (s) As the world economies are increasingly becoming knowledge-intensive, the importance of knowledge, skills, innovative ideas and scientific thinking becomes critical and it is only through higher education that high-quality human capital is developed. (UNESCO, UNESCO Handbook on Education Policy and Programming, 2011)

Even though the institution is not an economic organization, UNESCO connects higher education with a changing economic environment as seen in (s). The statement (s) accentuates the role of higher education which aims for nurturing human capital. Here, I notice the term, human capital which was fundamentally created in the discourse of economic field. Although UNESCO deals with a broad range of topics beyond education, the adoption of economic terms for education (interdiscursivity in the CDA) signifies that UNESCO is ideologically in line with other transnational economic institutions.

- (t) Youth employment rates should be boosted by upgrading tertiary education through stronger competition and closer links to enterprises to reduce mismatches... education should be upgraded to enhance the employability of young people and to promote human capital. Achieving these objectives requires reforms in the labour market, social welfare policies and the education system (OECD, Sustaining growth in Korea by reforming the labour market and improving the education system, OECD economic department working paper, 2009)

- (u) Education provides a rod instead of a fish. More human capital also means a bigger

economic pie, as it stimulates economic growth. (WTO, Annual report, 1998)

(s), (t) and (u) suggest the discourse on human capital which is also relevant to an economic concern, employment.

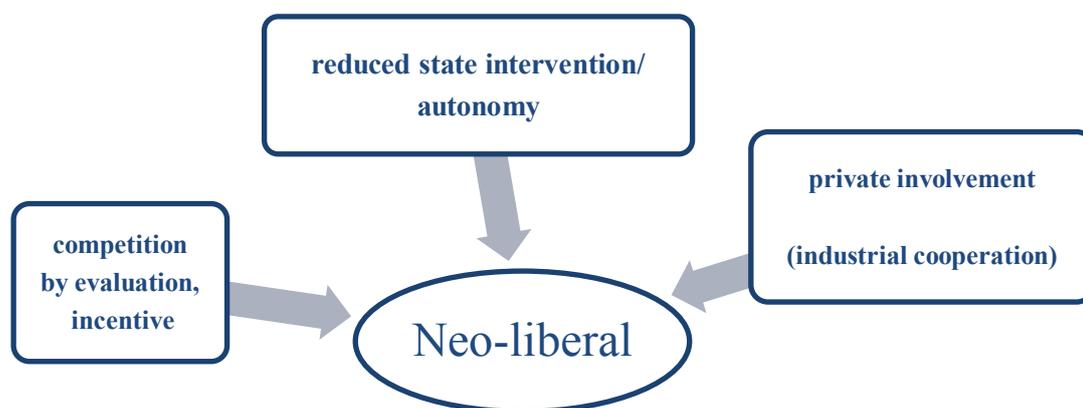
Suppose that IOs and Korea highlights another aspect instead of economic perspective in claiming the need of higher education reform. There are, of course, other potential motivations for higher education reform. Say, a cultural turbulence– e.g. multi cultural understanding or cultural conflict in our globalized daily lives rather than a new economic environment. In this framework, global mobility of people, knowledge, product or other social aspects would be illuminated. And the direction of higher education reform could be set for this policy change recognition. In this case, a neoliberal mechanism would not be adopted for educational policy reform. I do not mean that IOs and Korea ignored the cultural aspects of contemporary world. What I argue is both parties had prominently privileged the economic aspect of social change during their two-decade discourse in relation to higher education. This economic priority is driven by and for a political purpose. I will discuss about this political implication in the next section (6.2.2).

Neo-liberalism

In another dimension of the ideological consensus are “neo-liberal” principles which prevailed in IOs and Korea’s policy discourse. Prior to the discussion on neo-liberal principles, it is worth retracing what “neoliberal” refers to. David Harvey (2005) defines neo-liberalism as “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade” (p. 2). The neo-liberal state seeks “to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices” (p. 2). As a political-economic ideology, thus, neo-liberalism justifies economic and social policies of individual countries.

Neo-liberal education reform implies that policy makers prioritize the economic rationality, which is supported by particular political interests (Apple, 2000). In support of the market mechanism, policy makers seek the policy options of deregulation, privatization, liberalization, and cost-effectiveness. In my research, I argue that “neo-liberal” ideologies are deeply embedded in the justifications for higher education reform. The examination of neo-liberal reform discourse in my research largely covers the encouragement of “competition” through a rigorous evaluation, increasing “private involvement⁴⁶” in the public arena (source diversification and industrial cooperation in the education field) and “reduced state intervention” (versus enhanced autonomy). IOs and Korea favour these neo-liberal principles for implementing reform policies. As a distinguishable feature of reform discourse, I can claim that both IOs and Korea assume that a neoliberal mechanism will develop country’s higher education in a new policy environment.

Figure 7. Neo-liberal mechanism



⁴⁶What IOs call private involvement refers to financial source from private sector, but Korea adopted the idea of industrial link in research development and employability

(v) A review of country experience suggests four key directions for reform: 1) encouraging greater differentiation of institutions, including the development of private institutions, 2) providing incentives for public institutions to diversify sources of funding, including cost-sharing with students, and linking government funding closely to performance, 3) redefining the role of government in higher education, 4) introducing policies explicitly designed to give priority to quality and equity objectives. ...

Successful implementation of higher education reforms has been shown to depend on: (1) the establishment of a coherent policy framework; (2) greater reliance on incentives and market-oriented instruments to implement policies; and (3) increased management autonomy for public institutions. (World Bank, Higher education: the lessons of experience, 1994)

For easier understanding, I restate (v) that the World Bank's suggestions for reform are 1) program diversification, 2) source diversification, 3) government role change, and 4) quality and equity. Subsequently, the World Bank suggests that the decisive factors of "successful" implementation are 1) a coherent framework from the government, 2) market-oriented instruments, and 3) autonomy.

Although (v) only introduces the long detailed paragraphs of each subtitles, I can see that the World Bank documentation evidently entails the neo-liberal principles –competition, private involvement and reduced state intervention (autonomy) – I identify for my study. I presume that *competition* and *market-oriented instruments* in (v) refer to performance- and evaluation-based incentives. *Private involvement* may refer to the non-public financial resources welcomed whether they are from students or from other private funding contributors.

Corresponding to the policy directions above, the Korean government follows the policy directions of the World Bank faithfully by encouraging industrial funding sources for research collaboration with higher education institutions. Autonomy is related to institutional accountability and the reduced role of the state government in Korean context.

(w) Players, new and old, will thrive only in higher education systems that develop core qualities. These qualities include: • sufficient autonomy, with governments providing clear supervision, while avoiding day-to-day management; • explicit stratification, allowing institutions to play to their strengths and serve different needs, while competing for funding, faculty, and students; • cooperation as well as competition, whereby human and physical capital, as well as knowledge and ideas, can be profitably shared within the system, creating... and • increased openness, encouraging higher education institutions to develop knowledge- (and revenue-) sharing links with business and to deepen the dialogue with society that will lead to stronger democracy and more resilient nation states...

Practical solutions: The Task Force has identified a number of areas where immediate, practical action is needed. These include: *Reliance on positive incentives to promote change can be pivotal.* The extent to which projects rely on positive incentives rather than mandatory edicts to stimulate change has a great influence on outcomes, as institutions and actors tend to respond more readily to constructive stimuli... Well-designed competitive funds and incentives encourage better performance by tertiary education institutions and can be powerful vehicles for transformation and innovation (World Bank, Higher education in developing countries: Peril and promise, 2000)

From the first part of (w), readers can see what the World Bank means about quality. The World Bank identifies the term, quality with i) autonomy (presumably with a reduced government role), ii) stratification which means diversification in the Bank term, but indicates a hierarchy in my sense, iii) competition (not as the World Bank's conception of the contrast to cooperation, but rather as a positive stimulus for a better outcome) and iv) private engagement for revenue and research production.

Institutional autonomy, competition/performance-based quality enhancement, non-public field participation are neo-liberal conceptions and this ideology is publicly suggested to individual state governments through document discourse. As a financial aid, the World Bank's official discourse is strongly influential to their counterparts who are funding recipients and the Bank program adopters.

In the second paragraph in (w), *practical solution* seems to clarify the measurement of reform and this tool, I assert, is quite neo-liberal. The World Bank's practical solutions in the statement emphasize the "incentive" that stimulates institutional actions, which allows the government role as just supervisory rather than a direct controller of action. In response, the Korean government initiated an unprecedented funding program, the BK 21 project in 1999 to foster research-oriented graduate programs. Following this project, the Korean government consecutively ran other funding projects that promoted different aspects of educational issues, such as NURI for regional balance, WCU for the invitation of international scholar and research enhancement, LINC for industrial cooperation and ACE for teaching advancement and quality. All these programs are performance- and competition-based by evaluation for national government funding.

In Korean policy documents, I can find traces of the text from the above practical responses. In the Year Plan Reports of the Ministry of Education, *best practice, evaluation, world-class/world-leading, competition (by evaluation), efficiency (efficient management)*,

excellence, market-function-centered, performance-oriented, autonomy and accountability with *industry-academy research, M&A, merge, corporatization* are shown over time. This empirical observation represents that the Korean government has consistently employed neo-liberal principles for recent higher education reforms and adopted a neo-liberal ideology from the World Bank for reform practices.

(x) Youth employment rates should be boosted by upgrading tertiary education through stronger competition and closer links to enterprises to reduce mismatches... Active labour market policies should focus on policies to expand human capital rather than wage subsidies (abstract)... Improving the quality of tertiary education through competition and stronger links with firms (subtitle)... While universities have already launched initiatives to improve their connections with the labour market, greater competition between universities would reward those that are most successful in this regard... further liberalisation of university management would encourage them to better respond to the preferences of students and changes in the labour market. Moreover, it would promote diversity between universities and strengthen competition. Opening the university system to accredited foreign providers would also stimulate competition and upgrade the competitiveness of universities... In sum, greater competition would lead to a more efficient university sector, helping to reduce mismatch problems. (OECD, Sustaining growth in Korea by reforming the labour market and improving the education system, the OECD economic department working paper, 2009)

In terms of the quality of higher education, the OECD also exalts neo-liberal principles. Prior to the embedded neo-liberal principles, I considered what is meant by quality in the above OECD report? From the discourse on another page of the report –“The strong demand for education boosted the number of universities... However, the performance of

tertiary education is not as good as expected by stakeholders...In addition, the large net outflow of students raises questions about quality” (p. 22), I understand that institutional “performance” is the conception of quality in this report. It might be reasonable to think that quality in (x) indicates a substantive match between university graduates and job positions, and the youth employment rate in the OECD ideation. What is “good” in the brought sentence means the high rate of job finding after university graduation.

In (x), “(greater) competition,” which is a market mechanism favoured by the liberal economy, is repeatedly stressed as a way to improve the quality of higher education. The notion of competition expands the justification for trade liberalization, too. In “Moreover, it would promote diversity ...and strengthen competition...would also stimulate competition and upgrade the competitiveness of universities...,” the OECD rhetoric espouses educational trade liberalization by and for inter-national competition. The OECD encourages Korean higher education to work closely with industry to improve an institutional quality. For example, the OECD states that “Stronger links with firms” leads to academy-industry joint research which means *private involvement* in the Korean context, as it draws financial resources from firms. This can be an economic-oriented ideology as well because of the preference for meeting industrial needs rather than educational needs. With this observation of the discourse, I claim that the OECD offers a neo-liberal mechanism for Korean higher education.

Corresponding to this OECD discourse on neo-liberal mechanisms, one Korean document discourse provides more evidence: “This (reform) requires a greater focus of policy makers on ensuring independence, competition, excellence, entrepreneurial spirit and flexibility in universities” (Ministerial Report on the OECD innovation strategy, 2010, p. 4). This extracted text addresses the basic elements of neo-liberalism for higher education reform.

I find the major discourse of Korean political leaders compatible with these OECD neo-liberal principles, as shown below in (y):

(y) Educators! In the information and knowledge era, the method and principle of education must be changed. Rejecting uniform education of rote learning, we have to diversified education which cultivates creativity... universities must be diversified and specialized. Corresponding to the demands of society and epoch, university size and curricular must be diversified and professionalized. Universities must have a competition in good faith with each other... The government regulation in education would be better kept reduced. By improving educational autonomy, we shall make local government's contributions big.

On the basis of university autonomy, diversification and specialization is being achieved quickly. (Kim, Y. S., The speech at the comprehensive briefing by education reform committee: Education reform is the survival strategy in infinite competition time, January 23, 1998)

In (y), YS claims the change of educational principle for the new time – diversification and specialization with institutional autonomy (deregulation of central government control) based on the principle of competition. These presidential addresses highlight a neo-liberal mechanism for higher education reform. Other national political leaders also clearly repeated neo-liberal principles for education in their presidential addresses as below. By peeking at the president's own philosophy from official remarks, I suggest that President Lee (2008-2013) strongly supports a practicality. This philosophy leads the economic concerns, driving overall national policy directions and incorporating neo-liberal principles in Korean higher education reform.

(z) I suggested the basic direction for education reform as the expansion of educational autonomy and the enhancement of accountability, the promotion of educational diversification and creativity, the build up for open educational system suitable for lifelong learning society, the change to the proper educational system for knowledge information society by the enhancement of educational quality and competitiveness. And the implementation must be performed with... competitiveness enhancement through autonomy and accountability in university education, the change to institutional competition from individual students“ competition by evaluation and support. (Kim, D. J., The improvement of educational environment briefing meeting: Education is decisive for the 21st century, July 20, 2001).

To nurture human talents suitable for knowledge-based society, innovative change in educational system is needed. Deviated from uniform and standardized system, education should be changed for the system that ensures autonomy and excellence. (Lee, M. B., Global HR Forum 2008 congratulatory message, November 5, 2008)

We must move from the age of ideology into the age of pragmatism. Pragmatism is a rational principle prevalent in the histories across the globe, and practical wisdom useful in charting our course through the tides of globalization. Pragmatism is Zeitgeist that unites man and nature, matter and mind, individuals and communities for a healthy and beautiful life...The direction of change is openness, autonomy and creativity...Corporations are the source of national wealth and the prime creator of jobs...

Our education system must be reformed... We must accept global standards and instill a spirit of self-discipline and a fresh breath of creativity into the classrooms... Schools must be diversified and teachers must be armed with real skills and competitiveness... Autonomy for universities and colleges is key not only to national competitiveness but to the advancement of the Korean society. Universities and colleges must be able to enhance their education and research capabilities so that they can compete with other institutions of higher learning abroad. Indeed, they must rise to lead the forming of a knowledge-based society. I will increase the opportunities for quality education.

By examining the document discourse, it seems more convincing that IOs and Korea shared a specific ideology which was economy-centric and promoted neo-liberal mechanisms for higher education reform. As Van dijk (1995) states, "...among the many forms of reproduction and interaction, discourse plays a prominent role as the preferential site for the explicit, verbal formulation and the persuasive communication of ideological propositions" (p. 17), the document discourse of IOs and Korea has formed and developed an economic priority and neo-liberalism for higher education reform.

How is the shared ideology between IOs and Korea connected to social practice? A further investigation is required to understand the use of text within a social structure rather than a simple linguistic approach. I employed a linguistic approach, concentrating on textual analysis for the above micro level analysis, but a bigger lens is needed for a macro level analysis to illuminate the social process of discourse in a wider society and the dialectical relationship between discourse and social practice.

How is this ideological consensus interpreted as political in scrutinizing the document discourse of IOs and Korea on higher education reform? Briefly answering in summary these

questions, I would say that the ideological consensus between IOs and Korea is the outcome of individual interaction within the political dynamics in wider social relations, or what I will call “embedded politics.” The investigation into my documentary data reveals a political dynamic between IOs and Korea. Amongst many other facts (e.g. funding incentives), IOs exert their political influence on Korea through the expansion of their ideology: economy-centric ideation and neo-liberal mechanisms.

6.2. 2. Embedded Politics

Until now, I have examined *what* and *how* ideologies are shared through discourse between IOs and Korea? Now I ask *why* a specific ideology is shared between IOs and Korea? This question is the main focus of my research, particularly with regard to the political implications for recent higher education reform in Korea. For further investigation into ideological communication within a macro political-dynamic, I apply Transnational Historical Materialism (THM) in this second part of my theoretical analysis.

Regarding the need for interdisciplinary examination in discourse analysis, Jorgensen & Phillips (2002) explain the following:

For Fairclough, text analysis alone is not sufficient for discourse analysis, as it does not shed light on the links between texts and societal and cultural process and structures.

An interdisciplinary perspective is needed in which one combines textual and social analysis. The benefit derived from drawing on the macro-sociological tradition is that it takes into account that social practices are shaped by social structure and power relations and that people are often not aware of these process (p. 66)... Doing critical discourse analysis will, then, always involve the transdisciplinary integration of different theories within a multiperspectival research framework – linguistic theory and

analysis can never suffice to account for the non-discursive aspects of the phenomenon in question. (p. 86)

This theoretical integration is required for the keen analysis of my document data discourse from a macro-level perspective. Grounded in a non-state centrism, THM aims to investigate the dialectic relations between strategic politics of transnational class and capital accumulation (Overbeek, 2004a). Departing from the Marxist tradition of historical materialism, THM uses Gramsci's concepts (i.e., hegemony, historic bloc, organic intellectuals, and civil society) to map out contemporary capitalist transnational relations. Therefore, THM helps me not only explain the political dynamic between IOs and Korea, but also to present the ultimate reason for the particular way of policy reform in Korea. Further, THM allows me to grasp why IOs and Korea share specific ideology through formal discourse.

Political dynamics

The political dynamics in this section indicate the imbalanced power relations and internal politics of social actors. The political order of society cannot be ignored in the consideration of discourse analysis accordingly. In a critical position, society is unequal in terms of power distribution. "To be critical, one must fundamentally believe that social orders are constructed unevenly and unequally, and as such they inevitably involve exploitation" (Worth, 2011, p. 359).

Acknowledging the uneven feature of world politics, I note that the ideologies of each social group are not equally powered in macro (world) social relations. Even though each social group has its own ideology, the ideology of dominant political group can overwhelm those of other social groups and reproduce its existing political power. Therefore, a political

power dynamic that is imbalanced in transnational social relations influences the creation of ideological consensus among different social forces.

From a critical standpoint, I argue that IOs and Korea are unequally positioned in terms of power exercise and ideological interaction in world politics. Compared to other transnational social actors (e.g. states, MNCs, non-governmental organizations, etc.), IOs' political influence in transnational social relations is bigger because IOs exist as the collection of member states with a normative and regulative authority as well as an aggregate of transnational interests (as a transnational class). Meanwhile, Korea is a single important participant of transnational activities but less powerful than IOs in exerting its political power over others in wider social relations.

From the empirical examination of document discourse, I found that IOs construct a new role for higher education in a changing industrial environment (what IOs identify as a knowledge economy) and provide the specific directions for reform policy (neo-liberal discipline) in individual countries. Various discourse interactions within the document data seem to show that the Korean government accommodates IOs' neo-liberal policy advices on local policies. This commonality regarding specificity signifies that IOs problematize the role of higher education with regards to globalized⁴⁷ capitalist conditions and suggest their "own ideal" solutions to local governments, while a *local government* "has to" accept these ideational suggestions in the dynamics of transnational world politics to guarantee continued participation in IO activities.

⁴⁷ Globalization in THM is seen as the abstract level of commodification; "the process of transforming objects and activities into products and services that are sold on a market, thus into commodities" (Overbeek, 2005, pp. 42-43).

The following example of a sentence illustrates that the IOs“ exercise political power on a Korean policy document: “the OECD assessment team evaluated Korean education reform policy is bold and exclusive with a world-class vision (Korean Ministry of Education, 1997 Year Plan Report).” The implication of this text discourse is that the OECD evaluates Korea according to its own standards – or, it can be said by the standards consented to by member states – and the Korean government considers this external assessment as a crucial criterion for local higher education reform. IOs could enforce ideological consensus in individual states with the entitlement of “expertise” and “peer-reviewed (consented form of authority).”

This ideologically-oriented communication is explicitly conducted through official reports and networks, but it implicitly operates in apolitical dynamics between the reports and networks. No matter what *world-class vision* implies, one still has to ask whether this discourse mediates social groups with equal power? I suggest that this textual evidence indicates both a giver and receiver relationship with regard to reform evaluation and also implies and even demonstrates the patterning of an unequal social order.

This communicative action can be compared to other types of discourse that occur between professionals and ordinary people (e.g. between expert doctors and their patients or between teachers and students). The person with expert knowledge and greater access to relevant information will have a certain level of authority over the other. Authority is defined here as advice one can choose to ignore but having to accept the consequences. In this sense, IOs can’t force Korean officials to do their will and require willing participants in the process who have to share at least self-interest in doing so and implying that to do otherwise would be “irrational” given the cost benefit analysis of the agreeing parties. The essence of hegemony is the moral-political leadership of the ruling bloc (albeit this will most likely

backed by more forceful possibilities related to domination –for example, military, economic, or technological coercion).

IOs’ justification of the economic rationale and the neo-liberal mechanisms for recent higher education reforms cannot be ignored at the local level within an imbalanced power relation. The political process in this social relation is strategic so local governments can hardly avoid a particular type of policy reform. Indeed as described above, IOs’ political influence on local educational reform policy is accompanied by ideational persuasion and sometimes with material force (Jacoby, 2008; Parsons, 2007). In the case of Korea, the state government has accepted IOs’ neo-liberal suggestions since the mid 90s so that ideational persuasion and material force were simultaneously applied to a local policy-making conditions and makers.

However, these coercive factors should not be overemphasized at risk of ignoring the internal politics of IOs and Korea and the role of the discourse maker who shapes the content of the discourse. This assumption boils down to the nature of IOs and the domestic political dynamics of Korea. IOs, as I examined in an earlier chapter (2.3.1.), are composed of member states with unequal power. In a practical sense, politically powerful countries have occupied the largest share for important decisions with regard to IOs’ issues (Gill, 1991; 2003). For example, the US dominance in IOs is evident in their strong veto power (Henry et al., 2001; Rizvi & Lingard, 2006; Woods, 2000). UNESCO has more equally distributed power than other IOs (Mundy, 1999) in terms of the internal political power balance. As a sister agency, however, UNESCO cooperates with other Washington-consensus agencies in disseminating the dominant (neo-liberal) political ideology for higher education.

Assuming Gramsci’s account of organic intellectuals and transnational class in THM, I regard IOs as venues of ideological struggles among the political interests of transnational social groups. Even though individual states play a part in the creation of IOs’ discourse on

dealing issues, a dominant ideology is derived from the more powerful states which are importantly supported by transnational class. Gill (1991, 1994, 1995) argues that transnational elites forges a hegemonic ideology under the US world order. Thus, the policy advices given by the IOs to local governments are the essence of the dominant ideology which is formulated inside IOs. In this respect, IOs work is an ideological mediator. It can be said that a market-favouring ideology and neo-liberal governance stem from the internal political dynamics of IOs.

However, the ideology of IOs represents a *transnational class* rather than a single country. This is because a globalized capitalism allows the formation of transnational class through IOs (Robinson, 2005). Sklair (2001) identifies the transnational capitalist class as corporate executives, globalizing bureaucrats and politicians, globalizing professionals, and consumerist elites. “The ideological power of transnational capital must be viewed as exercised at a more collective level as *class* power” (Apeldoorn, 2004, p. 159). That is to say, a dominant transnational class transmits a dominant political ideology through IOs“ discussions and spreads this capitalist-favoured discourse to the transnational social world.

In the case of Korea, the internal politics of the state tend to support economic development foremost in policy making. A series of events – the OECD membership, the national economic crisis, and a global economic downturn –led Korean political leaders to focus on economy-related policy options for higher education due to the pressure of global competition. Arising social problems (e.g. unstable employment) became the excuse for neo-liberal higher education reform from a strong domestic corporate power. In addition, government behaviours – such as its historical intimate relationship with the US, other capitalist states and political participation in other transnational bodies (G20, World Economic Forum) – prove that the Korean government has been supported by economy favouring internal politics. This internal politics have led Korea to accommodate the ideology

of IOs for higher education reform more favourably. Therefore, I argue that the embedded politics in both IOs and Korea supported the ideological sharing process between them.

In sum, the ideological consensus between IOs and Korea is created in a broader social practice through the political dynamics of their transnational social relations. On the one hand, a political imbalance facilitates ideological sharing between them. That is, IOs' specific ideational circulation ensures the creation of a particular discourse on higher education reform. Due to this political imbalance between IOs and Korea, IOs have persuasive power in spreading neo-liberal higher education reform, while Korea subordinates to this dominant ideology. On the other hand, the internal politics in IOs and Korea are the important factor in ideological communication. The dominant power in internal politics grants legitimacy to economy-centric and neo-liberal ideology, and this power is exercised by a transnational capitalist class. Consequently, a neo-liberal discourse on higher education reform can be legitimized and reproduced within a macro-level social practice.

Hegemonic power

As I mentioned in an earlier chapter, discourse is socially structured and constructs a social order simultaneously. Thus, discourse reflects an unequal social order as well as the ideological dominance. This assumption indicates that politically dominant social groups disseminate ideology and subjugate others through discourse. When stretching this understanding to world politics, IOs serve as a dominant ideology provider while member states take the role of ideological receivers. In this sense, IOs are seen as a "norm diffuser" (Finnemore, 1993; Park, 2005) and the guard of the "political right" (Joshi & O'Dell, 2013) that serves neoliberal ideas with regards to higher education reform.

IOs

dominant ideology disseminator
practical advice with expertise knowledge/
peer-review (consented form of authority)

Korea

dominant ideology shaper and receiver
practical implementation

In order to disseminate norms and values to others, a dominant social group has to have the ability to control public discourse with access to expert information. Accordingly, a dominant social actor (i.e. the transnational capitalist class) should be able to define a situation, represent the mentality (e.g. goals, knowledge, and opinions), and sustain ongoing action for the control of public discourse. To influence public discourse, the dominant class creates and disseminates a group mentality, restricting the volume of information to the public. This is what IOs are capable of in world politics as organic intellectuals. Regarding to the role of organic intellectuals, Gramsci (1971) suggests the following: “organic intellectuals of the dominant social groups formulate and disseminate these intellectual and moral ideas, transforming them into „universal“ ones that bind subordinate groups into the existing social order (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 181-182 as cited in Overbeek, 2004b, p. 3)

Following the above connections, what kind of power was potentially exercised in the political dynamics of transnational social relations in recent Korean higher education reform? In modern societies, a dominant ruling class has military and economic power, but it also possesses the negotiating ability to subordinate a dominated class. In other words, the form of dominance is enacted by (ideological) persuasion rather than forcible power. Therefore, the power that IOs exert in world politics is non-coercive, which is what Gramsci (1971) calls *hegemonic power*.

Let's explore these relations in more detail. Hegemonic power, in a generic sense, refers to a mind (intellectual and cultural) control over others via knowledge, information, culture and public communication (Van dijk, 2001). This hegemonic power is fundamentally

based on consensus, but in the condition where a ruling class intends to disseminate the dominant ideology.

In developed and complex capitalist societies, the political power of the ruling class does not rest exclusively or primarily on the control of the coercive apparatus of the state, but is diffused and situated in the myriad of institutions and relationships in civil society. Ideological and moral elements play a crucial role in cementing the historic bloc and its hegemony in wider society (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 161, 168 as cited in Overbeek, 2004b, p. 3).

In Gramscian perspective, thus, I understand hegemony sharply “as the way in which a ruling group establishes and maintains its rule” and the “rule by consent, or the cultural and intellectual leadership achieved by a particular class, class fraction, stratum or social group, as part of a larger project of class rule or domination” (Robinson, 2005, p. 2).

Globalized capitalism provides a material basis of transnational class formation, which allows the transnationalization of hegemony (Robinson, 2005) Therefore, IOs, as organic intellectuals of the transnational dominant class, exert this hegemonic power over others through their communication methods: evaluation, monitoring, and the provision of projects or guidelines for member states and disseminate the hegemonic ideology to the subordinated social actors.

Neoliberal higher education reform is this hegemony project. Simultaneously, education reserves a space for counter-hegemonic action. As Gramsci (1971) noted, teaching and learning are central to both hegemony and counter-hegemony. Thus, education is not only an efficient venue for the transnational dominant class to transmit their hegemonic ideology, but also a powerful place for subaltern groups to create counter-hegemonic values and actions. For the latter, the Gramscian perspective highlights education for class

consciousness and social awareness, so a subaltern class “must understand the contextual political nature of their labour situations and be able to critically analyze them from a more distanced perspective” (Mayo, 2010, p. 26).

6.3. Not only Accompanying, but Competing (PSE and State Theory)

6.3.1. Duality of Local Politics

Questions: Did Korea adopt all reform policy agendas from IOs as they stood, and were all reform policy discourses identical between IOs and the Korean government? In short, although substantial parts of the reform ideas are shared between IOs and Korea within a macro-level political relationship, IOs and Korea have some different ideas about higher education reform. Let’s explore this ideological divergence in more detail starting with what observed in section 5.2. In that section, I found that some of IOs’ discourses (e.g. quality improvement, diversification and see more at Table 10 and 11) are re-conceptualized or re-contextualized in the Korean reform policies. Also, some new ideas are developed solely as local policies (see Table 12). I define this divergence as the localization of global discourse.

Why did this localization – semantic divergence and new ideas – occur in local policy discourse? In a practical sense, it is because that the global discourse formulated through macro-political dynamics does not fully satisfy the local needs. Some might simply think that a global discourse already received consent from local policy makers and would completely be ready-made for local practice. However, this is not the case: the global discourse is just a big picture as suggested by IOs intended for a local policy development in developing the details of the policies, programs, mechanisms and practices. Thus, macro-level agendas will necessarily go through a localization process, as there are always unique and critical concerns arising from local context. In other words, to emphasize, *there is a gap between the supranational-perspective policy schemes and the local demands for higher education reform.*

However, IOs already recognize this practical gap and encourage the adjustment of the global discourse for local contexts. Below are some of IOs' discourses for local priority.

There is no universal recipe or magic formula for "making" a world class university... Therefore, each country must choose, from among the various possible pathways, a strategy that plays to its strengths and resources. (Salmi, 2009,p. 12).

Strengthening science and technology research and development capacity in selected areas linked to country's priorities for the development of comparative advantages (Constructing knowledge societies: new challenges for tertiary education, World Bank, 2002).

Obviously, this strategy needs to adapt to country-specific circumstances, building upon natural advantages and acknowledging constraints. There is no ideal internationalisation strategy other than maximising the benefits of internationalisation in the national context. (OECD, Executive Summary from tertiary education for the knowledge society, 2008)

This practical gap allows *political space* for local governments (equivalently understood as state here). In setting up higher education reform plans, the Korean government sometimes accepted global discourse, and sometimes localized it – adjusting the global discourse or creating a new policy discourse for the benefit of the local context. I claim that this localization effort is an outgrowth of the dual politics of local government. This dual politics comes from the political interplay when a local government deals with external and internal forces simultaneously. That is, the gap between global discourse and local context is filled by the state politics, which leads reform policies toward a *localized* global discourse.

Before discussing the duality of politics, it is important to clarify the actor in this political interplay – the state. When it recognizes the demands of policy change, the state decides on a policy priority among various imperatives (whether external or local) as a supreme political authority. Subsequently, it is important to figure out the nature of the Korean government. In the literature review chapter, I identified a state with bureaucratic administrative authority as a political entity in a given geographical territory (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). The Weberian approach which defines the state as *modus operandi* – organization of the means of coercion and physical force – generally influenced Modern state theories such as Pluralism⁴⁸, Marxism⁴⁹, and Post-structuralism⁵⁰ (Hay & Lister, 2006).

To look at the nature of the state closely, I stay with the perspective from the political sociology of education, which claims that, on one hand, the state is a pact of domination achieved by ideological consensus while on the other hand it is a contested terrain of conflicting political interests (Arno et al., 1996, Torres, 1989). In a capitalistic society, the action of the state government represents the abstract of the dominant ideology, which is obtained from the class struggles in civil society as the state is “an actor in policy making terrain where public policy negotiated or fought over” (Torres, 1989, p. 86). Thus, the state’s policy choices are what a dominant social group wishes to dominate over others.

⁴⁸In the pluralist perspective, power is diffused and changing over time. Elitism is later derived from this state theory tradition.

⁴⁹Marxism sees state as a repressive form, instrument, and an ideal collection of ruling class and a factor of cohesion in a capitalist society (Hay, 2006).

⁵⁰Post-structuralism argues that there is no fixed reality so that meanings are contingent and constructed within discourses. State is defined depending on time and space (Lister & Marsh, 2006).

This state action is not static as it changes depending on the organizational features of the state politics, such as the political regime and bureaucracy. Torres (1996) accounts for this nature of state politics as follows:

Since capitalism did develop differentially in each country, the configuration of the State will sharply differ across countries... it is crucial to characterize the type of state, its historical traits and main features as a mode of political control and political organization, and the balance of power established in the society by the on-going confrontation between social and political forces, prior to undertaking an empirical analysis of educational policy making. Without such a historical and political background, it would be difficult to understand the particular rationale of resource assignment and the underlying motives for the creation (or elimination) of institutions, services, plans or policies (p. 369).

Jessop's idea on capitalist state (2002) also helped me understand Korean state in a current educational reform policy environment. Denying the simplest view of the state as an instrument of capital, Jessop's strategic-relational approach illustrates a dialectical view of the relationship between a state apparatus and a ruling class. According to Jessop, the state in capitalist society is a "dynamic and constantly unfolding system," but an "uneven playing field whose complex contours favours certain strategies over others" (Hay, 2006, p. 75). A comparison of four recent Korean regimes in my paper proposes to show the historically changing strategies of local politics that takes different goals towards each regime's own political needs.

In an earlier chapter (2.3.2), I presented the characteristics of contemporary Korean politics: democratization after long-term authoritarianism, the privilege of economic development in the national policy plan, a tight alliance with the US for military security and

economic growth, and a strong state *versus* weak civil society relationship. In Korean politics, these features still remain as the basis of country's political culture. As I indicated in a previous chapter (2.3.2.), Korean politics has maintained an oligarchic, patronage-based party system rather than a policy-driven system (Chung, 2001). Thus, the ideology of political leader and ruling party permeates Korean policy documents. This assumption follows from Van dijk (1995)'s idea below:

Ideologies are localized between societal structure and the structure of the minds of social members. They allow social actors to „translate“ their social properties (identity, goal, position, etc.) into the knowledge and beliefs that make up the concrete models of their everyday life experiences, that is, the mental representations of their actions and discourse. Indirectly (viz., through attitudes and knowledge), therefore, ideologies control how people plan and understand their social practices, and hence also the structures of text and talk. (p. 21).

To investigate the historical features of Korean politics with regard to recent neo-liberal higher education reforms, I conducted a comparative-historical analysis of the Korean state and examined a critical element of reform policy development: political orientation of the Korean regimes over the last two decades (1993-2012). Shin (2005a) points out that “the historical feature of Korean education reform was sensitively affected by the political characteristics and ruling keynotes of each regime” (p. 49). So to speak, each political regime differed in how it incorporated neo-liberal discourse on higher education reform and this policy variance stemmed from the political orientation of each regime. Accordingly, the direction of neo-liberal reforms for Korean higher education is not consistent as directed, but differed based upon political tendency of each regime as PSE and Jessop's state theory pointed out.

6.3.2. Local Politics and Policy Variance

In Table 13, I classify four Korean political regimes along with their political orientations. As the state government prioritizes its own political imperatives in shaping reform policies, this classification shows how the different political regimes create localized policies for higher education reform. By examining this political response to local needs, I show the local aspect of dual politics in certain periods. Further, this analysis provides a descriptive explanation about what the political regime favours or distant from the global discourse. Through the comparison of four regimes, I expect to uncover political rationales of the state (the Korean government) in relations to recent discourse on higher education reform.

Based on my document data, I exhibited the political bynames, political tendencies, and general (political) imperatives of each regime's administration in table 13. The bottom column ((b) and (c)) shows the prioritized discourse of each regime in relation to higher education policy making, marking the local superiority over global discourse.

Table13. Comparison of recent four political regimes

Presidential term	YS (1993.2 – 1998.2)	DJ (1998.2 – 2003.2)	Roh (2003.2 – 2008.2)	MB (2008.2 - 2013.2)
Byname	Civilian (<i>Mun-min</i>) government	People’s (<i>Kookmin-ui</i>) government	Participatory (<i>Chom-yeo</i>) government	Practice use (<i>Shil-yong</i>) government
Political base	Conservative	Democratic liberal	Democratic liberal + progressive	Conservative
Political imperatives in general governance (from Presidential speeches)	- New education for New Korea - Economic liberalization (corruption eradication, OECD join) Social stability	- New millennium - Economic crisis - Social integration (IMF restructuring: massive lay-offs, increasing unemployment)	- Social integration, - Regional balance - Economic deterioration (democratic and transparent governance and autonomy,)	- Economic revival with pragmatism, - Job creation - Country’s world-leading status
Prioritized policy discourse in higher education (which did not shown in other regimes)		(b) meritocracy, social integration, transparency, welfare		
	(c) Computerization	(c) HRD, world leading level research	(c) Participation and autonomy, Regional development, demographic decline, educational aid (ODA),	(c) Job link (higher education-job), human talent in science technology, admission officers

As shown in Table 13, each regime has bynames to represent the core values of its political vision. The civilian (*Mun-min*) government symbolizes the democratic achievement of the YS administration after a long-term military dictatorship in Korea. The people’s (*Kookmin-ui*) government stands for the political position of the DJ administration, which had long been protested for democratization and against authoritarian dictatorship in Korea. The participatory (*Chom-yeo*) government of the Roh administration indicates a further embracement of democratic participation for decision making. The practice(cal) use (*Shil-*

yong) government of the MB administration means that the regime pursues pragmatism in national governance. These bynames⁵¹ turn out policy makers' underlying political values with regard to reform policies.

For the political tendency of each regime, I dichotomized the YS and MB administrations as conservative and the DJ and Roh administrations as democratic liberal in the Korean context. I intentionally make this distinction for a simple comparison of the complex and dynamic political geography in Korea. Among the four regimes, the big difference between the conservatives and democratic liberals in recent Korean politics concerns public policy making with the ideology of the conservatives being pro-market economy and the ideology of democratic liberals being pro-distribution.

However, there is an internal diversity within this conservative and liberal distinction. In the conservatives, the MB administration focused on the economy more evidently than the YS administration in terms of national policy formation. In democratic liberals, the Roh administration's political orientation was more progressive than the DJ administration's so that the Roh administration considered social inclusion more than the DJ administration. This difference comes from the political supports of each regime, displaying each regime's dominant ideology which is the outcome of the political struggles among various social groups in shaping public policy.

Regardless of their political base, each regime shares a common issue as economic concerns were political imperatives. Thus, the national leaders of all four regimes commonly addressed economic stability or sustainability as the most urgent political tasks, such as *economic crisis and liberalization* (YS), *economic crisis* (DJ), *economic deterioration* (Roh),

⁵¹Each of four democratic regimes in Korea named themselves with distinctive expressions that represent their visions for national administration.

and *economic revival* (MB). As a capitalist state, this continual interest in the economy is a timely political response to both an exogenous factor, globalized economic change, and an internal factor, that is, the historical outcome that the Korean government has considered most important for national development. This continuity of economic concern suggests that the state of Korea is reconciled with the ideology of IOs which privileges neoliberal principles and economy perspectives in recent higher education policy reform.

To specify, the Korea state seeks a range of competing solutions to the development problem by using the neo-liberal discourse to implement a range of pragmatic solutions. While ensuring economic security, Korea developed social policies for local political needs. Indeed, Korea as a capitalist state cannot support solely economy, but seeks for the condition that brings capital accumulation as well as other social relations. Education is one concern of social relations that can contribute to the profit making through capital accumulation in a current global scale capitalist society. In this respect, students are considered as prospective workers (labourers) in an economic sense and citizens in social context. Thus, each national leader links higher education to national development. As shown in Table 13, the YS administration connected education to the construction of new Korean society based on new political (democracy) and economic (globalized neo-liberalism) ground. The DJ and Roh administration promoted higher education to solve facing social concerns (increasing unemployment, regional imbalance, and managerial corruption of educational institutions). The MB administration regarded higher education as a substantive job connector, highlighting a pragmatic solution for a job demand. This connection of education to national economic development permits the state of Korea to legitimize neo-liberal principles in the reform policy of local education.

Aside from the economic concerns, each regime presented their own political projects such as *new education for new Korea* in the YS administration, *new millennium* and *social*

integration in the DJ administration, *social integration* and *regional balance* in the Roh administration, and *job creation and to become a world-leading country* in the MB administration. Comparing these political projects, I might assert that the democratic liberal regimes paid more attention to domestic issues from the perspective of social equality than the conservative regimes. In contrast, the conservative regimes were focused on economic achievement and the external position of the country in world social relations. It is noticeable that the political tendency of each regime has a significant influence on the political imperatives related to general governance.

The prioritized policy discourse of each regime ((b) and (c)) signals the differences in each regime's political priority with regard to higher education policy. Based on their political interests during their terms, each regime developed a different policy discourse with (c) separately. The DJ and Roh administrations presented (b) in common because they had the same political base and governed over the consecutive terms.

The YS administration once focused on *computerization* in higher education to keep up with informatized societal change. At the beginning of his regime, the ex-president YS Kim identified the societal transition that Korea faced with two pillars, globalization and information society.

...Today, we witness the birth of new civilization. The sanctification of modernization has gone and information society and globalization are coming. In information society, information and knowledge are the main drivers of social development. Intellectual assets such as technology, information, knowledge and culture decide the quality individuals' lives as well as the power and the wealth of one country...education must be established to respond to information society...

(Kim, Y. S., The whole countries educators' meeting speech, 1995)

To respond to this new environment, the YS administration set up the national educational plan (5.31 plan) and the computerization of university library data became listed in the 1995 year plan as following: *to create educational base for information society: computerization of university library data*. That is to say, the call for computerization in higher education is linked to the emphasis on an information society. In the following regime, the DJ administration developed the discourse of informatization in higher education connecting to research excellence and cyber-university establishment as well as library database. Though, the discourse on computerization for higher education is not often shown in later regimes' policy discourse because 1) the technical support for computerization was implemented successfully and 2) *knowledge-information* or *knowledge-based* were more spotlighted in following regimes rather than *information* itself in the reform policy discourse for higher education.

The DJ administration focused on *human resource development* (HRD) policy and *world-leading level research* for the practical effectiveness of Korean higher education, though *this was balanced against other social concerns* such as meritocracy, productive welfare for low income families, and female students. To construct a meritocratic society through higher education, the DJ administration attempted to provide equitable access to higher education and increased financial resources for marginalized groups. The DJ administration's welfare policy at the beginning year was intended to benefit low-income students and the students from unemployed family created by a sudden financial crisis of the country (1998 year report). Subsequently, the DJ administration expanded student loan for low-income university students, permitting educational institutions to extend student leaves

of absence⁵² and even delay or divide payment of tuition fees. Regarding social inclusion in setting up HRD educational policy, the DJ administration increasingly extended its concerns to other marginalized groups such as females, the disabled, and distance populations (e.g. farmers, fisheries). Particularly, the DJ administration concerned females as a marginalized group in Korean society and included female student populations in their educational welfare policy by giving a priority for financial support to the students in engineering fields (i.e. mechanical and electric engineering, automotive and aeronautics studies). In the DJ administration's higher education reform policies, this co-existence of two different ideological concerns stemmed from the political compromise of the state politics regarding the political economic situation (under the IMF and World Bank's SAPs) and the political foundation of the ruling party. Therefore, the DJ administration implemented neo-liberal reforms including a new university admission system⁵³ while developing social inclusion agendas which are non-neoliberal reform policies.

Succeeded by a democratic liberal regime, the Roh administration highlighted domestic social issues the most among the four regimes. Like the previous regime, *meritocracy, social integration, transparency, and welfare* are the ground languages for higher education policy with regard to social inequality. Further, the Roh administration developed the policy discourse of *participation* to achieve fair and open society and *regional*

⁵²In 1998, many university students were not able to register for their schools because their parents suddenly became laid off or closed their business as a result of the financial crisis of the country. So, the government set up the special plans for those students.

⁵³In Korea, university admission has been always a "hot potato" among educational stakeholders. The DJ administration announced an innovative admission test system in 1998 (for 2002 admission), that gives more flexibility to students in choosing what they want to test for university entrance by breaking a uniformed standardized test rule.

development to resolve social inequality derived from institutional hierarchy. As a result, the Roh administration projected New University for Regional Innovation (NURI, 2004-2009), blending neo-liberal ideology (innovation, university-industry link, competition-based evaluation system) with domestic political ambition (regional balance for development). This significant attention to domestic social issues was due to the relatively stable economic situation in the country (completed the repayment of the IMF emergency loans) and the strong political support for the regime. During the regime, president Roh himself and his administration were ideologically supported by the political parties⁵⁴ which strongly pursue fairness and equality in Korean society.

However, the MB administration shifted its attention to economic concerns: job links and human talents in science and technology. Aiming for an *economic revival* with the ideal of pragmatism, the MB administration set up higher education policy to solve a realistic problem, job market condition. A job market was the most pressing issue to higher education policies for the MB regime. It is undeniable that the MB administration was confronted with the global financial crisis of 2008 and a deteriorated domestic job market. In terms of the national economic crisis, the situation is similar to when the DJ regime began its administrative term. However, the MB regime had a different blueprint, with more focus on job creation and human talent nurturing in science and technology– for this political imperative from the DJ administration which initiated the discourse of social integration and

⁵⁴New Millennium Liberal party and Open Woori party: NML was the party that the president Roh had been a member until he moved to OW party in 2003. OW party was created by politicians who moved from ruling, opposition, and other political parties and strongly called for political reform in Korea. The OW party advocated for clean politics, economy for both middle class and working class people, living together in warm-hearted society, and peaceful unification in the Korean peninsula.

welfare expansion. Additionally, the MB administration stressed science technology as a national strategy and expected a synergistic effect of education with Ministerial integration (Ministry of Education⁵⁵ + Ministry of Science and Technology). This policy priority on science and technology in education reform is in line with the YS administration⁵⁶. For an educational issue, the MB administration introduced the admission officer system for the multilateral approach of student selection.

Through this comparative observation of the four regimes, I find out that the political orientation of each regime is decisive for the policy outcomes, allowing a duality of local politics with regard to recent neo-liberal higher education reforms. For general policies, the YS administration promoted visible economic achievement (e.g., becoming a member of the OECD), while the MB administration was alert to the effects of economic recession. With regard to education, the YS administration addressed some social concerns, but those are limited to the level of equitable educational access. The MB administration addressed educational *equality* with financial aid for low-SES students because high tuition was a hot-button issue in the early years of the regime as a result of the economic recession. Therefore, conservative politics in Korea produced neo-liberal-friendly reform policies while consolidating their political ideology (which centered on economic achievement) through

⁵⁵It was named as the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development during 2001-2008 in Korea

⁵⁶The YS regime and the MB regime share many governing ideas in common, as they have the same political root. Two regimes' political backup is the Korean conservative –to consider economic development importantly and advocate for neo-liberal logic rather than welfare distribution in establishing national policies. Thus, the Korean conservative politics mainly benefit the middle class and business groups while strongly being against North Korea.

global (neo-liberal) discourse. However, the conservative-oriented regimes did not deal with social concerns as distinctively as the other, the democratically-oriented liberals.

Table 14. Global and local interplay in the conservative regimes

	World politics	Local politics
Policy environment	Market/Capitalist economy-driven industrial change (globalization, knowledge economy)	Economic prosperity, New education, Economic revival, job creation Response to the changing industrial environment and liberalization
Higher education	Neo-liberal HE reform needed	Neo-liberal HE reform needed and practiced
Reform issues	Equity (accessibility), New labour for the new economy	Equity, world-leading human talents, welfare (not a major concern), admission system change, (SAT, admission officer),
	Global discourse benefits local politics	

On the contrary, the liberal regimes were more apt than the conservative regimes to view social concerns as significant. In contrast to the conservatives, the DJ administration introduced equality concerns and the Roh administration placed these concerns ahead of economic perspective with regard to higher education reform. For this reason, the DJ and Roh administrations paid special attention to the goal of inclusive education such as (b) *meritocracy, social integration, transparency and welfare* for higher education reform policy discourse. In addition, the Roh administration, which was more progressive than the DJ administration, further developed social concerns with the concept of *regional development*.

Participation in the Roh administration indicates that this regime attempted or considered democratic involvement in educational governance. A greater concern with social equality in the Roh period was feasible because the Roh administration succeeded a political ruling from the DJ administration which created the groundwork for social inclusion in the reform policies. Consequently, the duality of local politics in the liberal regimes allowed the DJ and Roh administrations to meet the demands of local politics while offering compromise with regard to the external pressure of world politics (e.g. a positive response to educational liberalization and the accommodation of neo-liberal principles for higher education reform).

Table 15. Global and local interplay in the liberal regimes

	World politics	Local politics
Policy environment	Market/Capitalist economy-driven industrial change (globalization, knowledge economy)	New millennium, Social integration, regional balance, democratic governance Response to the national crisis and deterioration
Higher education	Neo-liberal HE reform needed	Neo-liberal HE reform practiced + HRD, regional development, participatory governance
Reform issues	Global discourse adopted, but local politics highlighted	

6.3.3. Ideological Conflict between Neo-liberalism vs. Local Politics

The DJ administration

While investigating my documents, I found that the liberal regimes struggled to find a balance between neoliberal principles and their own political ideologies of equality and welfare. Y.G. Lee (2001) argues that these dual facets – neo-liberal and non neo-liberal factors – co-existed in the DJ administration’s educational policy for secondary schools. I claim that these dual facets also existed in higher education. The reform policy discourse during the DJ administration suggests that this regime directed neo-liberal education reforms based on the economic contribution of higher education; however, the discourse in the 1998 (the first year of the term) MOE year plan report demonstrates that the DJ administration endeavoured to apply its own (democratic liberal) political philosophy to education policy making.

In all sections of the 1998 year report, neo-liberal principles and the concerns about social inequality co-existed, with the weight of importance balanced almost equally. For basic goals, the DJ administration had three different claims –*to nurture a man of decent, to lead knowledge information society, to unburden people’s pain*⁵⁷, which were concerned with a foundational education purpose, the industrial contribution of higher education and the social approach to education respectively. Among these three, the latter two are confronting as neo-liberal versus non neo-liberal. This confronting aspect appears in other parts of the report as well. For example, *autonomy, diversification, consumer-centered from supplier-centered* VS

⁵⁷*People’s pain* here refers to the tremendous amount of household expense for private education (approximately 10 billion US dollars annually in 1998 Korean statistics). Education fever for top-tier university entrance has generated this huge size of private education (cram schools, tutoring, publishing companies and all other educational services provided by private educators).

meritocracy for basic direction, *efficiency, evaluation* VS *accountability on national people*, *bottom-up* for policy implementation method exhibits the conflicting ideological structures in the reform policy of this liberal regime.

Table 16. Ideological confrontation found in the 1998 Year Plan Report

	Neo-liberal principle	Social concerns at the local level
Basic goals	to lead knowledge information society	to unburden people's pain
Basic direction	Autonomy, diversification, specialization education from uniform education Consumer-centered education from supplier-centered education Competitive and high quality education rather than quantitative expansion	Open lifelong education from inflexible school education Meritocracy from credentialism
Implementation method	Education reform which lifts up the accountability on national people and efficiency Education reform that accompanies with evaluation and support	Bottom-up education reform that teachers, parents, and local community participate in/involve with.
Diagnosis	Short of connections between vocational education and industrial fields in higher education	Education should be at the forefront to solve national economic crisis and social structural problems by the roots.
Core policy task	To diversify an admission system for specialization of universities To give a full autonomy for student quota Rigorous management of academic affairs to respond to educational liberalization	To reduce a learning burden for students
Major task	To nurture the excellent manpower equipped with an international competitiveness by promoting	

	<p>university's diversification and specialization and enhance a research capacity at a world leading level</p> <p>Autonomy and specialization: creative development by autonomy for institutional organization and academic affairs,</p> <p>To improve the appointment system of school president and professors</p> <p>Competitiveness by university restructuring: a positive preparation for a demographic decline, bold restructuring to respond to WTO liberalization system and financial crisis – merging, specialized graduate schools, fostering research-centered university and regional universities</p> <p>Accountability corresponding to autonomy: evaluation for national universities' management, financial audit for private school foundation</p>	
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This ideological conflict shows that the DJ administration was outwardly on the side of neo-liberal way of reform, while giving shape to the 5.31 ERP. B.H. Lee (2002) argues that

Education reforms by the People's government can be assessed as the one based on neo-liberal ideology...this regime rationalizes education as the most important factor to enhance national competitiveness and to become an advanced country while justifying the educational reform with globalization, informatization and knowledge-based economy. (p. 40)

D.H. Kim (2001) describes the DJ administration's political position on the neo-liberal educational policy reform as "half voluntary, half compelled" (p. 284). This double-

bind position was derived from the political location of that the Korean government was situated in at that time. In other words, Korea suffered from a sudden national crisis that necessitated the extensive neo-liberal restructuring in the social and economic sectors and in the historical national goal, which was to become an advanced economy within a new capitalist world order. Subsequently, the DJ administration tended toward implementation of neo-liberal reforms for another four years of its presidential term due to the exogenous economic pressure, which was difficult to resist in the period of IMF governance (N.H Kang, 2000; Shin, 2005a) and the local sense of crisis management within a context of surging global competition (Y.H. Lee, 2001).

Nevertheless, the DJ administration's higher education reform policy entailed two facets as Kang's (2004) claim that "recent Korean higher education reform plans generally appears as neo-liberal, but practical reform plans reflect socio-economic conditions as well as educational circumstances rather than simply accepting western neo-liberalism" (p. 53). Indeed, the discourse in the 1998 year plan report made clear that the DJ administration's political stance on the liberal ideology which considered social concerns to satisfy its political supporters, as Korean citizens expected democratic governance to be distinguished from country's authoritarian predecessors. Since the DJ administration's neo-liberal education reform was a reflection (i.e. a political outcome) of various social groups' ideologies (D.H. Kim, 2001), this regime's neo-liberal reform introduced new social concerns with regard to educational policy, revealing the mixture of the two aspects in the policy discourse.

The Roh administration

When looking at the policy discourse of the other liberal regime, the Roh administration, I find more visible conflict between two political ideologies – neo-liberalism

and welfarism. This dual theme is shown for the first time in the presidential inauguration speech shown as below.

Our nation, therefore, is in urgent need of a new economic growth engine and viable development strategies. At the same time, we are also encountering diverse social problems that may have a great impact on our destiny... We must cope with all these challenges. (Roh, M. H., Presidential inaugural speech, February 25, 2003)

In this speech, the president Roh touched not only on economic issue, but also on social issues so that economic and political reforms as well as social integration through the welfare policy were set for domestic goals.

I want to make the country a favourable place to do business and an attractive place in which to invest by reforming the markets and systems in a fair and transparent manner based on international standards. The first order of business is to reform politics... We should nurture a political climate in which the well-being of the people takes precedence over partisan interests. I hope to see the kind of political culture that solves problems through dialogue and compromise, not through confrontation and conflict...

For the future of the country, the centralisation and concentration in the Seoul metropolitan area can no longer be left unattended. Decentralisation of power to the provinces and balanced national development has become tasks that cannot be put off any longer. The central and the provincial parts of the country should be developed in a harmonious and balanced manner...

National integration is one of the most important tasks of our times. My new administration will take all possible measures to eliminate parochialism, including

personnel management without regional consideration. In order to narrow the gap between different income brackets, I will review improvement measures in terms of benefits in education and tax systems...

For this purpose, I will try to improve our welfare policy. I will eliminate all kinds of unreasonable discrimination... The time when privileges and violations of rules are tolerated must now come to an end. The preposterous climate in which justice is ignored and opportunism prevails must be cleaned up.

(Roh, M. H., Inaugural speech, February 25, 2003)

Taking over the DJ administration's policy keynotes, the Roh administration focused on educational welfare (education safety network) and higher education competitiveness (Chung, 2008). For the Roh administration, *Welfare* was the political rationale for wealth distribution (fair society) as well as social integration (regional balance). At the same time, the Roh administration connected higher education *competitiveness* to national competitiveness in a globalized capitalistic world order. The Roh administration itself recognized and described this ideological conflict as follows: "Conditions of education policy: come to the surface of ideological conflict represented as educational excellence and fairness" (Ministry of Education, Year Plan Report, 2004).

In the 2003 and 2004 year plan reports, *competitiveness* and *meritocracy* were the main competing pillars of higher education policy discourse. The policy implementation methods were also mixed in terms of the ideological grounds. For instance, the 2003 year plan report indicates/signifies that national competitiveness comes true with the strategies of two visions – fostering world-class universities and regional universities. For the former, the policy methods suggested neo-liberal principles, such as *performance-oriented* research

projects, *internationalization*, the enhancement of *evaluation*, and university restructuring through *M&A*, *closure*, and *merge*. However, industrial collaboration (industry-academy-research) is offered for the latter social concern (regional development) with a discourse of efficiency maximization in a *bottom-up* way and an *open* system: a democratic participatory approach that the regime highlighted as a political agenda. In short, the Roh administration had policy visions with an ideological conflicts and policy implementation was also partially encouraged by these conflicting ideas. This dual approach by the Roh administration shows the evidence that the regime's policy makers (bureaucrats, politicians, experts, etc.) instilled a progressive political ideology (democratic and transparent governance) into higher education policy making.

The 2005 year plan report consistently reveals the Roh administration's political ideology of welfarism in the vortex of neo-liberalism-directed policy discourse. *International competitiveness* and *educational welfare society* are sub-visions of the main policy agenda, *HR power country* in the 2005 year plan report. One of the three major policy visions, *education welfare society establishment* was the focus of the discourse on policy implementation as following:

Realization of education welfare society: to secure educational equality

4. *Expansion of social welfare for social integration,*
5. *Solution for educational marginalization and maladjustment,*
6. *Expansion of university welfare support.*

Most of the welfare discourses in the Roh administration's year plan reports are directed toward elementary and secondary education, but low-income university students and regional universities (universities outside of Seoul) were still considered as marginalized and disadvantaged educational groups in terms of student loan benefits and work-study

opportunities. In 2006 and 2007 reports, social equality concerning issues were addressed as policy goals as following: *Creation for the base of social integration and accompanying growth through education and HRD innovation* (2006) and *to ease the gap in education through educational safety network* (2007).

As observed above, notable ideological debates on education arose around the emphasis of equity/fairness (*hyunгыpyeongsung*) and publicness (*gongongsung*) in the Roh administration's underpinning of policy making (Dongailbo, 2005). There is a criticism of the ideological conflict in the Roh administration for educational policy in the expression of "chasing two hares at once" (Chung, 2008) and "policy absence from ideology surplus" (Donga ilbo, 2005). Regarding to this negative result, President Roh once addressed the difficulty of creating educational policy while considering the political compromises among educational stakeholders.

I bitterly recognize the impossibility/difficulty of setting education policy directions through a well-integrated conversation and amicable compromise among educational subjects. All stakeholders have different understandings on educational issues and cause serious conflicts. In this situation, I had no way to stand for one particular party... Education policy is vulnerable to stakeholders' demands. I will keep an eye on it from the ones who wish to change for their own interests (Translated from Korean-written article in Honam education, August 11, 2006).

Whether the Roh administration's policy output is considered a success or failure, it is worthy noticing that the consistent appearance of social issue related discourse in the Roh administration shows a genuine compromise between the global discourse and local politics. In the Roh administration, neo-liberal principles were applied to higher education reform policies, but a significant space was created for various social equality agendas arising from

the regime's political ideology on the other hand. One interesting example is the *internationalization* strategy. The Roh administration positively responded to educational liberalization (e. g. allowing foreign educational services in Korea), but it promoted overseas educational aids for global⁵⁸ and domestic⁵⁹ welfare expansion strategies at the same time. Thus, the Roh administration never lost its goals of balancing for welfare policy with the concerns of social inequality, even though the regime's higher education reform policies were shared/grounded by conservative political ideology.

Chapter Summary

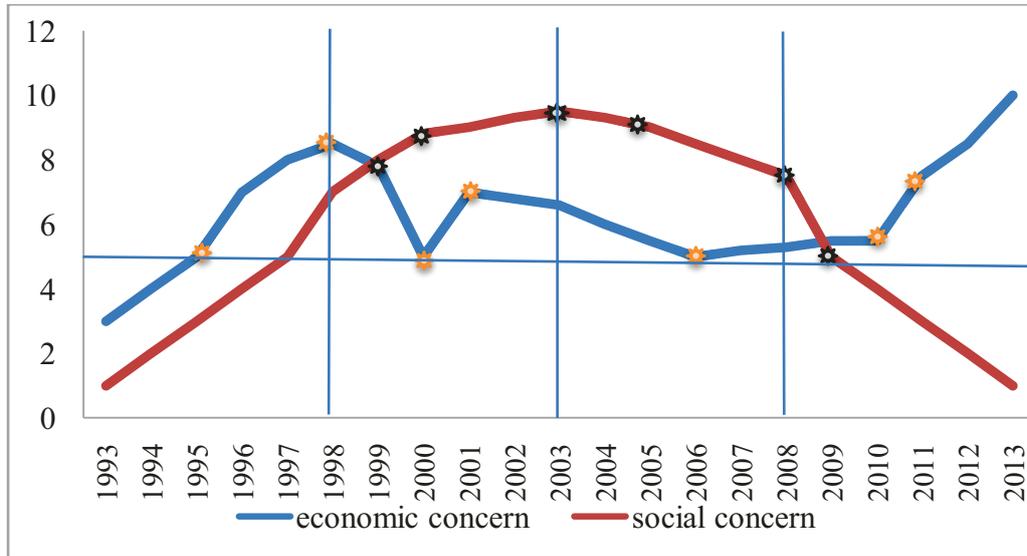
Through the historical-comparison of policy discourse in the four recent Korean regimes, I found that 1) the neo-liberal ideology was definitely rooted in recent Korean higher education reform policy discourses, but 2) an ideological confrontation between neo-liberalism and Korean local politics was importantly present. That is to say, local politics (political situations and the political orientations/ideologies of policy makers) determined the directions of reform policy and decisively controlled the level of neo-liberal reform in Korean higher education.

To show this policy variance of local politics, I drew a line graph (Figure 8) as below. The number 5 on the Y axis in the figure indicates the point at which something becomes a policy priority.

⁵⁸To provide educational opportunities for less developed countries through ODA

⁵⁹To expand youth employment opportunities through overseas volunteering

Figure 8. Policy priority of each regime



Source: Author based on the content analysis of presidential speeches and year plan reports of the Ministry of Education from 1993-2012

The graph demonstrates that the discourse on economic concerns was consistently important in all four regimes. This finding suggests that none of Korean political regimes were free from economic concerns when determining higher education reform policies. In fact, the consideration of economic issue was the strongest leverage for neo-liberal reform. On the other hand, the discourse about social concerns first appeared in the DJ administration and highly regarded in the Roh administration for higher education reform. Conversely, social inequality was not regarded in the YS administration's policy documents, and it was only ostensibly addressed in the early MB administration's discourse. Therefore, conservative local politics favoured neo-liberal policies while democratic liberal politics were faced ideological conflict between neo-liberalism and their own political ideologies.

It is notable that the first two years in the DJ administration and the last three years in the MB administration demonstrate a steep increase in economic concerns for higher education reform policies while showing a cross point of two concerns conversely. This

cross-point means that the ideological conflict between local regimes (YS vs. DJ, Roh vs. MB) existed.

Table 17. Policy priority of each regime

Year	Administration	Economy concern	Welfare concern
1993	YS	3	1
1994		4	2
1995		5	3
1996		7	4
1997		8	5
1998	DJ	8.5	7
1999		7.8	8
2000		5	8.8
2001		7	9
2002		6.8	9.3
2003	Roh	6.6	9.5
2004		6	9.3
2005		5.5	9
2006		5	8.5
2007		5.2	8
2008	MB	5.3	7.5
2009		5.5	5
2010		5.5	4
2011		7.5	3
2012		8.5	2

*I used the number indicator to show the level of language frequency.

As noted earlier in the data collection section, each regime’s political agendas mostly appear in the first and second years of the presidential term. Economy-concerning discourse increasingly appeared in the YS administration and stayed important during the initial two years of the DJ administration for higher education reform. In the first two years of the Roh administration, a welfare-concerning discourse occupied a big part of reform discourse while sharply decreasing in the next administration. This means that the major political concern of the three (YS, DJ and MB) administrations were economic development (i.e. capital accumulation) while the Roh administration considered welfare expansion for its political priority.

In contrast, the documents from the final year of each regime show realistic compromise. For example, the DJ administration enhanced the discourse about human resource development and university competitiveness rather than welfare enhancement, which was emphasized in the early years of its administrative term. In later years, the DJ administration was in fact pushed by the call for productive outcomes of HRD-related agendas (local policy project) and WTO trade negotiation (external push). Similarly, the Roh administration was compelled to implement neo-liberal policy reform in later years with the emphasis on university competitiveness rather than welfare expansion. Nonetheless, these two administrations continued the discourse for welfare realization through higher education reform.

In summary, local politics determines the feature of dual politics. Because of political ambitions (adaptation to a new global economic system, the revival of national economy), the YS and MB administrations prioritized an economy-concerning discourse for higher education reform in its administrative terms. However, the DJ administration enhanced a welfare-concerning discourse and the Roh administration treated it as importantly for higher education reform during of all years. These two administrations dealt with economy discourse in higher education reform policies at the same time. Therefore, Korean conservative politics were of likeminded in transnational hegemonic discourse for higher education reform while Korean democratic-liberal politics confronted with the dual facet of neo-liberal and welfare discourse.

VII. CONCLUSION

Thesis Summary

Political Implications in Neo-liberal Higher Education Reform

As politics is an important driver of policy reform, policy researchers should investigate ongoing political dynamics influencing reform policies. In the late 20s, a global-scaled transformation of economy and society and the politics embedded in this change created a particular shift to a neo-liberal reform for higher education in many countries. In this dissertation, I sought the political implications of neo-liberal higher education reform with the case of recent Korean higher education reforms. I regarded a political implication as the political purpose of a neo-liberal trend (global expansion) in higher education reform and a political intervention as the normative justification of ideology circulation over education reform discourse. Further, I studied a political disturbance of this transnational hegemonic project by examining local political dynamics over reform policy discourse.

Having a curiosity about the change in Korean higher education, I developed the interrogation raised from my Master's thesis about the directions of how and why questions for a doctoral dissertation with regard to the importance of politics in educational issues. This academic journey was challenging and exciting because although the literature in the (education) field significantly focused on the global phenomenon of neo-liberal structuring, few studies dealt with the political implications of this megatrend and most importantly, counter-hegemonic political response. By transcending academic disciplines, I explored the political backgrounds in relation to neo-liberal prevalence in higher education reform and the localization process of global discourse in my dissertation.

Research Question

In my research, I focused on two essential aspects: 1) the macro-causal relationship of neo-liberal higher education reform in transnational social relations, investigating how and why a local state chooses a neo-liberal ideology – market-economy supporting ideas for educational reform and 2) the political interplay within the local state with regard to internalizing global discourse for higher education reform– i.e. how and why a government with the managerial control of state can negotiate a neo-liberal ideology within a local context. With these two research goals, I consequently attempted to break through the taken-for-granted ideological acceptance (economy-centric and market logic-driven reform) in recent Korean higher education reforms.

Research Methodology

I analyzed collected textual sources using linguistic analysis with critical discourse analysis (CDA). First, I examined the linguistic features of the text sources– lexicon, grammatical elements, style– and then looked into the ideological reproduction procedure, made thorough repetition, coherence, and borrowing of text (section 6.1. In the eye of CDA). This CDA text analysis raised questions about politics in language, which is the fundamental inquiry of my research. I asked: What ideology was transmitted from IOs to Korea during recent higher education reforms, for example, and what political power was embedded in this ideological transmission? To answer these questions, I used a theoretical framework from international politics. The selected theories from International Relations (IR), namely THM (Transnational Historical Materialism) and a Gramscian approach framed conceptualization of the macro-scoped politics between IOs (transnational hegemonic mediator) and Korea (as one social force) in my study. So, THM provided the overarching methodological framework for my research. With this theoretical approach, I explored the feature of shared ideology in

transnational communications (6.2.1.) for higher education reform and the embedded politics in this ideological transmission (6.2.2.).

Examining recent Korean higher education reforms as a case of this transnational ideological communication, the first inquiry identified that a neo-liberal ideology permeated recent Korean higher education reforms because of the *hegemonic power* of neo-liberal ideology within transnational capitalist social relations. IOs introduced a hegemonic ideology, neo-liberalism, to local capitalist states in designing higher education reform. In response to the global (hegemonic) discourse on neo-liberal reform, the Korean government accepted the ideology to establish local reform policies that appeared somewhat identical to IOs' reform suggestions. This neo-liberal ideology accommodation in local policy reform indicates that the local government seemed obviously trapped by the capitalistic order of transnational social relations. Because IOs reflect the world political dynamics and represent a hegemonic political order, IOs' discourse on higher education reform contributed to the production and reproduction of the global hegemonic ideology.

While exploring this macroscopic political discursive justification for neo-liberal higher education reform, I paid attention to the local state's autonomy in order to investigate the political space for local policy makers. Indeed, transnational political pressure and the domestic political demands simultaneously influenced the local government when it justified the adoption of the global discourse on neo-liberal reform in the local context. As a single capitalist state, Korea strove to achieve her own national goals in transnational social relations; however, local policy discourse on higher education reform was formulated differently depending on the political orientation of each regime. To inspect locally prioritized policy discourse, the political sociology of education (PSE) and state theories helped me investigate for the second inquiry and deposit a duality of local politics in line with a Gramscian perspective.

Along with PSE and Jessop's state theory, I understood Korea's national goals as a final selection of political negotiations at a local level. To scrutinize a local policy variance, I compared the four Korean regimes and analyzed the state's political response to the global discourse. The findings shows that the historical context of political privilege (economic priority) in Korean society has a significant implication in educational policy, but the political regime shifted in the state to create a space for another change in reform policy. With Conservatives in control of the regime, the Korean society permits the state government to initiate its political vision with the Conservatives' political ideology and proceed with their political agendas for policy making. When the other politics (Democratic liberal, for example) took a regime, the policy outcomes were different from the Conservatives. In other words, local (national) governments make a difference in what is done. Although there was ideological negotiation at a transnational level with regard to the acceptance of neo-liberalism for local higher education reform, each regime in Korea had different levels of ideological reconciliation with the transnational discourse depending on their local political needs.

Research Method

Korea was selected as a single case study in this paper for the in-depth analysis of transnational social relations and the representation of neo-liberal higher education reform driven by a global hegemonic discourse. Historical comparative analysis (HCA) guided me to investigate local politics through longitudinal comparison of four Korean regimes.

From a great deal of documentation filed by IOs and the Korean government and to get "inside" the language dynamics of inter-institutional discourse, I collected "linguistic data" to show transnational political dynamics as well as the dual politics of local state. The research method of document analysis allowed me to analyze the rich source of official discourses (which are systematic, stable, and reliable) on higher education reform. I outlined

this data collection in Chapter IV, showing what documents I looked at for my research and why I chose those particular documents (primarily, the need of higher education reform in a new policy environment and the relevance of recent Korean higher education reform).

Content analysis helped me to catalogue this extensive amount of textual materials by theme. Subsequently, I coded my document data by themes and frequency of word use. This method facilitated the classification of the collected data by theme (higher education in a new policy environment, the rationale of reform, government role, reform direction, policy priorities) as detailed in Chapter V. By looking at a discourse sharing process in the first part (as seen in 5.1. ideological consensus), I was able to prove the ideological consensus between IOs and Korea empirically. An important finding appeared in the later part of this chapter (5.2.) and this finding – ideological divergence – advanced my findings for the pursuit of counter-hegemonic politics in policy discourse.

Research Findings

To sum up my research findings, the basic framework for the global discourse on neo-liberal reform was ideologically shared between IOs and the Korean government, but it was locally developed in recent Korean higher education reform policies. This multi-level relation is set within the structural trends of globalization and neo-liberalism. From theoretical threads –micro (CDA) and macro (THM) analysis, I discovered not only empirical evidence, but also epistemological significance of the ideological consensus on neo-liberal higher education reform between the global mediator of ideological hegemony and a local state (Korea).

My findings did not end here. By inspecting the dual facets of local politics with PSE and state theory, I uncovered the critical element of local politics which influences reform policies beyond the ideological consensus made between IOs and local state. An ideological divergence in recent Korean higher education reform policies existed as there was a unique combination of the global discourse and local policy priorities in higher education reform

policies despite the IOs“ neo-liberal guidance and the ideological consensus of the Korean government. By examining the political tendency of four local political regimes and the derived policy discourses related to higher education reform, my finding turns out that local politics (state context) were placed *ahead of* global discourse. In considering both external and internal political demands, thus, I argued that a local government conducted dual politics by adopting policies that favoured neo-liberal ideology on one hand and policies that prioritized local political concerns rather than neo-liberal prescriptions on the other hand.

To be specific, the result of my study shows that the conservative regimes (the YS and MB administrations) in Korea rhetoricize and rationalize their political ideologies, prioritizing economic development in higher education and taking advantage of IOs“ discourse for higher education reform. However, the democratic liberal regimes (the DJ and Roh administrations) in Korea compromised in between neo-liberalism and welfarism; adopting the neo-liberal reform for national competitiveness in the world economy as one capitalist state, but dealing with social equality issues to facilitate their political ideology and address their welfare and social inequality concerns. That is to say, the nature of the state (as a political entity of competing social force) shapes and redirects the level of neo-liberal ideology permeation in reform policies –whether to benefit a global hegemonic ideology or to attenuate it.

From a critical perspective and according to my analysis, the domestic political situation composes a counter-hegemonic policy discourse against neo-liberal higher education reform generated from a transnational hegemony. Local politics is an important space (or variable) as a counter-hegemonic venue to resist against a transnational capitalist hegemony. The Korean government reformed and remade “neo-liberal” higher education over the years as a result of the political dynamics of transnational capitalist social relations, AND local politics significantly shaped the features of local higher education reform as a

counter-hegemonic value. Consequently, the particular circumstances of Korean politics provided room to balance the macro-economic market ideology and local political needs.

Significance

Political Scrutiny and Its Contribution

My research re-discovers, restores and recreates a relationship between education and politics because I specifically focus on 1) the political purpose of educational reform in transnational social relations and 2) the political visions of different regimes for education in Korea. Thus, my research not only extends the educational research on a particular topic, but identifies the source of the political dynamics which influenced Korean education by using alternative perspectives and qualitative methodologies.

An analysis of transnational relationship is significant in terms of studying the political origin, dissemination and re-invention of neo-liberal higher education reform. It is widely recognized that a global discourse on neo-liberal education reform has largely not been driven by local educational demands, but by political pressures for a new policy environment, particularly industrial change. With the THM analysis, I suggested that there needs to be an understanding of macro-political dynamics which enables an ideological consensus between supranational bodies and individual states on neo-liberal education reform. Beyond material force, an ideological consensus becomes a “material” force when it facilitates hegemonic power and the transmission of discourse sharing through transnational social relations. Without this macro-political understanding, critical research on neo-liberal education reform are insufficient in they rarely identifying the mechanisms and strategies, the *why or how of analysis*, regarding the global expansion and pervasiveness of neo-liberal ideology.

Comprehending the role of the state according to PSE and state theory, I grasped a political disturbance in transnational hegemonic power. This finding is important because the state's interplay with both external and internal political pushes present the diverse features of policy outcomes. The core of this state interplay relies upon the characteristics of the political regime selected by local society –that is, their political orientation. From the case study of Korean higher education reform, I discovered that the political orientation of the state directs the genuine direction of reform policies over the last twenty years. Therefore, my study reveals the significance of exploring the political orientation of an educational authority (the state government - in this dissertation).

In addition, my research stands as a specialized regional study. I hope that a historical overview of recent Korean higher education reform and its political implications will add an impetus this kind of research and motivate those researchers who might wish to explore Korean higher education through macro, meso and micro inter-relationships, both globally and nationally. The rapid expansion of higher education system and the ambition of successive Korean governments to increase the quality of higher education serve to make my study a worthwhile and a critical case.

Methodology and Its Implication

I called my research interdisciplinary in the introduction chapter, but if I were to do this again I would name my theoretical analysis as “multi-layered” as well. From this methodological challenge, I was able to examine transnational macro-politics and state interactions within this political dynamic in two dimensions. In other words, I explored *why* Korea has followed a long trajectory of setting up neo-liberal reform policies for higher education. I also scrutinized *why* Korea localized –reconceptualised and recontextualized – a global hegemonic ideology, resulting in the co-existence of neo-liberalism and local interest

in higher education reform discourse. This multi-layered analysis can be applied to other cases (fields or states, for example) to account for the co-existence of macro-political aspects and competing local perspectives in policy discourse.

Adopting this methodological challenge, educational researchers in other states can explore the external rationalization of educational reform discourse (because of multi-dimensional political power) and observe the confronting political voice of this change from local context at the same time. Other research areas could study complex or at least two-fold dimensions in transnational relations can utilize this kind of methodological attempt to seek the reason behind events and their political implications in policy discourse. As transnational activities occur more and more, policy researchers need to investigate the political aspect of these events with a new methodological approach.

Policy Recommendation

As my research examines a policy discourse and its political implications, I wish to suggest some recommendations for local policy makers, politicians, educational researchers and stakeholders. Of course, while these recommendations are informed by my findings they are also informed by my ideological orientation as a progressive reformer. Anyone not sharing this ideological orientation would most likely suggest alternative recommendations.

Even though a global discourse has a transnational political power, *local policy makers* should necessarily compromise with this power when they establish reform policies because global discourse becomes useless without a local consensus. In this sense, the maximization of local autonomy (the managing ability of dual politics) is necessary. If a transnational pressure for policy reform is stronger, local policy makers can cope with that external pressure by having domestic political issues come to the surface. As I argued in later chapters of my research, domestic political concerns are vital in shaping a reformist policy at

the local level even in neo-liberal time, which transnational hegemonic ideology dominates the discourse of local policy reform. Because local policy makers ultimately represent local social members in any transnational relations, they incline to deal with reform issues in the way of benefiting a local society rather than the external demands driven by a transnational hegemonic political power. Nevertheless, local reform policy would favour transnational hegemonic interests if local politics is too weak to resist against (like the Korean case of financial crisis in 1997) or in line with transnational hegemonic political power (like the Conservative politics in Korea). To make the local state counter-hegemonic, therefore, local policy makers should maximize the interests of local politics for policy reform in negotiating with transnational force. This would retain the nationalist interest.

To make this strong local politics possible, *local politicians* should aware that they have a power to create a political project not for benefiting transnational hegemonic class, but for empowering a local political voice. In a post-authoritarian state (strong-state *versus* weak civil society) like Korea, politicians have less social pressure from civil society in facilitating their political projects than a Western democracy model which has a strong push of civil society. Politicians' political voice must consider educational issues and cannot use "external forces" as a justification for NOT undertaking initiatives – they have a latitude of choice in their decisions. Yet, a desirable solution is to separate the economic perspective from educational policy making perspective. If it is unavoidable to prioritize an economic perspective as a capitalist developmental state, local politicians have to balance both education and the national economy in educational policy making. For example, the conservative politics in Korea have to consider an educational perspective rather than highlight economic productivity exclusively, by democratizing (i.e. including and considering educational stakeholders) a decision making process. Higher education has an obvious educational role which gives an opportunity of learning advanced and critical thinking to

social components. This societal role is beyond a functional role of education –imparting necessary knowledge and core value of society. This social responsibility of higher education, thus, requires a more inclusive approach for both educational stakeholders and society as a whole. Liberal politics in Korea should develop a greater political voice for educational welfare regardless of their transitory political power (whether they hold a reign of government or not) while concerning the local subordinate class.

To develop this local political autonomy, *local educational researchers* should take their roles as an important political voice. Local researchers have to raise their voices by emphasizing educational issues against market logics in neo-liberal reform policies and developing more discussions on the localization process of global discourse with mass media’s cooperation. This is highly political role, but very influential to both local public and politicians in the country like Korea. However, to remain “neutral” is also a political position and most times an unconscious supplement for those with economic and political power who may not have the interests of education in mind.

Also, political power is never static. Today’s political power is not same as yesterday and no guarantee for a successful transmission to tomorrow. A pen with knowledge is always a mighty tool to critique political mistakes. If transnational hegemony is spread through the ideological work based on knowledge sharing and prioritizes economic productivity, educational researchers can also make an ideological persuasion based on their expertise to set up counter-hegemonic discourse in the interests of the nation or the economy, for social development and/or technological innovation. Educators and educational researchers should understand themselves as part of the conversation and offer multiple voices, analyses and solutions. They can establish and keep relative autonomy as the strength of Korean development with passively submitting or authoritatively dominating the political

conversation with economic and political elites – as well as bringing in the voices of those on the margins of political discourse.

Stakeholders (i.e. established voices as well as *including* parents, students, teachers and university administrators in Korean context and all education beneficiaries in a broad sense) must also be aware of their important role in educational policy reform. Educational stakeholders are not only the object of reform, but also the main subjects of reform because educational reform is considered, implemented, and evaluated for those stakeholders. That is, stakeholders' demands are an important component of reform. Parents and students who are the major payees of Korean higher education should think if they receive just compensation for their expectation. Teachers (professors and lecturers) should contemplate whether they contribute themselves to build a better educational environment through reform policies or not. University administrators have to consider whether they manage institutions for students and education or for industrial needs. As seen in many critiques on Korea's top-down way of policy reform process, a Korean civil society is still at the weak stage for a policy making process. In Korea, the post-authoritarian developmental state, educational stakeholders have been marginalized by the logic of economic development or survival after the financial crisis. Now, educational stakeholders should reset their minds that they are a crucial component of state policy decisions and are responsible for the political base of educational reform. Recent neo-liberal higher education reforms in Korea might benefit educational stakeholders, but gift them unpleasant results with too much emphasis on economic importance at the same time. Prior to criticizing a top-down way of policy making process and negative outcomes of recent neo-liberal reforms, I argue that educational stakeholders must participate more actively in policy making process by creating a political voice (whether through voting or civil actions).

Further Developments for Research

Macro to Meso Analysis

As my findings are limited to the analysis of macro-politics with a few implications for meso-politics, I wish to pursue future research in moving towards a more centrally placed meso-analysis, and micro levels of political compromise in formulating future educational reform policies. To do so, I would first wish to look into domestic issues in higher education and examine the meso-level of political conflicts. For example, I might deal with the political dynamics between the central government (the Ministry of Education, which is a supreme authority and a major funding distributor) and universities in Korea. There exist about 200 four-year universities in Korea and they are important social forces to a central government in terms of educational policy making. In this case, I would still want to utilize PSE, but would need another theoretical framework to understand universities' administrative behaviours. Afterwards, I could explore the political implications of micro-level social relations, i.e. between universities and students, teachers or other individuals.

Political Conflict in Meso-level

Regarding political implications in education, I have recognized that there has recently been a serious political tension between a central government and local educational offices for Korean secondary education. The central authority, the Ministry of Education, has a severe conflict under the conservative political regime in regards to autonomous private high schools⁶⁰ with local educational authorities that has superintendents of education each selected by direct election (by local residence). Because opposition parties (democratic-

⁶⁰The central government allowed the establishment of autonomous private high school in 2010 under the rationale of educational choice, neo-liberal principle and granted managerial autonomy for curriculum, tuition fee and hiring with government subsidy. Currently, these schools are 49 nationwide and the superintendents from non-conservative parties had election pledges on abolition of these schools.

liberal or radical progressive political parties) generated major cities’ superintendents in the second direct election⁶¹, those administrative offices (e.g. Seoul, Kyunggi-do) are now revoking (as of fall in 2014) autonomous private high schools in the name of educational equality. This revocation is now becoming the seed of a political conflict between a central government and the local authorities. By inspecting the political discourse of this issue, I expect to identify what Korean society wants for education solely separate from the economy. As this is an on-going issue, my research may need to be projected a few years later, but will be important in the consideration of political implications in educational issue, particularly neo-liberal versus non neo-liberal. I am interested in this issue because Korean society selected educational leadership against neo-liberalism while prioritizing a neo-liberal political leadership for economy.

Other Cases

This research was a case study. I wish to expand my research to broader geographic scopes regardless of the stage of economic development. The optimal condition for another case could be a capitalist economy with a democratic political structure and post-authoritarian historical context because it would be easily comparable to the Korean case and productive regardless of the research outcomes. For the (general) cultural similarity, I would prefer to make a case with other Asian countries such as China and Japan within the East Asian orbit of statecraft. In this case, the study must be a long-term or joint with local researchers because these countries have different political backgrounds and different dynamics for transnational relations.

⁶¹First direct election for superintendent of education in Korea was held in 2010.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Collected documents from the World Bank

year	Document Title
2011–2012	Website
2009	Executive Summary of The challenge of establishing world-class universities
2007 March	Trends in international trade in higher education: Implications and options for developing countries
2007	Korea as a Knowledge-economy: Evolutionary process and lessons learned
2005 April 6-8	Opening address by acting director of the WB for 2005 KEDI-World Bank international forum: Financing reforms for tertiary education in the knowledge economy
2004 Feb.	Strengthening World Bank support for quality assurance and accreditation in higher education in East Asia and the Pacific
2002	Constructing knowledge societies: new challenges for tertiary education
2000	Higher education in developing countries: peril and promise
2000 June	Annual Bank Conference on Development – Thematic workshop on creating a knowledge-based economy: Road to a KBE: The case of Korea
1994	Higher education: the lessons of experience
Contents	
<p>Major focus: the role of higher education in a changing economic environment, the rationale of higher education reform, and the general educational concerns</p> <p>Education reform: essential for countries' national competitiveness in a knowledge economy</p> <p>Higher education: the generator of future labour force and innovative research</p> <p>Role of government: a strong leadership needed through a well-established consensus towards knowledge economy</p> <p>Korean education: Uncompetitive, too strong government control, should consider industrial needs better</p>	

Appendix B

Collected documents from the OECD

year	Document Title
2011-2012	Website
2010	Ministerial Report on the OECD innovation strategy
2010	The OECD Innovation Strategy: Getting a Head Start on Tomorrow
2009	Sustaining growth in Korea by reforming the labour market and improving the education system, economic department working paper
2008	Executive summary of Tertiary education for the knowledge society
2007	Policy Brief: Progress in implementing regulatory reform
2006	Thematic Review of tertiary education: Country Note
2005	Education Policy Analysis 2005: Focus on Higher Education - 2005-2006 Edition
2005	Executive summary from Country review of OECD economic surveys
2004	Internationalization and Trade in Higher education: Opportunities and Challenges
2003	SUMMARY from Education Policy Analysis (2003) Changing patterns of governance in higher education
2002	SUMMARY from Education Policy Analysis (2002) The growth of cross-border education
2001	Education Policy Analysis 2001-Competencies for the knowledge economy
2000	Knowledge-based industries in Asia
Contents	
<p>Role of higher education: a fundamental catalyst for national economic development in a knowledge economy</p> <p>Countries' higher education policies: conform to national priorities, human capital or human resource development plan and educational quality improvement</p> <p>Higher education reform strategies: labour market demands, quality improvement, research capacity enhancement, internationalization and innovation</p> <p>Asian countries: should prepare appropriate human resources through education reform</p>	

Appendix C

Collected documents from the UNESCO

Year	Document title
2011-2012	Website
1998	World Conference on Higher Education
2003	World Conference on Higher Education
2005	Implications of WTO/GATS on higher education: In Asia and the Pacific
2005	Guidelines for quality provision in cross-border higher education
2006	UNESCO-APQN toolkit: Regulating the quality of cross-border education
2009	World Conference on Higher Education
2011	UNESCO handbook on education policy and programming
Contents	
<p>Major focus: higher education reform in a changing policy environment - globalization and a knowledge economy - and on emerging educational issues in higher education.</p> <p>Higher education: salient drive for national development with the development of high-skilled human resources and advanced & innovative research</p> <p>Higher education reform: unavoidable task for countries</p> <p>The rationale of higher education reform: to ensure national development and to take the leading role in a changing society</p> <p>Through higher education, non-developed countries are encouraged to narrow the industrial gap between countries</p> <p>Partnerships with other IOs: the Global Initiative for Quality Assurance Capacity (GIQAC) <u>with the World Bank</u> – the venue for discussion and information sharing on quality assurance and cross-border educational activities, A guideline for quality assurance <u>with the OECD</u> – to facilitate cross-border activities of education under the WTO GATS</p>	

Appendix D

Collected documents from the WTO

Year	Document title
2011-2012	Homepage
1995	General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)
1998	Annual report
2001	Annual report
2003	Annual report, World Trade Report
2003 - 2005	Annual report
Contents	
<p>Trade liberalization in higher education: the most active sector for international trade in education, expected advantage with economic benefits</p> <p>Education under GATS: “tradable” service through four modes of supply - cross-border supply, consumption abroad, commercial presence, and presence of natural persons</p> <p>GATS is not able to force member countries into liberalization policy, but the WTO monitors members’ compliance to agreements rigorously once it happens.</p> <p>Local sensitivity due to the public nature of education and equity issues</p>	

Appendix E

Four IOs'' document list by time

	World Bank	OECD	UNESCO	WTO
1994	Higher education: the lessons of experience			
1995				General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)
1998			World Conference on Higher Education: Higher Education in the Twenty-first Century - Vision and Action	Annual report
2000	Higher education in developing countries: peril and promise Annual Bank Conference on Development – Thematic workshop on creating a knowledge-based economy: Road to a KBE: The case of Korea	Knowledge-based industries in Asia		
2001		Education Policy Analysis 2001- Competencies for the knowledge economy		Annual report
2002	Constructing knowledge societies:	SUMMARY from Education Policy		

	new challenges for tertiary education	Analysis (2002) The growth of cross-border education		
2003		SUMMARY from Education Policy Analysis (2003) Changing patterns of governance in higher education	World Conference on Higher Education: Synthesis report on trends and developments in higher education since the World Conference on Higher Education	Annual report World Trade Report
2004	Strengthening World Bank support for quality assurance and accreditation in higher education in East Asia and the Pacific (Feb)	Internationalization and Trade in Higher education: Opportunities and Challenges		Annual report
2005	Opening address by acting director of the WB for 2005 KEDI-World Bank international forum: Financing reforms for tertiary education in the knowledge economy (April 6-8)	Education Policy Analysis 2005: Focus on Higher Education - 2005-2006 Edition Executive summary from Country review of OECD economic surveys	Implications of WTO/GATS on higher education: In Asia and the Pacific Guidelines for quality provision in cross-border higher education	Annual report
2006		Thematic Review of tertiary education: Country Note	UNESCO-APQN toolkit: Regulating the quality of cross-border education	
2007	Korea as a Knowledge-economy:	Policy Brief: Progress in implementing		

	Evolutionary process and lessons learned Trends in international trade in higher education: Implications and options for developing countries (March)	regulatory reform		
2008		Executive summary of Tertiary education for the knowledge society		
2009	Executive Summary of The challenge of establishing world-class universities	Sustaining growth in Korea by reforming the labour market and improving the education system, economic department working paper	World Conference on Higher Education: The New Dynamics of Higher Education and Research for Societal Change and Development	
2010		Ministerial Report on the OECD innovation strategy		
2011		The OECD Innovation Strategy: Getting a Head Start on Tomorrow	UNESCO handbook on education policy and programming	
2012	Homepage	Homepage	Homepage	Homepage

Appendix F

Document data for the YS administration

Year/Date	Title
1993. Feb. 25	Inaugural speech of president
1995. April 27	Presidential speech at the whole country educators' meeting
1995. May 31	Official speech at the first education reform committee
1997. Jun. 2	Presidential speech at the fourth briefing of education reform plans by the education reform committee
1997. Aug. 8	Excerpts from the inaugural speech by the new minister of education (Lee Myoung-hyun)
1998. Jan. 23	Presidential speech at the comprehensive briefing for education reform committee
1993-1997	Year plan reports

Appendix G

Document data for the DJ administration

Year/Date	Title
1998. Feb. 25	Presidential inaugural address
1998. May 18	Presidential speech at the luncheon with university deans and presidents
1998. June	The interview with a minister: Education reform as a primary task (Lee, Hae Chan)
1998. no date	The special project article on practice-centered educational reform (Jung, Sang-hwan, general director of educational policy division in the Ministry of Education)
2001. July 20	Presidential speech at the briefing meeting for the improvement of educational environment
1998-2002	Year plan reports

Appendix H

Document data for the Roh administration

Year/Date	Title
2003. Feb.25	Inaugural speech of president
2003-2007	Year plan reports

Appendix I

Document data for the MB administration

Year/Date	Title
2008. Feb.25	Inaugural speech of president
2008. Nov. 5	Global HR Forum 2008 congratulatory message
2009. Feb. 23	Radio Address to the Nation
2008-2012	Year plan reports

Appendix J

Policy documents of four Korean administrations

	YS	DJ	Roh	MB
1 st year	Inaugural speech of president (1993) The Year Plan Report	Presidential inaugural address (1998) Presidential speech at the luncheon with university deans and presidents (1998) The interview with a minister: Education reform as a primary task (1998) The special project article on practice-centered educational reform (1998)	Inaugural speech of president (2003) The Year Plan Report	Inaugural speech of president (2008) Global HR Forum 2008 congratulatory message The Year Plan Report
2 nd year	The Year Plan Report	The Year Plan Report	The Year Plan Report	Radio Address to the Nation (2009) The Year Plan Report
3 rd year	Presidential speech at the whole country educators' meeting (1995) Official speech at the first education reform committee (1995) The Year Plan Report	The Year Plan Report	The Year Plan Report	The Year Plan Report
4 th year	The Year Plan Report	The Year Plan Report	The Year Plan Report	The Year Plan Report
5 th year	Presidential speech at the fourth briefing	Presidential speech at the briefing meeting	The Year Plan	The Year Plan

	<p>of education reform plans by the education reform committee (1997)</p> <p>Excerpts from the inaugural speech by the new minister of education (1997)</p> <p>Presidential speech at the comprehensive briefing for education reform committee (1998)</p> <p>The Year Plan Report</p>	<p>for the improvement of educational environment (2001)</p> <p>The Year Plan Report</p>	<p>Report</p>	<p>Report</p>
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